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Translation and cultural influence in Norway c.1100-1600

Berit Elizabeth Sverdrup Rasmussen

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Abstract

Three major disruptions marked Norwegian literary production, style, and language: the introduction of Christianity, the Black Death, and the Reformation. The influence of foreign writing in translation was pivotal to the transition between the pagan Viking Era and the Christian Middle Ages in the 11th and 12th centuries and to the passage from Catholicism to Lutheranism in the 16th century.

Translation in a medieval (and to some extent Renaissance) context must be understood as transfer of knowledge, the crossing of linguistic and cultural borders, including adaptation, paraphrase, imitation, summary, and compiling. The objective of the present work is to examine Norwegian medieval and Renaissance translations in a broader European context and emphasize how the encounter with the foreign helped shape the national.

For centuries, long before the official introduction of Christianity, the people of the North had been in more or less regular contact with foreign cultures through commercial travels and raids. By adopting the Christian faith, Norwegians became members of an international community with long-established literary traditions and a legal system that was being revised and enforced throughout Christianity to harmonize secular and ecclesiastical life.

Translated texts helped explain and consolidate the social conventions promoted by the new religion. The need for exemplification marked textual imports of all genres and translators played an important role in the reshaping of the Old Norse mentality. Religious and devotional material preceded the secular court literature from the French-speaking territories. Hagiographic material ran parallel to heroic tales as both genres helped illustrate the virtues of Christian life and needed only minor adaptation for a Norse audience. Over time, pagan literary conventions blended with those of the

imported Christian material and resulted in a distinct literary style, adapting and recreating material of Breton, Arthurian, and heroic origin. Adventures of chivalrous knights (Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes) and heroic kings (Einhard and Turolf) were translated alongside famous legends of martyrs and biblical heroes.

The break with the pagan religion was the first of a series of cultural disruptions in the North. The systematic encounter with the foreign gave rise to a new perception of *self* in relation to *other*. The interaction engendered a desire to record the nation's history, and chronicles were written in both Latin and the vernacular. Throughout the Norwegian Middle Ages, translators contributed to the inclusion of *other* in *self*, to the assimilation of cultural values and concepts into Old Norse society. The main texts of Western Christianity were imported, adapted, and disseminated along with secular texts that were performed to help instill and exemplify acceptable Christian behavior while amusing the audiences.

The Old Norse language became standardized towards the middle of the 12th century and was used by the Norwegian administration until the end of the 14th century when Danish was adopted. The Black Plague had decimated an already fragile political and social climate and opened up for Danish rule. The increased presence of Danish administrators following the Kalmar Union influenced the evolution of the national language. By the 16th century, the vernacular had more or less developed into the dialects that we know today. The dependence upon Denmark was formalized in 1536.

The first native humanist, master Geble in Bergen, superintendent of a now impoverished protestant church, called upon lawyers of the civil administration to solve pressing social, political and economic problems. The retrieval of the legal texts led to the rediscovery of the historical saga material. The motivation was to protect *self* from *other*. The key to the restitution of a national identity lay in the uncovering of the *former self*, in the examination of the national past, in the translation of the main national medieval documents.

Norwegian humanism was born in Bergen but grew to maturity in Oslo, the new seat of the civil and ecclesiastical administration from the middle of the 16th century. In contrast to the first humanists who had worked almost exclusively in the vernacular, the intellectuals in Oslo translated from the vernacular into Latin, relying on Old Norse sources as well as intermediary Danish translations, mainly the ones produced in Bergen.

The historical focus of Reformation scholars was on the former self rather than on the foreign. However, as the century came to a close, intellectuals yet again turned to literature from the French-speaking territories. The timid incursions into French intellectual life towards the end of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century marked the beginning of a new era for Norwegian literature in the vernacular, and a new will to look beyond national borders, a will to open up for the world outside.

Acknowledgements

When I first started looking into and preparing the material for what I thought would be a rather small thesis in the Humanities concerning history of translation in Norway, I had no idea of where the work would take me, nor a clear idea of where to look for the material I needed. The relative late entry of the Norwegian University Libraries files onto digital databases was one reason why the project at first appeared so limited, and the field of study so inaccessible, which of course, was not the case at all. Indeed, quite a lot of research had concentrated on both original medieval Norwegian literature and on texts in translation, and most of the texts existed in printed form. Once I got to Norway and was able to go through the library index cards, the work in many ways shaped itself.

I wish to thank the librarians at the National Library in Oslo for their kind and patient assistance. As for the illustrations, I especially wish to express my gratitude to Ulf Göransson, Head Librarian at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, who provided beautiful diapositives of a passage in the Old Norse “Desiré” from the Codex De la Gardie 4-7 (*Strengleikar*), and Marianne Overgaards, *lektor* at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, Denmark, who managed to provide me with superb illustrations from *Elucidarium* (AM 674a, 4^o), *Stjórn* (“The Sacrifice of Abraham” and “The Fall of Jeriko” – AM 227 fol.), and *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4^o). All the illustrations have been scanned and reworked by my brother, Torleiv Sverdrup, who also produced a customized map and helped me with the final lay-out.

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notably the sections dealing with theological and religious material in Old Norse translation. Professor Sverre Bagge, acclaimed historian at the University of Bergen, also accepted to have a look at the preliminary version of the section dealing with the Old Norse chronicles. Their comments and questions helped me re-focus. They pointed out mistakes and pitfalls so easy to fall into for the generalist. If any remain, they are of course my own responsibility.

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This is a detailed black and white map of Europe and its surrounding regions. The map includes the following features:

- Geographical Labels:** Major bodies of water like the Norwegian Sea, North Atlantic Ocean, and Mediterranean Sea are labeled. The Arctic Circle is also marked.
- Political Boundaries:** Countries such as Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and the United Kingdom are clearly delineated.
- Major Cities:** Numerous cities are marked with dots and labeled, including Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Copenhagen, London, Paris, Rome, Athens, Madrid, and Lisbon.
- Islands:** Iceland, the British Isles (including Ireland and Great Britain), and various islands in the Mediterranean and North Atlantic are shown.
- Scale and Orientation:** A scale bar at the bottom left shows distances from 0 to 900 km. The map is oriented with North at the top.
- Map Title:** The title 'GEOATLAS - Copyright 1980 GeapIN-Ogne' is located at the bottom left corner.

Preface

Oratione & carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia est summa: Historia quoque modo scripta, delectat. Sunt enim homines natura curiosi, & qualibet nuda rerum cognitione capiantur.

(C. Plinus, *Epist. VIII*. Lib. V. in Kirchmann (1684) before the *dedicatio*)

The present work aims at giving a survey of translation activity in Norway in the Middle Ages and through to the Reformation century and at putting medieval and renaissance texts in translation in Norway into a broader European perspective and context. The primary motivation was to make the material more accessible to students of Norwegian literature and to free it from its traditional Old Norse setting, and place it specifically within a larger European intellectual and cultural tradition. Even the Eddaic and skaldic literary expressions may be studied against a backdrop of European culture and in many instances echo foreign literary forms. Finally, Old Norse translation literature needs to be considered an integral part of the history of Norwegian literature, the result of the encounter with foreign literatures.

Traditionally, translated literature has tended to be either obscured or presented as original writing, which of course it *is* to some extent. Most histories of literature make little mention of imported literature and literary themes; however, the abundance of literary exchange between European cultures has had an impact on the development of most national literatures. Translation studies, and especially the history of translation, supplements philological and comparative studies of literature by allowing for a more global approach to the material.

This thesis seeks to supplement more conventional histories of literature by contextualizing the material and accentuating the role of translators as cultural communicators and conveyors of knowledge. By importing Latin and vernacular manuscripts and by having them translated, medieval Norse scholars established cultural links to the major centers of

European learning where the texts originated. The close connection between some of the Norwegian medieval clergy and universities in the French-speaking regions, including scholarly monastic centers such as Malmesbury and Saint Victor, opened up for cultural exchange. The Victorines scholars definitely marked the contemporaneous theological discussions and their writings were extensively compiled and disseminated throughout Western Christianity. Some of these texts were also read and translated in the North.

The material presented in this historical survey has already been amply examined by Norwegian, Icelandic and Norwegian historians, theologians, and philologists, specialists whose work has been of the utmost importance for an understanding of the Old Norse mentality and intellectual taste. The greatest achievement of these scholars has undoubtedly been the reconstruction of the individual texts from various more or less fragmentary manuscripts and the keen analysis of their main linguistic features, authorship, and dating. The texts included in this survey are therefore representative rather than exhaustive, and seek to draw attention to the largely anonymous medieval and renaissance translators and their work, and to the context in which they worked, and how the translated literature influenced the Norse vernacular and contributed to the emergence of a new literary style—the Old Norse courteous style. The objective has been to be able to submit a representative and manageable corpus.

The result of the direct inter-cultural and political exchange with Western Europe after the introduction of Christianity was curiosity for the literature and intellectual activity of scholars in the French-speaking regions, theological and devotional literature as well as the romance literature written and performed at the royal courts in France and Norman-French England. The imported court literature in conjunction with the devotional material influenced and shaped the mentality of the Old Norse people. The texts included in the Anthology Section all originated in the rich literature of the French-speaking territories. Translated material originating from other linguistic territories, for example hagiographic

material imported from the German-speaking regions of which there are a few examples, have not been considered as they lie outside the scope of the present thesis.

At the early stages of the research work for this study of translation in medieval Norway and the ensuing cultural influence, the somewhat cliché perception of Norway as a *peripheral* cultural and geographic entity was both a problem and a blessing. It obscured the picture but effectively made certain aspects stand out that would not otherwise have received attention. As I went through the material, the sharp contrast between the Old Norse pagan mentality and its emphasis on honor, personal courage, skillfulness, performance and pride and the Christian ideal of submission, humbleness and penitence became much clearer, and illustrated the remarkable change of mentality that had to come about when Christianity was adopted. However, the new religion and the concurrent European culture cannot have been completely unknown to the Norse people. The Vikings had certainly encountered it on their many commercial travels and incursions abroad in the centuries leading up to the introduction of Christianity.

Of the early Old Norse literary genres, some were more particular to the Old Norse society, such as the (often *impromptu*) skaldic tradition, whereas some of the older predominantly Eddaic literature in many aspects echoes both Classical and European proverbial literature. The pre-Christian Eddaic poetry and mythology have typically received considerably more attention than the literature in translation, and are generally defined as both more *literary* and above all more *national*.¹ The tales of the *Eddas* as

1 There are two Eddas. The *Elder Edda* is a collection of mythological tales in skaldic verse, probably recorded some time around 1250 under Hákon Hákonsson, but composed some time towards the end of the 10th century or even before, comprising amongst others *Hávamál* or Odin's Speech; *Rígsþula*, outlining the organization of society and the main social classes; *Völuspá* or the Prophecy of the Sibyl. *Völuspá* contains the famous account of Doomsday or Ragnarök. The *Younger Edda* is attributed to Snorri Sturlason. Written in vernacular prose it includes the Deluding of Gylfi (a questions and answers book about Norse mythology), the Death of Balder, and *Skáldskaparmál*, a guide to poetic composition (Ebbestad-Hansen 1993, *Britannica* 2000). A small vellum manuscript from the late 13th century—*Codex Regius*—contains most of the Eddaic poetry and represents the single most important source manuscript for the study of pre-Christian Scandinavia culture and mentality (Arnarnagaeian Institute. See also Ebbestad-Hansen 1993).

well as poetry in skaldic verse continued to be popular in Norway well into the 12th century. The skalds were still appreciated at the court, but the Old Norse poetic tradition had been and remained a predominantly oral activity. Skaldic verse was dramatic and not well suited to medieval Old Norse prose literature (Halvorsen 1959). The stories of the *Eddas* kept being recited throughout the 12th century as part of an oral although not *popular* tradition. And the Skaldic poetic tradition continued for some time, especially in Iceland, and (mainly) Icelandic skalds performed for the Norwegian kings and their courtiers well into the 13th century (Halvorsen 1959). The recital of Skaldic and Eddaic poetry was a demanding, obscure, and concise exercise (Cook & Tveitane 1979). In addition, the Eddaic tradition was *dramatic*, not epic (Halvorsen 1959) and hence not easily adaptable to the epic French court literature, written in a very different poetic form.

Through periodic raids and merchant travels the Vikings had encountered other European cultures from the 7th century onwards and maybe earlier, meaning that they had, for centuries, been in contact with other cultures, and consequently must have heard a number of popular legends, stories and chronicles from far and wide, which in turn may have inspired and stimulated their own (predominantly oral) literary traditions.

It is extremely difficult to isolate the early literary traditions of Norway from those of contemporaneous Europe. For example, the highly didactical *Hávamál*, containing the accumulated wisdom of the Old Norse society,² contains features reminiscent of the *Disticha Catonis*, a collection of proverbial learning, widely read and appreciated throughout medieval times.³ Also, the literary form and construction of *Konungs*

2 *Hávamál* is a didactic collection of proverbial poetry in which moderation and self-control are presented as the greater virtues. *Hávamál* reflects everyday wisdom and gives advice as to appropriate behavior in a world full of animosity, rivalry, and danger (cf. Fidjestøl 1996).

3 Translated into Old Norse and circulated as *Húgvinnsmál* at the time of the romance literature or just before, meaning the beginning of the 13th century (Barnes 1987). In Europe, *Disticha Catonis* was usually on the curriculum of the lower classes (Grendler 1989).

skuggsjá reflects yet another European genre with roots back into Classical literary traditions, namely the *dialogue*, a derivation of the Greek philosophers' teaching techniques.⁴ A comparative study of the Old Norse pre-Christian literature and other European literatures—both the written and oral, mythological, legendary and historical material—would be interesting. However, this lies far beyond the scope of the present survey.

Not until the introduction of Christianity do we see a concerted effort at importing the literary ideals and thought systems of other cultures. The many translations undertaken during the first centuries of Christianity in Norway increased the pace of cultural influence. The translated texts were highly *conscious* attempts at conforming the Old Norse mentality and ideals to the accepted belief patterns of the continent. They articulate the increased and more systematic inter-cultural exchange that took place after Christianity was introduced, and are the expressions of an explicit desire to bridge the gap between the intellectual currents of Europe and cultural and political life in Norway. What surprises is the the variety of imported genres, greatly emphasizing the underlying wish to bring the native cultural and literary expression more in tune with contemporaneous European tastes.

From the very beginning of this project there emerged a sense of ambiguity, a perception of both *sameness* and *alterity*, of cultural *remoteness* as well as *proximity*. The extraverted ambitions and the relatively prolific production of the medieval translators stand in sharp contrast to the introspective activity of the Reformation-century reformed humanists. Whereas the Old Norse medieval translators were *inter-lingual* conveyors of *foreign* culture, the culture of *others*, the reformed clergy of the 16th century turned more specifically to the Old Norse historical saga material and law

4 Especially Plato, who encouraged discussion and debate of ideas and used the dialogue as a teaching tool (Conley 1927).

collections. Theirs was an *intra-lingual* quest with a view to examining and understanding *themselves* as a group in another epoch. However, the translation activity of both periods reflects the same determination to redefine (and in the Reformation century, the will to recover) the self.

In a few instances when citing texts, I have given my own translation because I have not been able to find an established English version. In only one case, I have supplied my translation because I felt that the established English version had recreated the original in a way that did not really convey the spirit of the original message.

Part I: Preliminaries

General Introduction

Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses.

(Wittgenstein 1958, p. 8)

Translation and translated texts have become such an obvious and pervasive part of modern life that we hardly stop to think about their omnipresence. And if we do, the mere volume certainly overwhelms us: translation is present in the media, in business, in science, in the arts, in fact in almost any aspect of life requiring written communication. Oral translation as a communications tool has accompanied humanity for as long as we have spoken different tongues. It has made our world a smaller place, and, to some extent in modern times, erased the linguistic boundaries between nations of different cultures.

Because of translation, people in different countries are increasingly able to operate within a common cognitive space, a *locus communis*, resulting from general globalization. This, of course, has not always been the case and the degree to which people of different cultures have shared a common cultural space has depended on the degree of literacy in the interacting population. The illiterate segments of nations, no matter their social status, have typically depended on the actions of the literate and educated, they were an audience, not an autonomous readership. Translation has for centuries played a central role in the communication between people of different linguistic and cultural realities. The translated text can be characterized not only as a medium of transfer but also as an intellectual *site* where specific linguistic and cultural boundaries have crossed, a meeting place where different cultures can meet, complete and supplement each other (Pym 1998).⁵

5 Using the theories of Michel Foucault, translation can be defined in terms of a spatial dimension in which knowledge and discourses of different cultures can meet (*translatio*), a site of literary encounter from whence new discursive territories (*imitatio* and *inventio*) can emerge. The study of translation must then focus on this inter-cultural site and the practical conditions and mechanisms that lead to its creation (Lotringer 1996, Foucault 1970).

The present thesis proposes a comprehensive rather than exhaustive survey of texts in Old Norse translation⁶ (Danish-Norwegian in the Reformation century) and of the knowledge and ideas that they conveyed. The literary productivity of medieval Norway stands in contrast to the restricted scope of the Reformation-century humanists, and illustrates the societal decline that marked the Norwegian society in the wake of the Black Death. The aim is to review the texts that were translated for the native Old Norse audience and readership, and present the texts that reflect the cultural connection between the predominantly rural and sparsely populated Norway and the more urban and intellectual Western European society, to outline the dependency upon contemporaneous European literary trends and point to the differences as well as to the similarities between Norwegian and European intellectual life during the Norwegian Christian Middle Ages and the Reformation century.

In view of the uncertain identification of most Old Norse translators, the medieval section will primarily focus on the translated texts as they are found in extant manuscripts, facsimile, or printed editions. In the Reformation century, the authors and translators are no longer anonymous, and it has been easier to establish contacts, friendships, and immediate interpersonal cultural influence. The majority of medieval Old Norse translators were indeed anonymous members of the clergy or people associated with the royal court. We must, nevertheless, not forget the human creators of the translated texts, their professional and intellectual affiliation, and their role as

6 To simplify, the term "Old Norse" will be used indiscriminately with reference to both the Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic vernaculars. The differences between Old Icelandic and the vernacular spoken in Norway were mainly dialectal and mutually comprehensible. Moreover, Iceland became a dependency of the Norwegian throne in 1263 and both scholars and manuscripts moved regularly between the two communities. It has therefore been difficult for scholars to determine whether or not an anonymous translation was written in Norway or Iceland, by a Norwegian hand or by an Icelander. Many texts translated in Iceland, especially the religious material from the missionary period, also found their way to a Norwegian readership. The majority of texts featured in this historical survey were therefore probably translated in Norway or commissioned by people associated with either the Norwegian archdiocese or the Royal Court.

cultural intermediaries at the interstice of the learned Latin culture and the popular vernacular world, more precisely at the *discursive interstice* between the recognized *auctores* and the readers. Their anonymity should not detract from the importance of their accomplishments.

Some translators initiated translations, others worked on the orders of various ecclesiastical or royal patrons. However, they all left their mark on the texts that they worked on by the active choices they made in terms of extraction, summarization, adaptation, suppression, expansion and glossing. The imported texts not only contributed to the dissemination of the works of contemporaneous foreign scholars and authors, but also helped instill the new models of behavior and shaped the Norse Christian mentality, and illustrate to what extent Norse clerics were informed about and interested in what happened on the European scene.

Since the rediscovery of the Classical authors in medieval times, European scholars have deployed considerable energy translating and imitating the authors of Antiquity. The imported material was in general adapted for the native audience. Medieval translation must generally be understood as knowledge transfer—*translatio studii*—in one sense or another, often with a looser association between form and content than in the original material. The concept of medieval translation must be correlated with the concepts of *imitatio*, *emulatio* and *inventio* in an inclusive framework. In a Norwegian medieval context, too, and for the purpose of the present survey, it must be correlated to all of these.

Many of the texts included in this dissertation have undergone transformations over the centuries. Indeed, very few have survived in their initial manuscript form as a consequence of generations of copyists, and the need to adapt to the native audience and its mental framework. Nonetheless, they carry the mark of their initial translator.

The complex relationship between the scholarly Latin and the more popular vernacular determined how translation as a literary phenomenon emerged in medieval

times. Translation in the Middle Ages included glossing and elucidation, adaptation, paraphrase, extraction, summarization and compilation. The degree of literal correspondence between the source and target texts depended to a great extent upon the genre and the specific source, so that translators of biblical and devotional material followed different rules than translators of secular works. This was the usual practice throughout Europe, including Christian Norway. However, in Norway, most of the translated foreign material invariably tended to be presented as *sagas*, meaning *histories*, and adapted the main features of Norse chronicle writing to the various genres of imported literature.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance centuries were productive literary years throughout Western Europe, centuries over which the vernacular reclaimed its birthright, and nations emerged in accordance with linguistic and cultural unity rather than with political or religious boundaries. The new national literary identities developed as a result of a long synergetic coexistence between the Latin culture of the Roman Church and its vernacular-born scholars, a natural outcome of the long interaction between different cultural and intellectual realities. Translation was part of the intellectual landscape throughout the entire period, both as a didactical tool and as an intellectual exercise.

The objective is to reconstruct various aspects of specific historical and textual events that took place in medieval Norway, to present a *selection of discourses* that seem essential for the understanding of translation activity in Norway and point to the literary genres (*emulatio*) that it fostered. Any attempt to establish the conditions under which the Norse translators worked can at best be incomplete, as the source material is highly fragmentary, and little is known about the individual translators. Nevertheless, there is enough material to suggest a pattern and to illustrate the central role of translators as creators of bonds between different cultures, between the Latin world of learning and the Norse vernacular society, and between the latter and other medieval vernacular cultures.

The introduction of Christianity brought not only a new religious context but also a long-established literary tradition and culture based upon books and the written word. It also meant that the intellectual focus was turned towards the exterior, towards the foreign, towards the *other*, the different, the far away and unfamiliar. The adoption of the new faith implied a radical change of mentality. In the slow process of conversion and change, translation became an essential and effective tool. The Church, with its bureaucratic methods, became a model for secular organization. With time, the emerging state—represented by the King—started recording main events, and commercial log-books were kept to keep track of property transactions and tax collection. By the middle of the 13th century, written culture had permeated most of Norwegian society, and a project of cultural importation took place under Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263). Learning based on written documents and recordings had become the norm for a small but ambitious elite (Bagge 1998).

The Old Norse medieval culture combined popular traditions and relics of pagan superstition and complex scholarly Christian learning.⁷ The social (and some times cultural) difference between ordinary people and the intellectual elite was great, as in most European societies. The clergy's main mission was the education and elucidation of the masses in the main articles of the faith. From the beginning of the Christian era in Norway, monks, missionary clergy and scribes translated and adapted the major didactical works used by the Church in its teaching. Later, in the 13th century, the secular court literature in translation served the same purpose, supplementing the religious and devotional material that was by now available, functioning as appropriate *exempla* of good Christian behavior.

7 A number of pagan beliefs survived in many rural European communities, too, as large portions of the populations continued to be illiterate (Léon 1967).

The foreign secular material represented a variety of genres such as popular legends, songs and *lais*, and various *gesta*, which all laid claim to some degree of historical veracity and legitimization. Both Marie de France's *Lais* and Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian poems became very popular. The opposition between *stories* and *histories* was not a great one in the mind of the medieval audience. In the transition from oral to written transmission of historical events, when the story was recorded as a discursive event, the discursive event became history.

The *purpose* of the story mattered more than its actual degree of veracity. Once it was written down, the story could start a life of its own and contain as much *truth* as any real historical event. Truth and fact were not interconnected as they are today. For the medieval reader, the fictional story—the written event with no basis in any genuine historical events—could be as instructional and "...true as any factual event. The medieval story—many were indeed of quite complex and learned origin—often became, because of the perceived *truth* it conveyed, the inspiration and foundation for common folklore, such as the *Tristan* legend(s) and some of Marie's *Lais*. Translation led to imitation first, then emulation and finally to original invention. The imported *discursive events* gave birth to new themes in the popular and oral tradition and led to a reorientation of the native literary taste.

The recording of history in the Old Norse vernacular had started early, before Christianity had been firmly established in the 12th century. In some respects the Old Norse saga tradition found its parallel in an older European medieval tradition of chronicling, as represented in the works of Einhard (770-840) and the Venerable Bede (c.672-735).⁸ The

8 The early Middle Ages saw a marked interest for the recording of historical events in Western Europe. Einhard wrote the widely distributed *Vita Caroli* c. 830 (Brunel 1972) and Bede *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 2000), later King Alfred (849-899) ordered the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (c.890) (*Britannica* 2000, Danielsen et. al. 1992). Nithard (d.844) wrote a history of the sons of Louis the Pious, in which parts were rendered in the vernacular, notably the oaths given by Charlemagne and Louis in Old French and Old German (Halphen 1996). Adam of Bremen (d.c.1072) wrote *Gesta hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, and Saxo Grammaticus (c.1128-1204) composed *Gesta Danorum*.

tradition of chronicling in Latin was indeed an established European activity by the onset of the Christian Middle Ages in Norway. The early Western Church had produced quite a number of histories of heroes and saints, modeled after the old Roman accounts of illustrious men. The people of the North also became interested in recording their past. A number of historical sagas were composed during the 11th and 12th century (See Appendix 1) from which Snorri Sturlason's (c. 1178-1241) world history *Heimskringla* (c.1230-35) was probably derived (Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The compact style of the early native historical sagas greatly influenced the *form* of the imported literature, and most genres were referred to as *soga*, emphasizing the element of *story*, of discursive event, pointing back to the oral popular tradition and performance of the pagan skalds. The visionary *Draumkvedet* (c.1300), an epic sung poem recounting the protagonist's voyage to the Kingdom of Death, Purgatory, Heaven and Hell (Mortensson-Egnund 1996) further illustrates the degree to which the imported Christian literary models had been incorporated into the native poetic expression.⁹

Much of the vernacular literature (original and in translation) has for the most part been considered purely national literary expression. However, both *Heimskringla* and *Draumkvedet* grew out of a common European tradition for chronicle writing and medieval visionary poetry. In the same way, the *Song of Roland* (c.1100)—one of the earliest Charlemagne legends to enter the Old Norse story-telling tradition—became part of the native song tradition and popular memory, a derivative of the French vernacular epic tradition, of which *La chanson de Roland* by Turold is the best known example. The *Song*

9 Visionary poetry, in which dream and travel into another dimension were the main themes, had become popular readings during the Middle Ages. One of the more famous examples is the apocalyptic *Visio sancti Pauli Apostoli*—the second last entry in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*—in which the narrator has a wondrous dream: “Ein læugar-dag at kveldi svaf ec í hvilo minni. ok ec í draume mínum myccla sion” (Indrebø 1931, p. 148) (“One Saturday night while sleeping in my bed, in a dream I saw many wondrous things”). Also, the vision of Elisabeth of Schönau (c.1129-1164), in which she learns about the Assumption of Mary, can be found in many Icelandic manuscripts (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). The 14th century saw a proliferation of visionary literature, which in Dante's *Divina Commedia* had developed into a literary genre.

of *Roland* represented a distinct Northern branch and continuation of the *chanson de geste*. Similarly, the many translations of Norman-French and Anglo-Norman vernacular court literature—the chivalric and Arthurian material—into Old Norse have almost systematically been neglected by the authors of histories of Norwegian literature. However, these translations, examples of an intentional literary exchange at the interstice of two cultures, belong to the Norwegian literary history as much as the more “original” works.

Literary historians, it seems, have been reluctant to present the chivalric romance material in Old Norse translation as the native expression of European cultural and literary trends. The emphasis has been on Old Norse society and culture, and the external sources of influence have been noted in an almost parenthetical fashion. My aim is not to diminish the national aspect, nor question its worth, which is both real and interesting in its own right, but rather to place the various vernacular texts in a broader European cultural perspective and context. I wish to *explicitly* underline the connection between the literary activity in medieval Norway and the universal medieval corpus of learning and literary expression, illustrating how parts of this corpus were channeled into the intellectual circles of the North.

What should be included in a history of literature, of course, depends on the definition given to the term *literary activity*, and the way we deal with the conventional opposition between imported literature and native creation. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to consider almost every aspect of written activity during the period in question—fictional, historical, didactic, religious, and theological writing—as literary activity, whether it was imported or original. The medieval historical sagas stand out as the more original; they may have been inspired by foreign chronicles, but are in no sense of the term translations. However, the translated material belongs as much to the native literary scene.

Much of the secular literature contained religious material, examples and explanations, and it is difficult to deal with medieval writing without taking into consideration the highly

didactical and moralizing nature of all writing. Virtually all literary activity in the Middle Ages was permeated by religious thinking.¹⁰ Medieval Norse writers, who translated source material containing the commentaries of others, became preoccupied with much the same questions and problems as their Continental colleagues, and were not at all as eager as we are today to define and separate the genres. As we have already stated, fictional work could be as didactical as any devotional treatise and vice versa.

In medieval times, original work, translations and adaptations were read and accepted in much the same way. The human authors, compilers or translators were not in focus, they were not considered important at all, in as much as their role was that of the intermediary messengers in a continuum of knowledge dissemination. The Schoolmen were part of a tradition in which the individual author of ideas remained anonymous. The same model of analysis and commentary was applied to a variety of writing. According to medieval literary tradition, the discourse that characterizes the evolution of human history obscures the role of the individual author. Medieval scholars' perception of authorship and authority does not allow for the attribution of one single individual as the author of a theory or an idea (Minnis 1988). The medieval notion of *auctor* and *auctoritas* may need some clarification. To medieval grammarians the term *auctor* conveyed the notions of creator, achievement and growth. An *auctor* brought something into being and made it grow. An *auctoritas* was a quotation or extract from the work of an *auctor* and was in essence a *sententia digna imitatione*, a profound saying, or wise judgment, worthy of imitation or implementation. An *auctoritas* was often used as an *exemplum*. Medieval scholars were obliged to defer to the recognized *auctores*. God, who guaranteed the superlative *auctoritas* of Scripture,

10 Although we commonly distinguish between secular and religious literature, this distinction was less marked in medieval than in modern times, simply because religion permeated all aspects of life to a degree quite foreign to modern thinking.

was the supreme creator of all things as well as the *auctor* of written words as they appeared on the “Sacred Page” (Minnis 1988).

Translators are the intermediary authors of texts to which they cannot lay authorial claims, although they need much of the same skills (Eisenstein 1983). In view of the medieval perception of authorship, the relation between medieval authors and their texts becomes both obscured and confusing. Many but not all medieval translators omitted to mark the texts with their own name. As we have stated earlier, the identity of the individual translator or copyist was of little importance in the indispensable process of knowledge transfer. Medieval writers, translators, and commentators invariably sought the underlying meaning(s) of the texts they encountered, and were preoccupied with the inherent and static (and consequently eternal) *truth*, which was both complex and *pluralistic*, especially when working on authoritative texts.¹¹

Theology, according to Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141), was the pinnacle of all philosophy, containing the key to universal truth (Minnis 1988). And truth, medieval scholars believed, could only be unraveled using clearly defined literary procedures and text analysis methods. For medieval authors, the same literary rules applied to secular texts as to the more complicated “Sacred Page.” It was therefore commonly accepted that scholars needed thorough training in the liberal arts in order to read and understand secular writing as well as the infinitely more complex writing of the Scriptures. Hence the constant emphasis on training in the liberal arts and on mastering the *trivium* (Le Goff 1985, Minnis 1988).¹² Medieval authors had a literal focus on the text, on the

11 “... The supreme God [...] could never suffer decay or hurt or change [...] What remains constant is better than that which is changeable” (Augustine 1961, p. 133). The scholastics’ search for universal and constant truth in essence was a quest for the eternal and divine.

12 Although already at the time of the Church fathers, Cassiodorus (c.480-575) claimed that a literal approach was not always the best: “Some times it is better to overlook the formulas of human discourse and *preserve* rather than *measure* God’s word” (Minnis 1985, p. 33, italics mine).

signifying quality of the *letter*, on literal interpretation and hermeneutics. The quest for universal truth(s) so omnipresent in medieval scholarship helps explain why so many of the medieval translators and copyists remained anonymous. The standardized and highly conforming medieval knowledge—at least in aspiration—was indeed a truly universal and *inclusive* phenomenon, looking towards, not the particular and national, but rather the common and universal (Minnis 1988).

If the evolution of knowledge is understood as a series of discontinuities in parallel yet not concurrent levels (Foucault 1971), then the breaks and ruptures will naturally tend to obscure and make oblivious the individual in the evolutionary discursive process.¹³ What was important to medieval scholars was unveiling the inherent value and truth hidden in the written word. People associated with literary authorship were individuals through which a given theory or idea could be expressed: they were considered merely the conveyors of an already existing discursive and cognitive traditions (Foucault 1971, Minnis 1988). The principle of the author as an intermediary conveyor of a greater—often divine—message in which *truth* was one of the important ingredients (Minnis 1988) also applies to the authors and translators of medieval Norway.

Norway remained close to Denmark throughout the early Christian Middle Ages, first during the joint ecclesiastic administration of all the Nordic regions under the archdiocese of Bremen-Hamburg (831-1103),¹⁴ later under the Scandinavian

13 According to Foucault, the notion of discontinuity and rupture precludes a continuous causal explanation of historical events (Merquior 1991).

14 The destruction and pilfering of the Monastery of Lindisfarne in 793 by Danish Vikings (described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) was one event that motivated the establishment of the Archdiocese of Hamburg (831-1103), an ecclesiastic center with main focus on the evangelization of the Scandinavian and the Slavian peoples. The Danes were largely Christianized by German missionaries (Harðarsson 1995), whereas the Norwegian people primarily were taken on by missionary monks and bishops from the British Isles.

archdiocese at Lund (1104-1153) (Kolsrud 1913),¹⁵ then the ecclesiastical center of Denmark. During the first half of the 12th century, Norway depended directly on the religious institutions of a brother nation that fostered several medieval scholars of some contemporary reputation, and consequently must have developed ties to some of Danish intellectual centers, although I have not come across traces of such relations. Over the centuries Denmark produced not only Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1128-1204), author of *Gesta Danorum*,¹⁷ but reputed speculative grammarians such as Martinus de Dacia (d.1304), author of *Liber modorum significandi* (c.1270); Johannes Dacus (13th C), who wrote *Summa grammatica* in 1280; as well as Boethius de Dacia (13th century) who commented on the work of Priscianus in *Modi significandi sive Quaestiones super priscianum maiorem*, in addition to writing a commentary on the whole of Aristotle's work (Grane & Hørby 1993, Brandt 1882, Favier 1999, Lusignan 1986, *OLIS*, *Britannica* 2000).¹⁸

Denmark was Christianized much earlier than Sweden and Norway, and had for that reason been integrated into the European community of scholars and Latin learning at an earlier stage, demonstrated by the extensive historical work of Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1128-1204), secretary to and trusted friend of Absalon (c.1128-1201), the powerful

15 The establishment of a Scandinavian archdiocese meant direct contact between the Scandinavian ecclesiastic authorities and the Holy See in Rome. The channels to the church province of Hamburg-Bremen ceased to be effective (Harðarsson 1995). Lund had been the seat of the first archdiocese in Scandinavia, established in 1103, to which the Norwegian dioceses reported until the founding of a national seat in Nidaros in 1153 (Kolsrud 1913). The first Norwegian dioceses were Trondheim, Selje, and Oslo (Kolsrud 1913, Øverås 1952, Helle 1974).

17 Saxo's voluminous *Gesta Danorum* contains the history of Denmark from its legendary beginnings (Dan the First) to the reign of Valdemar II Seier (1170-1241) (Fisher & Davidson 1980 & *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). Saxo's history of the Danes is normally referred to as *Geste danorum*, a title sometimes used interchangeably with the somewhat shorter *Historia Danica* published by Chr. Pedersen in Paris in 1514 (Nielsen 1996).

18 In many Latin references to the Danish people by Danish medieval and Reformation scholars we find the forms "dacus" instead of "danus," "dacorum" instead of "danorum," and "Dacia" instead of "Dania" (Nielsen 1996, Bruun 1877), a phenomenon which in some instances may lead to confusion as to the geographical origin of medieval scholars, because Dacia, in Antiquity, corresponded to the area of the Carpathian Mountains and Transylvania, in present-day north-central and western Romania (*Britannica* 2000).

Archbishop of Lund from 1178 to 1201. The proximity to Christian intellectual activity in Denmark certainly inspired people in Norway in the same way as the activity at the monasteries and *studia* in the French-speaking territories. However, Danish scholars appear to have participated to a fuller extent in the various intellectual debates that preoccupied European intellectuals in the 12th and 13th century. Compared with Norway, medieval Denmark was definitely a more *urban* and *intellectual* society, with many smaller centers of learning—such as the monastery of Sorø—that were able to sustain viable intellectual activity. Norwegian church officials could probably have benefited more from the geographical and linguistic proximity to the Danish intellectual centers, but political rivalry between the two nations in the early Christian era to some extent caused the Norwegian scholars and church officials to cultivate and maintain their association with France and England, and the main universities in Western Europe instead.¹⁹

After the establishment of a national archdiocese in Trondheim in 1153, the Norwegian clergy gained freedom from the Danes in ecclesiastical matters; however, the freedom was to be relatively short-lived. Two centuries later—following the devastation of the Black Plague of 1349²⁰—Norway once again came to depend on Denmark both

19 On the political level, there had been periods of cooperation as well as rivalry between Danish and Norwegian rulers. Danish Vikings had started raiding East Anglia in 787 and captured York in the year 867. This was the beginning of the Danish rule in Anglia that would last until the English King Harold Godwinson (c. 1022-1066) defeated the Norwegian Harald Sigurdsson the Ruthless (r. 1046-1066) at Stamford Bridge. The same year, in October, William the Duke of Normandy (William the Conqueror: 1027-1087) vanquished Harold II at Hastings in a battle that established the Normans as the rulers of England. In both England and Normandy the ties to Scandinavia were close, as both Danes and Norsemen had participated in the conquest of Normandy in 911. But after the Danish King Canute (c.994-1035) had conquered the English and defeated the Norwegians and the Swedes in 1026, the relations became more strained (Baugh 1978, Thuesen 1997, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, *Britannica* 2000). In 1028-29, Olav Haraldsson had been expelled from Norway by King Canute. When he returned in 1030 to reclaim the throne, he was killed in the battle of Stiklestað, and Canute's son by a slave woman, Sven Alfivason, became King of Norway. Ever since the battle of Svolder (1000), and the fall of Olav Tryggvasson, the Danes had been influential political players in the Scandinavian regions, and Danish Kings had continued to challenge both Norwegian and Swedish rulers (Danielsen et. al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

20 The Black Death made its first incursion in Bergen in 1349. The devastation of the recurring pestilence put an end to an era in which the legal system, the political order, and the social institutions had been developed according to the ideals of the greater European nations, notably France, and the ecclesiastical and royal authorities easily compared with its counterparts on the Continent (Danielsen et.al. 1992, pp. 80-81).

economically and politically, when the first formal union of the three Scandinavian countries was signed at Kalmar in 1397. As a direct result of the Kalmar Union, the Danish vernacular was adopted by many in the Norwegian administration and by the National Council, and increasingly served as the standardizing norm for the emerging Middle Norwegian dialects. Originally a union of formal equals, it soon became evident that Denmark was the dominant partner. Within a short time, therefore, Sweden withdrew from the agreement, whereas Norway remained bound by its conditions until the official annexation of 1536 and the concurrent introduction of the Protestant faith (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Bagge & Mykland 1993).

When Norway had joined the Christian West, the country and its leading classes instantly had been included into a strictly organized religious and cultural system developed by generations of Church scholars. Christianity was based on the written word, on centuries of accumulated, recorded knowledge. The vast body of Christian learning was now made available to the people of the North with new expediency, and created an urgent need for new professions, not only priests, but also secular clerics and officials with a profound understanding of the Church's teachings and its administrative and legal practice.

The new faith, and the changes it brought about to the political and social structure, led King Sverre Sigurdson (r. 1177-1202)—at the end of a period of civil war between rivalling clans—to formally align the royal power with that of the Church, at least in principle. However, Sverre's seeming acceptance of the changes to the power structure effectively consolidated the King's secular powers vis-à-vis the Church, as he would from now on be King *by the grace of God* and not by acclamation at the assembly of free men—the *Þing*—as had been the tradition. The King in principle no longer needed the approval of the people or the Church as the royal succession was determined by lineage (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The ancestral principle of *election* now finally had been set aside and the new principle of

hereditary continuation of the crown made the question of royal succession much simpler. Indeed, the old elective system had more than once fomented bloody strife between rivalling factions.

The election of Bishop Eystein (d.1188) in 1161 and the coronation of Magnus Erlingsson (r. 1161-1184) in 1163 marked the beginning of a more formal partnership between the monarchy and the archdiocese (Kirby 1986). A century later, the revised laws of Magnus Håkonsson the Law Mender (r. 1263-1280), *Landsloven* (1274-77), confirmed and strengthened the hereditary monarchy and regulated its relations with the Church, implementing the ideals presented in *Konungs skuggsjá* of c.1250 (The *King's Mirror*). The mirror portrayed the privileges and duties of a Christian king, the *rex justus*, God's worthy representative on earth (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998), and at the same time promoted a strong monarchy (Bagge 1998).²¹

For the members of the Norwegian elite, the French court remained the ideal to copy (Venås 1962). The many civil wars and clan feuds that had marked the 11th and 12th centuries seem to have delayed the early emergence of a national literature, but had led to the Icelandic chroniclers' extensive narration of political and historical events pertaining to events in both Iceland and in Norway.²² Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263), by encouraging the importation of Norman-French court literature, responded to a real need for renewal—a need to keep up with the literary trends of the Continent. Under the influence of the clerics, who for the most part had their intellectual training from the centers of learning on the Continent, the written word had become the medium of choice

21 Such princely mirrors, manuals of good Christian behavior and ideals, would become a familiar didactical tool well into the Renaissance. In 1533, Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) was translated by himself into English (1533) as *The Education of a Christian Prince* (Stillwell 1972), and into Danish by Poul Helgesen in 1534 (Bruun 1877).

22 See Appendix 1: Norse-Icelandic vernacular historical sagas.

for literary creation and knowledge transfer. The influx of European heroic and legendary literature in translation did not, however, completely suppress the traditional heroic and legendary tales which lived on in a parallel oral tradition.

Due to various external causes, the translation activity in Norway never evolved into a genuine national literature (Halvorsen 1959), in contrast to Denmark and Sweden, where the great European intellectual trends influenced both religious life and the development of the national literature (Gravier 1962). In medieval Norway, the lower clergy often received only the basic education required and therefore had a rather superficial understanding of the contemporaneous European culture compared with the students who had been sent to different European *studia* for higher education (Berggrav 1953). In this of course, they did not differ much from their European colleagues (Lusignan 1986). The discrepancy between Norway and the Continent in terms of intellectual capability may be attributed primarily to numbers, to the fact that the more populous nations had the financial means to foster large intellectual centers. The pressing need for missionary work in the North also had the Church channel its activities towards more immediate obligations.

Medieval translators were not merely subservient appendices to authors of original literary works, but significant agents of influence in a process of knowledge transfer by which the distinctiveness of one culture was being channelled into another in accordance with the subjective nature and cognitive baggage of the individual translators. Medieval translators were learned men of their times, with the preferences of their class and the prejudices of their education. Their education was truly universal and highly mobile. Medieval knowledge migrated between the various centers of learning: students as well as teachers moved from *studium* to *studium*. In Norway, most of the translators—primarily clerics and people associated with the Church or the monasteries—had usually been educated abroad or were foreign clerics. The missionary

bishops and monks had been the first to bring with them new ideas, manuscripts and copies of texts representing the main teachings of the Church as well as the fashionable literature read at the various courts around Europe. They also brought with them a tradition of vernacular translation and glossing, notwithstanding the superior status of the Latin. From the 7th century onwards, in England, parts of the Bible had been translated into the vernacular, and towards the end of the 10th century, King Ælfric (c.995-1020) had the historical material of the Old Testament rendered into Old English (Kirby 1986).

The distinct national and not so long ago pagan Norwegian character did not in any way preclude the adoption and assimilation of the literary and cultural ideals that permeated European society of the time, since the intellectual elite were members of a truly international category of scholars. They were, however, all people at the interstice of two very different linguistic and cultural realities: the *space-confined* vernacular culture and the ubiquitous Latin culture of knowledge. In Norway, like elsewhere in medieval Europe, the learned and the *villain* lived side by side. In fact they originated from the same vernacular culture. Consequently, the vernacular and the Latin in many instances accompanied each other to a greater extent than normally acknowledged and the distance between the learned and the unlettered was definitively less marked than what is generally admitted. Born into the popular and vernacular, medieval intellectuals advanced into the prestigious (and exclusive) Latin world of learning, a world where knowledge and the Latin language were intimately linked (Lusignan 1986). In Norway, the Latin culture did not, however, dominate intellectual life or the Church to the same degree as it did on the Continent, as Old Norse society traditionally had been organized according to different class criteria. A mastering of the Latin language and culture remained, nevertheless, the key to knowledge and science. One essential characteristic of medieval scholars and clerics is precisely this mixing of social and cultural levels, the

possible transition from the popular and vernacular to the learned and Latin. Christianity introduced a system in which talented members of the common population could aspire to unprecedented upward social mobility. However, this new upward mobility challenged the static structures of the Church. New scholarly professions and a new way of thinking contributed to the rise of the bourgeoisie and challenged the tripartite division of feudalism (Badel 1969, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988).²³

Throughout the whole missionary period in Western Europe, the Church had needed local people for pastoral duties, clerics who were able to deliver the articles of the faith in the native tongue. The habit of translation had been an essential tool, and was so in the North, too. Born of the inevitable relationship with the vernacular and popular, translation emerged from a long tradition of glossing and oral explanation. Translation had become an integral part of the general medieval effort at comprehending the more obscure aspects of the Christian doctrines, dating back to the early days of the Church Fathers (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988). Translation became an important tool in the Christening of the North as well, and religious material, predominantly Biblical, didactic and devotional material, such as homilies and Psalters were translated during the first centuries of Norwegian Christianity, and preceded the writing of the vernacular sagas as well as the translation of court literature.

The flourishing literary activity in 12th- and 13th-century Norway stands in sharp contrast to the intellectual paralysis of the 14th and 15th century as well as to the timid cultural awakening of the 16th century. The fumbling beginnings of the first generation of Norwegian humanist circles focused on the work of their medieval predecessors, but never managed to acquire their vitality and outward aspiration. The intellectual range,

23 The Goliard movement, represented by amongst others Abélard (1079-1142/43) and later Rutebeuf (c. 1230-c. 1280), is a good example of scholars who challenged the perception of a static world order and especially the privileges of the ruling classes (Le Goff 1985).

too, had been drastically reduced to comprise mainly the enterprise of the nascent historians. The nation's history had to be re-established. The constitution of a self, of a distinct national identity, had to be redefined before other intellectual activities could be undertaken. It has not been established to what extent the Norwegian humanists of the 16th century knew about the vast corpus of medieval court literature and religious and devotional texts in vernacular Old Norse translation. The humanists of the 16th century concentrated on recuperating the historical material. Therefore, the two periods considered in the present survey—the Christian Middle Ages and the 16th century—differed considerably with regard to both scope and intellectual enterprise. The medieval experience became the focus of the humanists, their source of inspiration, their pride and regret.

At the onset of the 16th century, Danish scholars once again led the way, staking out the course for the new Reformed Church, imposing both the revised doctrine and a new academic curriculum on their brothers in the North. The role of translation in the process of conversion to Protestantism in Denmark was substantial, religious treatises were published at a high rate, and the vernacular rapidly gained acceptance as a legitimate tool in the dissemination of the Protestant doctrine. By the 16th century, the practice of translating important theological treatises no longer needed justification or the approval of the Church, and relatively quickly original writing in the vernacular—also in matters pertaining to religion and theology—had become commonplace (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Vellev 1986).

In Denmark, the new religious doctrine was eagerly debated, not entirely without risk as we will see later, and vernacular pamphlets were printed expeditiously. Only a handful of Danish representatives for the Counter-Reformation were heard. In Norway, the new Protestant theology was not debated, at least not publicly, and the clergy, especially the bishops—with the exception of Olav Engelbrektson (c.1480-1538), the

last Archbishop—had been conspicuously inactive considering the pace with which Martin Luther's Protestant doctrine gained ground in northern Europe.²⁴

Many members of the Norwegian clergy stood firmly against the changes, but for various reasons never voiced their opposition in the form of pastoral letters or theological treatises. In practice, the native clergy therefore appeared to neither reject nor accept the Reformation, and very few members of the Catholic clergy resigned. Most of the parish priests remained in their positions, and only three bishops were removed by force, namely those of Hamar, Oslo, and Stavanger. The Archbishop fled to the Netherlands. In Bergen, master Geble, elected by the Chapter to head the diocese but not yet consecrated, was asked to take on the position of Lutheran superintendent. In Oslo, the removed Catholic bishop, Hans Ræff, was reinstalled in 1542 as reformed superintendent. Consequently, the transition from the Catholic to the Reformed faith was implemented with little resistance. However, due to the fact that most of the old clergy remained, the changes to religious life were insignificant. Not until the second half of the century, when a new generation of Lutheran-born and trained clergy held key positions within the school system, did the reformed doctrine really reach the general population (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997, Vellev 1986).²⁵

The intellectual elite in Norway, less aristocratic and consequently less educated than their Danish and other Western European counterparts, operated from within a now impecunious Lutheran Church since most of the Catholic Church's revenue-yielding land properties had been expropriated by the Danish crown. The dioceses still were responsible for organizing and dispensing elementary education and training clergy, like

24 Much of the agitation and apparent confusion in pre-reformation Denmark stemmed from the fact that the country still had a monarchy based on election and not on succession. The principle of nomination of the monarch by the Danish (and Norwegian) National Council was at the root of many royal feuds and disputes, and explains how and why the last Norwegian archbishop, Olav Engelbriktsson (c.1480-1538), could contest the Protestant King Frederik I by refusing to crown him. The natural Chairman of the Norwegian National Council, Archbishop Olav stubbornly avoided any meeting of the National Council at which the most unsuitable King might be acclaimed (Ellingsen 1997).

25 See "The End of Catholicism in Norway" below.

in the Catholic days. The closest university was in Copenhagen and many of the other institutions that had previously received northern students were now forbidden to anyone coveting positions within either Norwegian state administration or the reformed Church (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Ellingsen 1997, Vellev 1986). The humanist clergy of post-Reformation Norway and their struggle to regain some sense of identity must be seen in light of a somewhat controlling Lutheran church and a more restrictive political structure introduced by the Danish authorities. The difficult financial situation of the dioceses aggravated the already stressful situation. Recovering some of the glorious past now seemed more important than belonging to a larger intellectual community. The hesitant search for a national distinctiveness led to an increased interest in and restoration and translation of many of the medieval manuscripts, mainly the saga material, which for some time had circulated from hand to hand.

The preoccupation with the saga material marked the beginning of a new sense of national worth. The motivating force was an emerging awareness of a historical *lacuna*, of discontinuity and rupture. Change by definition *is* the result of rupture. During the Reformation-century, the medieval period and its history, the rupture between old and new, became the principal object of the Norwegian humanists' study, a retrospective and introverted look at the past in search of clues for the future, in search of inspiration for a new beginning. It probably felt both safer and more right to concentrate on the sovereign *self* of a few centuries back, to search for a national identity, than comment on the more controversial topics of the times. The lack of a national printing press further restricted the intellectual efforts of the Norwegian humanists. Their attitude of seeming correctness and self-restraint in matters of political and religious importance stands in opposition to the extensive translation activities in contemporaneous Denmark and other European countries.

The first Norwegian humanist at the Chapter of Bergen returned to the national past and to the vernacular expression. A sense of urgency with respect to the recovery of the

nation's past and to the restoration of the Old Norse language can be perceived. The first half of the 16th century was indeed a period during which a handful of clerics sought the possibility of a new beginning, not by opposing the outcome of external and internal political events—meaning the selection of a new King and the introduction of the Reformed faith—but by trying to ameliorate the practical aspects of the current situation and finding a solution to the growing conflict between the natives and the Danish administrators on the one side and the German merchants who enjoyed special trading privileges and the protection of their powerful organization on the other. Translating the old laws was part of this quest for a solution to societal problems. The encounter with the organization of the Old Norse society led to an interest in the saga material, and eventually engendered a new national conscience. The impetus to this *ad fontes* came mainly from within as a result of pressing local needs, but can also be seen as a consequence of a general interest of European scholars in the past (Bø 1982, Ekrem 1992).

The European Renaissance indeed engendered a series of historians and chroniclers. The first generation of Norwegian humanists also looked to the past, in an effort to reclaim the past. The first translation efforts reconnected two periods of the same vernacular. By their *intra-lingual* vernacular work, the first humanists in Bergen stand out as different from their European contemporaries who predominantly moved between the Latin and the vernacular, but for whom the latter always retained an inferior auxiliary status. Not until the second generation of Norwegian humanists did Latin start dominating the intellectual scene.

Converging on the old cathedral school in Oslo during the second half of the 16th century, the intellectual elite returned to learned Latin expression, to inter-lingual translation, mainly from the Old Norse vernacular into Latin. This, too, was counter to the established order of things in which translation and glossing from the scholarly Latin

to the popular vernacular remained the tendency. What we see, then, is a movement over time from intra-lingual vernacular translation to inter-lingual translation between Latin and the vernacular. However, the subject matter, the Norwegian past, remained the same.

Latin was to dominate the Norwegian intellectual scene from the 16th century onwards, in contrast to other European countries where the national languages gradually gained ground in the field of scholarship. Protestant literature originating in Denmark and Germany had been in focus. As the century drew to a close, the Norwegian humanists once again started turning to other Western countries in search of inspiration and encouragement. A handful of scholars started turning to the work of European vernacular writers of their time, especially authors from the French-speaking territories. In Trondheim, humanists such as Hans Mogensen and Anders Christensen Aarebo turned to inter-vernacular translation and looked for inspiration abroad, in the writings of French authors. The diocese of Trondheim and the humanists associated with its Latin school never acquired the same status and recognition as their colleagues in Bergen and later Oslo, but nevertheless opened the ground for a new type of literature. In particular, the translation of Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* signified that the circle somehow had come to a conclusion. This timid yet important return to contemporary European authors and vernacular literary trends truly marked the beginning of a new era characterized by a greater opposition between religious and scholarly authorship on the one hand and literary creation on the other.

Translation Theory and the History of Translation

[W]e shall hasten to define the vernacular as [the language] which children learn from those around them, when they first begin to distinguish words [...] and] we have another, secondary language [...] called "grammar" [...] Now of these two the nobler is the vernacular, first because it was the first type to be used by the human race; secondly because the whole world employs it [...]and] finally because it is natural to us, while the [grammar] is more an artificial creation.

(Dante Alighieri (1981) *De vulgari eloquentia* [1303-1304], p.15)

Translation studies offers various descriptive, functional and systemic approaches to translated texts by focusing on the role of translations both within a given literature and at the interstice of literatures and cultures. The historical perspective on translation activities offers both an interpretative and an explorative tool to the understanding of the correlation between the translating agent and the material text. History gives access to the discipline, and provides researchers with the intellectual flexibility needed to adapt their thinking to new views about theory, and leads to a greater tolerance of new concepts about translation. Study from a historical viewpoint also allows for a distinction between real progress and simple reformulation (Even-Zohar 1990, Hermans 1985, D'Hulst 1994).²⁶ Historical evaluation may also measure the effect of translation upon the receiving cultures. The historical approach may offer an epistemological foundation upon which to construct an adequate description of the many problems faced by translators (Gutt 1991, Klein 1990). Translators have persistently looked for some sort of rational set of presuppositions upon which to justify their enterprise and the methods employed. History can help us sort out some of these presuppositions (Pym 1998, Delisle 1980).

The history of translation tries to show how different cultures have interacted over time (Pym 1998), in as much as translation can be seen as a bonding process in which

26 "Elle est pratiquement le seul moyen de retrouver l'unité d'une discipline, en montrant les parallèles et les regroupements entre les traditions de pensée et d'activités divergentes, en rapprochant le passé et le présent" (D'Hulst in *Meta* 39:4 [1994]).

the act of translation is perceived not only as a purely interlinguistic performance, but rather as a selective activity carried out in a specific socio-linguistic, psycho-linguistic and pragma-linguistic context, a product of human enterprise and development (Gutt 1991). In view of this perception, translation becomes more than a written text: it is a text born of two separate cultures, the result of complex needs and specialized agents. The translated text becomes a discursive territory between latent and manifest expression, between external and internal realities, not within one conceptual framework, but across conceptual borders and linguistic realities (Lighthall 1988, Pym 1998). Translation activities have always reflected political, economic, and social structures and power relations of which the human translator is an integral part (Gutt 1991). Translators operate at the very intersection of cultures and may in their own right become a point of encounter, the instigator or the producer of text. This is especially true with regard to translators in a medieval context (Pym 1998).

History of translation supplements more traditional histories and histories of literature by focusing on literature, politics, economy and demography at a *crossroads* where different linguistic and literary traditions meet, a specific interactive discursive territory where *space* and not time is the ruling principle (Lotringer 1996). Hence the history of translation aims at reconstructing parts of this inter-literary exchange throughout a given period by assessing the translation activities performed. The emphasis is on the term “*parts*,” because the evaluation of the influence wielded by translations on any particular culture cannot be anything but partial in that it covers only *one* of many aspects of a nation’s evolution and the forces at work in creating cultural identity (Stanford 1987).

Any history is discourse at some level or another, whether oral or recorded, legendary or factual. The history of translation in particular, based solely on written sources, puts into perspective the notion of history as *literary events*, as opposed to that

of history as a *story*, depending not only on written sources, but also on archeology and other sciences giving clues to the past. Historians of translation collect written discourses and to some extent create and formulate their own historical subjects—the discursive events called translations—and determine the interrelation between these events and their origins. The historical events must not only be recorded, they must also be explained and arranged, so as to make room for the historians’ reconstruction of specific aspects of the past (Stanford 1987). The absence of recorded discursive events does not mean that they have not existed, only that the discursive events were not collected, and consequently that they have been replaced by new events, absorbed and transformed over the course of time (Lotringer 1996). History of translation can be understood in light of Foucault’s theory of discontinuity according to which history results from a complex system of superposed *layers* of discursive events.²⁷ These layers are not all synchronous: they represent a series of more or less overlapping discontinuities in which translation is only one of the forces. Discontinuity means rupture, a change of direction, an adjustment of perception, a new start in an almost Freudian understanding of human existence as perpetual recommencement. Progress can only be achieved through rupture. The notion of disruptive progression and not that of a continuum dominates Foucauldian theory (Foucault 1971, Lotringer 1996). Nevertheless, we normally have a perception of continuity, of steady advancement, of human progress,²⁸ stemming from the fact that new knowledge and theory invariably grows out of the old, whether it builds on it or breaks with it (Brown 1979).

27 Foucault’s perception of knowledge is based on change and mutability. The relationship between knowledge and the expression of knowledge is the focus of Foucault’s work. He was inspired by Bergson (1859-1941) who studied aphasia, a condition in which the expression of thought is impossible but not the thought itself: a condition characterized by an almost complete dissociation between thought and discursive expression (Merchior 1991, Foucault 1971).

28 The prevalent notion of “l’humanité en marche” is particularly present in the writings of the French Romantics, for instance in the *Histoire de France* by Jules Michelet and *La légende des siècles* by Victor Hugo (Brunel 1872).

Thus history signifies the existence of multiple—but not always concordant or simultaneous—discursive realities, in which there exists a potential conflict between the expressions of implicit and explicit, external or internal realities. Little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations (Pym 1998): history is always cumulative and progressive in the same way as knowledge and learning (Brown 1979), although new definitions of progress tend to diminish the temporal dimension in favor of the spatial arrangement.²⁹ However, time is a highly real thing, and *timing* and geography have traditionally played a role in the transmission and dissemination of ideas (Stanford 1987). This holds true also for the history of translation.

Our perception of history depends on what has been preserved for posterity to study, on the past organization and construction of discursive events, as well as on our own intellectual baggage and interpretation of the extant material. Our dependence upon previous collection to some extent precludes the ideal of scientific objective knowledge, in as much as objectivity relies on a presumption of passivity and non-interference, in short on perfect unbiased conditions of preservation. However, we know that such conditions are non-existent, and that the process of collection and arrangement of historical discursive events inexorably has been both active and subjective. The relation between the human historians and their object of study is marked by the opposition between the objective physical material (the texts on paper for instance) and the subjectivity of human action. Because of the inherent subjectivity of the researcher, science cannot produce final truth (Brown 1979, Toulmin 1982). However, the imperfection of the collection methods and the subsequent rate of preservation, and the

29 The spatial arrangement of knowledge and the distribution of its discourses are central themes in Foucault's notion of the "archeology" of knowledge in which the spatial dimension dominates and incorporates the temporal. The historian maps out a discursive territory, a field where discourses emerge, remain and disappear. The focus is on the practical conditions behind the very existence of discourse, the internal and external dimensions of discourse (Lotringer 1996).

ensuing admission that absolute objectivity is impossible, should not make us refrain from seeking new knowledge, or systemizing our knowledge.³⁰

The history of translation places not only the translator, but also the historian of translation at the interstice of two cultures where knowledge and information move across and between disciplines. Whereas disciplinary research largely stays within the boundaries of pre-established rules, the inter-disciplinarian moves outwards from the starting point in search of «natural alliances» and correlations (Klein 1990).³¹ Translated texts express the *willed* transposition of a certain textual reality of a specific culture onto a receiving textual reality and culture. A trans-discursive practice, it links two dissimilar textual and discursive realities which the historian of translation must take account of and put into perspective (Bassnett-McGuire 1980).

For the translation historian the emphasis is on the external political, economic, or ideological events in as much as they are the expressions of textual events from which the translations are born. The historical approach to translation aims at uncovering the *impetus* behind the evolution of a specific literary and cultural discourse and is highly complementary to the traditional amalgamation of historical, political, literary and linguistic research.

By translating and commenting on a wide range of authoritative texts, the medieval intermediaries not only conveyed the discourses of others, they also in turn became originators of new discourses (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985). The medieval translators enjoyed considerable freedom in their practice: recreations, adaptations, summaries, and

30 In view of the incommensurability of knowledge, objectivity as a scientific ideal needs to be redefined (Gholson & Baker 1985, p. 756).

31 Pym believes that the chances of translation studies becoming part of something larger called intercultural studies is growing and he advocates more freedom from institutions and believes that translation studies could benefit from having no institutionalized academic structure at all (Pym 1998). This view is echoed by Klein, who argues that individual disciplines in many instances become irrelevant, subordinate, or instrumental to the larger framework of activities and paradigms in a holistic scheme (Klein 1990).

transliterations of foreign literature, both classical and contemporaneous, both religious and secular, were produced in Europe throughout the centuries (Le Goff 1985). These translated texts served as prime conveyors of new ideas, literary styles and genres, often taking the place of and obscuring the originals which were written in a language no longer mastered by the reading audience. This was certainly the case with the Latin version of the Bible, which had replaced the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament texts. Later, various *glossaria* frequently were substituted for the Latin Bible as source texts, in particular the works of Anselm of Laon (d.1117) and Peter Lombard (c.1100-1160/64) (Minnis 1988, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

The contribution of translators and their by nature *inclusive* activity lies in the fact that translators made *exclusive* knowledge available to a larger circle of otherwise excluded readership. In dealing with medieval translators of both secular and religious texts, it is important to remember that for medieval scholars, the human author always remained subservient to the *auctoritas* of the text, especially when dealing with material of divine origin. Medieval textual meaning was highly pluralistic in nature. Medieval meanings tended to be *multiple*, however not random or unpredictable (Minnis 1988). This plurality of meanings gave scholars some intellectual autonomy in their search for the universal truth hidden deep down in the authoritative texts as a reflection of the divine order of things; however, the boundaries of heresy were not to be overstepped (Le Goff 1985). The many possible textual meanings were repeatedly analyzed, classified and ordered in quest for the *universal*, not the particular; the *typical*, not the individual; the *allegorical* rather than the literal (Minnis 1988).

The actions of individual humans—the subjective agents—have always determined to what texts were selected for translation (Pym 1998). *Translatio* means “carrying across” and assumes some degree of wholeness as regards the object moved. However, in the process of transference, we know that no communication, whether intralingual or

interlingual, can occur without some loss of information, either by design or by accident (Nida 1976). In medieval Norway, despite the medieval ideal of sacred literalness (Pym 1998), translated texts were to a large degree adapted to the particular mentality of the Norse audience. Translation in many cases meant manipulation (Hermans 1985). Adaptation became vital to acceptance, and relevance outweighed literalness (Gutt 1991), illustrating and confirming the theory that any idea or statement in a given language indeed can be translated into another language unless the form itself is integral part of the message. Or in the words of Roman Jakobson: "Languages differ essentially by what they must convey and not by what they may convey (Jakobson in Brower 1966, p.236)."

Translators at the medieval royal Norwegian court had to take into consideration the traditional literary expression of the Norse language when adapting their material for the native audience. The literature imported derived from an already established written tradition with precise rules and conventions, meaning that the translators had to compensate for the cultural difference. The traditional Old Norse literary expression had been oral and dramatic rather than epic before the introduction of Christianity and its book-based culture. The concise form of the Skaldic and Eddaic genres had been born of and reflected the Old Norse mentality. However, once Christianity had been adopted and literature became a *written* exercise, the need for change became manifest. The Skaldic poetry was still performed at the court and at major meetings for some time, as of old. But, the vernacular written saga prose took over as the preferred literary form and was adapted to accommodate the foreign material, no matter what the initial genre had been. The secular court literature imported from the French territories, for instance, was composed in epic verse, and the translators faced a considerable task of adaptation.

The degree of faithfulness to the original text varied; however, when it came to the secular vernacular material, the Norse translator probably did not feel the same obligation to the rules of truthful and literal translation as he would have when he

worked on sacred material. Consequently, upon meeting with religious and devotional material in contemporaneous European writing, the Norse literary tradition, by borrowing stylistic features and adopting new words and concepts from the foreign material, developed its own style, and acquired its own voice. Over the centuries, the imported literature influenced the native vernacular in both its oral and written expression, evolving from the concise Skaldic genre of the pagan times to the learned style of the court literature of the 13th century.

Periodization and Corpus

Outlining the history of translation in Norway, the problem of limiting the corpus along a time axis became evident. Where should the periodic limits be established, and according to what criteria? The question of literary and historical periodization poses certain problems in the North, as the literary trends did not coincide, at least not as a concerted phenomenon, with the established European literary periods that we have become familiar with. This is particularly true with regard to the Norwegian medieval period.

There is a common consensus in regarding the pre-Christian centuries as the Viking Age (c. 800-c. 1070) and the time after Christianization as the Middle Ages. The Norwegian Middle Ages will therefore not be divided into smaller units (high, middle, and low) as is common when referring to the European Middle Ages. The Viking Era was over by 1070 when the last incursion took place. The same year King Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093) founded the town of Bergen, which was to become a great center for the transmission of European literature and culture in the 13th century (Danielsen et. al. 1992). By the time of the Nordic conversion, the countries with which Norway had the closest ties—in particular England and France—already had a number of flourishing urban communities with renowned centers of learning and knowledge. The first Norwegian clergy came from England and were influenced by the intellectual trends there. Later, Norwegian priests also studied at the University of Paris or at the monastery of Saint Victor. The emergence of the universities in the 12th century, especially those of Paris and Oxford, were to contribute substantially to an increased opposition between the predominantly *rural* monastic orders and a new class of *urban* university scholars (Le Goff 1985). This division of the ecclesiastical orders along new intellectual lines did not to a great extent mark the Norwegian scene.

The introduction of the Christian faith in the 11th century marked Norway's entry into the European medieval community. With its long tradition of professional scholars and the written book Christianity changed the Norse vernacular literary expression from a predominantly oral exercise to a written discipline. In the old society, oral poetry performed by a professional skald had dominated as the literary expression, not a unusual phenomenon in oral societies, in comparison with the common prose of the written European literature at the time (Bagge 1998). Traditional Skaldic poetry performed at important assemblies and celebrations slowly faded into oblivion as the book entered the cultural scene and introduced other forms of literary expression, especially the chivalric and heroic tales of the French tradition (Halvorsen 1959).

In Norway, the general literacy rate was considerably inferior to more central European countries throughout the Middle Ages; however, it increased towards the end of the period. The runic tradition had consisted mainly of short texts on wooden or stone slates. Knowledge and learning was primarily an oral exercise based on memorization and apprenticeship. Books were not part of the Norse pagan culture (Bagge 1998).

The relatively late introduction of Christianity and the Latin book culture in the North explains the cultural difference between refined medieval urban culture on the Continent and rural Norwegian society. The importation and appropriation of novel ideas and new doctrines became somewhat asymmetrical, because intellectual thought was dependent upon an urban environment to survive and develop. And Norway remained a rural society for centuries. Only in the beginning of the 19th century did the North catch up with the rest of Europe, although the Romantic Movement in its Norwegian expression again was largely *introverted* and nostalgic, not *extraverted* and innovative like its European counterpart. The steadfast quest for and preservation of a distinct

national identity had never been relinquished and the near-obsession with the national self marks most of the literary and political discourse of the 19th century.³²

The question that arises is whether the 16th century Norwegian humanist movement part of European humanism and Renaissance, or whether the Northern literary production was an altogether different phenomenon built on other premisses? Certainly, the structure of Norwegian society and the living conditions of ordinary people in a predominantly rural nation remained practically unaltered well into the 19th century. The social gap between the learned and the “ignorant” widened as education and schools were available only for the few who could afford to travel abroad. The country completely lacked institutions of higher learning until the establishment of the first Norwegian university in 1819, after the country had passed under Swedish domination following the Napoleonic Wars. Copenhagen had been the undisputed educational hub of Denmark-Norway. In Norway, the contrast between towns and the countryside became more marked, and the social difference was emphasized by the different vernaculars used by the learned and the ordinary people. Danish was the language of the administration. The elite—many of whom were of Danish stock, imported at the time of the Reformation—spoke a derivation of the Danish language, whereas the population at large spoke local Norwegian dialects.

Norway differed radically from Denmark, where scholars indeed followed the European literary trends and participated in the discussions of the day. The impoverished reformed Norwegian clergy had much less opportunity to participate, on a political as well as on a cultural level. The humanists in Bergen and Oslo were

32 In southern Europe, the medieval period was over by the early 14th century; however, in parts of Eastern Europe, and in the remoter parts of rural Scandinavia, the Middle Ages lasted well into the 19th century (Larrington 1995). Industrialization modernized European society. In Norway, there was little industrial development indeed, and the mining activity which started in the 17th century was located in remote areas and did only marginally contribute to the development of urban communities.

predominantly at the receiving end of the European scene, basically through their close connections with Danish scholars and through channels in the Danish civil administration. As a consequence, the focus of the Norwegian scholars remained on the local and the national, and inevitably the local and national past. However, the working conditions, the relative isolation and poverty of the new reformed clergy in conjunction with a general lack of printing possibilities locally restricted the scope and dissemination of the work of the Norwegian humanists.

For the historian of translation, the abundance as well as the rarity of material for a possible and appropriate corpus does at times present a real problem. Rarity facilitates the selection, but is the corpus truly representative when the source material is scant? The selection of texts chosen by historians may indeed include material containing bias and distortion. Many old manuscripts have not survived, and the extant material is not always readily available. In most instances the historian will be dependent upon the selections made by others or simply upon the texts that are available (Pym 1998). The corpus will invariably be flawed by *lacunae* of greater or less importance, and the reality is that we often are obliged to work with fragmentary samples and arrive at deductive and approximate interpretations of their impact and influence (Stanford 1987). This is certainly true for the material covering the two periods discussed in this dissertation.

In the humanities—a field based solely on the study of texts—every written source is the physical product of the efforts of particular people for specific purposes (Pym 1998). Historians of translation and cultural transfer will inevitably have to construct models of the whole from a few given parts and may sometimes be tempted, therefore, to act as if the information available is always satisfactory and conveys both immediate and adequate value. This, of course, is not always true. Historians of translation can at best be seen as readers of indices, as investigators of inventories of information that has to be sifted through, evaluated and organized. Some of the information must perhaps be

discarded and the process of exclusion takes on as much importance as the process of selection or inclusion. The corpus must be manageable (Pym 1998).³³

In many instances, the historian of translation will use already existing lists to extract a satisfactory corpus. An important part of the work consists of either reducing available lists—i.e. existing bibliographies or catalogues—in order to arrive at a smaller, more malleable corpus (the reductive method), or looking for a possible corpus, starting with a smaller selection of texts and working “outwards” (the incremental method). In establishing the research material it is essential to be aware of the difference between *catalogues* and *corpora*. Generally speaking, catalogues strive towards maximum completeness. They are all-inclusive, whereas corpora are both exclusive and selective, lists of texts drawn up according to specific criteria (Pym 1998).

Historians of translation must take account of the complexity of both historical and literary events—physical and discursive—and not be tempted to consider translated texts in isolation (D’Hulst 1995). Little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations. Consequently, the transition from *catalogue* to *corpus* involves the constitution of a body of texts upon which the research can be performed. In establishing his corpus, the historian is affirmed as a writing subject—who through his or her work not only can shed light on new aspects of a nation’s history, but also in some ways model it (Pym 1998).

In Norway, translation in the Middle Ages has been the subject of very specialized and intermittent scholarly consideration. Medieval Norwegian and Icelandic literature has been extensively examined in light of specific linguistic and literary factors, and the main emphasis has typically been on the various philological aspects of the texts. The Old Norse translations have lived an almost *ad hoc* existence and have rarely been put into an

33 The recurring problem of corpus and the survival of source texts have been amply discussed by a number of scholars and are therefore not part of my study. Only parts of older Norwegian literature are currently available in manuscript or printed form and many documents have been lost.

overall European perspective as the expression of interlingual and intercultural exchange. The work of the Old Norse translators has primarily been regarded as individual efforts. This may be explained by the fact that, to a great extent, Old Norse translators have remained anonymous. Little is known of their life and work, only the texts, more or less complete, more or less faithfully copied, have survived. However, the anonymity of the Old Norse translators does not lessen their importance as intercultural transmitters of ideas, as agents of renewal and influence at the junction of different cultures. The diversity of textual genres translated from French and Latin during the Norwegian Middle Ages is in itself ample evidence of the wide scope of the enterprise and clearly illustrates what the priorities of the translators were. The medieval translators indeed were part of a greater mission, supported and encouraged by the Church, especially in the early Christian period, importing not merely stories but entirely new literary ideals based on new social models. The concerted efforts of the first translators of the 12th and 13th centuries, and the very scope of their enterprise, stand in sharp contrast to the timid relaunching of intellectual activity in the 16th century, after nearly two centuries of virtually no literary production, be it original work or translation. The two periods are very different, yet they share some features, especially the interest in the nation's history and in the lives of the ancestors. The link between the medieval period and the Reformation century is primarily textual. The historical medieval texts became the source texts used by the Norwegian humanists in their efforts to recover their identity as a nation and as a people.

With the exception of *Strengleikar*—found in the De La Gardie Codex from the 13th century—the majority of the surviving medieval Old Norse texts have survived in later Icelandic copies, largely dating from the 15th century.³⁴ The majority of the manuscripts and their handcopies are preserved at the Arnamagnæan Institute in

34 The extant manuscript of *Strengleikar* dates from c. 1270, but derives from an earlier version from before 1250 (Cook & Tveitane 1979, Venås 1962).

Copenhagen, or in Icelandic and Norwegian State archives. The accuracy of the transcriptions of the old extant manuscripts in Old Norse is uncertain, and has been subject to controversy amongst scholars. Over the centuries, the texts have been subject to modifications, “corrections,” contractions, and augmentations, which makes the question of accurate datation difficult. The problem of exact datation is however not the focus of the present thesis, which rather aims at placing the translated texts at the interstice of cultures as the written evidence of cultural exchange.

The corpus established aims at being representative, not exhaustive. The list of translations includes the more important texts and illustrates the preoccupations of the intellectual elites in medieval times, and also exemplifies the difference of focus between the two periods considered. The bibliography for the corpus contains translations, the main sources as well as reference works used by the translators. Because most of the translators remain anonymous, the Medieval Section has been organized according to translated material. The Reformation-Century Section focuses more on the translators and what we know about them helps elucidate their work.

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Part II:
Translation in the Norwegian Middle Ages

Scholasticism and the Notion of *Translatio Studii*

We are dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants. Therefore we see farther than they do, not because our eyes are sharper or we are bigger, but because their exceptional greatness carries and lifts us up.

(Bernard of Chartres in Le Goff 1985, p. 16. My translation)

The soul consists of a rational and an irrational part. The irrational part is the inferior part and exists only in light of the rational part. Intelligence is found in the rational part, and its manifestation leads to the conclusion that everything exists in light of intelligence [...] One must not shun philosophy, if it is true that philosophy is, as we believe, the acquisition and application of knowledge, and that knowledge is considered the greatest treasure of all.

(Aristotle (2000) p. 18 and 27. My translation)

Traditionally, the work of translators has been relegated to the peripheries of the greater cultural transformations and their literary manifestations, regarded as a supplementary linguistic exercise of mainly secondary consequence. Translators have systematically been excluded from the histories of most national literatures to which they abundantly contributed as disseminators of knowledge throughout the centuries (Bassnett-McGuire 1980). They have generally been missing from the discourse of literary history.

However, the increasingly *speculative* nature of medieval scholarship, especially that of the 12th and 13th centuries, suggests that medieval translators were much more than merely the servants of the original *auctores* and the disseminators of their *auctoritates*. The medieval translators were indeed individuals capable of initiating not only new discourses but also new discursive practices. The many vulgarizers, compilers, encyclopedists and commentators of the *auctores*—such as Honorius of Autun and Vincent of Beauvais—were crucial not only for the dissemination of ideas and the

confirmation of the Christian doctrine, but also for the invention of new ideas (Minnis 1988).³⁵

The degree to which the Old Norse translators followed the intellectual activity in Central and Western Europe can to a certain extent be discerned from the choice of texts for translation, although in Norway, as a general rule, the more controversial texts were not imported. Norwegian scholars and Church officials seem to have considered the need for further Christianizing and strengthening of the faith more imperative than participation in the intellectual debates of the day. Nevertheless, the intellectual work undertaken at the various universities and intellectual monastic centers inevitably affected the translators and consequently the translation performed in Norway.

The urban development of the 12th century gave rise to a new type of scholar based on the separation of intellectual and manual work, which in the early centuries of the Middle Ages had run parallel within the monastic system. The break with the tradition of *ora et labora* and the emergence of the university scholar led to a different organization of secular life based on a social distinction between rural and urban communities. The traditionally introverted and rural monastic educational institutions got severe competition from the more independent and urban universities, which grew out of and shared much of the secular town's vitality and aspirations. The opposition between the two intellectual movements—the outwardly directed rationalism of the university clerics and the introverted mysticism of the more rural monastic orders—was at the root of many disputes between scholars from the two opposing traditions (Le Goff

35 Some scholars feel that the terms "scholastic and scholasticism" should be given to all the Schoolmen or professional philosophers and teachers of the entire Christian medieval period (i.e. c.500-1500) and especially from the time that the Church gained control over the teaching under the rule of Charlemagne (742-814). However, it is generally accepted to term scholastic the academic activity of the Schoolmen associated with the emerging European universities of the 12th to the 14th century (Le Goff 1985).

1985).³⁶ The universities recruited students mainly from the urban classes, as the new institutions for higher learning offered, for the first time, a genuine possibility of social ascension.

The intellectuals of the 12th and 13th centuries were indeed *urban* scholars, not automatically destined for life and service in the Church. The clerics at the medieval universities considered themselves not only masters of knowledge but *merchants* of words, gaining their livelihood performing their profession. The university teachers were employed and remunerated by the university or paid directly by the students. Indeed, the first universities were organized *corporations* of teachers and students, unions of masters and apprentices (Le Goff 1985, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). The organization of the Schoolmen at the universities in guild-like associations widened the gap between the secular and ecclesiastical orders, between the rational and the mystic, and between philosophy and revelation, although the intention was probably the reconciliation of the two. The Schoolmen became *paid* intellectual *workers*, not servants of the Church, earning a living from their intellectual activity only, not prebends and privileges (Le Goff 1985).

The new medieval intellectuals were in essence ambulant merchants of knowledge with an increased *secular* vocation, and as such considered themselves skilled intellectual

36 It is important to remember that the 12th century was a time of religious renewal and reform, as already stated. Many of the larger monastic orders were established (Dominicans and Franciscans for instance), and the Church started thinking of Man as an individual and not merely as a representative of a collective whole. The sacrament of confession grew out of the perceived necessity for a more personal relation with the divinity and consequently an increased need for individual guidance. The victorious and distant Christ, King of the heavens, was replaced by a figure less removed from the everyday sufferings of humanity. Religious devotion became more emotional, less rigid. Hence the first medieval reform movement addressed the individual and put the Passion of Christ in focus. The spontaneous use of the vernacular in sermons grew to some extent out of this new compassion for and interest in the individual (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986), a tendency that was reflected in the emerging heretic movements. The adoration of the almost human Christ paved the way for the cult of the Holy Virgin, the human Mother of God (Borst 1974). The Gregorian reform in the 11th century initiated a series of smaller reforms (adopted by four Lateran Councils) aimed at reorganizing the educational system and at redefining the doctrine taught. The slogans were *libertas Ecclesiae* and *puritas Ecclesiae* (liberty and purity of the church). Abélard argued against the mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and tried to bring theology down to the level of philosophy in a rational system in which language and reality are seen as two aspects of the same *logica ingredientibus* (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).

urban *craftsmen*. As craftsmen their work was organized and remunerated differently than the ecclesiastical intellectuals of the past. When Rutebeuf (c.1230-c.1280) claimed that he was not a manual worker,³⁷ he did not deny his craftsmanship, he only made a distinction between the manual and the intellectual worker. In fact, he seems to have taken pride in his superior *métier*.³⁸ The works of Peter Lombard (c.1100-1160/4) and Peter Comestor (d. c. 1178) were decisive in bringing about a permanent change of direction. Peter Lombard transformed the Bible into a scientific corpus, and his *Quatuor libri sententiarum* became the basic manual in the theology faculties for the next centuries. Comestor's *Historia scholastica* from c.1164 represented the new intellectual ideals. Through these books a larger readership now had the possibility to access what their studies had brought forth (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Chavy 1988b).³⁹

The medieval organization and ordering of knowledge was primarily based on the notion of *resemblance* and *repetition of form* in a system where the required textual form took precedence over the content. Things and beings were able to interact and communicate only because they resembled each other, and each resemblance had value only from the accumulated value of other things that resembled it. The medieval knowledge system then represented a closed system of *recurring similitudes*, in theory precluding the discovery of new things or systems of thought (Foucault 1970), nourishing constancy and stability. Nevertheless, the Scholastics' constant preoccupation with exegetical structure and rules,

37 "Je ne suis ouvrier des mains" (Le Goff 1985, p. 116)

38 In the same way, Pierre Abélard (1079-1142)—who, brutalized, castrated, and dishonored, found himself incapable of manual work—reverted to the *métier* of which he was the true master: the university professor, the producer and vendor of thoughts and words (Le Goff 1985). Schoolmen like Bernard of Chartres (d.c.1126) and Pierre Abélard were the first of a generation of scholars open to and interested in the newly rediscovered and re-translated texts of the ancient Greek and Arab authors (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Chavy 1988b).

39 *Historia scholastica* became a sourcebook for Norwegian writers of biblical and theological material, too. The Old Norse Maccabees text produced by Brandr Jónsson (d.1264)—in addition to its other sources—uses material from Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (Wolf 1995, Kirby 1986).

continual rumination over the same classical and dogmatic texts, constant obsession with classification and order, inevitably led to a modification of the relationship between the rational and the spiritual, science and religion, as well as the “ignorant” and the learned. It led, in short, to new knowledge and understanding. Within a scholastic learned context, translation was an intellectual exercise closely related to the exegetical work of medieval scholars. It was predominantly a *repetitive* activity, a trans-lingual re-examination of the *same* (Le Goff 1985, Minnis 1988). And yet, it meant *motion* rather than stagnation, sharing, not excluding; translation was an exercise in which the *self* met the *other*.

The study of the classical authors and the continual examination of their language led to a gradual acceptance of the notion of vernacular knowledge and mobility as opposed to the traditional and more monastic notion of Latin knowledge and stability. The rediscovery of the classical languages as *vernacular* languages was indeed significant for a new understanding of the ancient *auctoritates* and the emergence of the idea of *translatio studii* as knowledge transfer not between sacred languages, but between vernaculars. Along with it came a growing sense of history and knowledge as something *dynamic* and consequently the accumulation of knowledge as evolution and progress. This new dynamic notion of knowledge was diametrically opposed to the Church’s static perception of history and learning, and marked the first factual separation of knowledge and language (Lusignan 1986, Le Goff 1985).⁴⁰

The acknowledgement that many of the ancient *auctores* had indeed been vernacular authors, and that their works had been translated into other contemporaneous vernaculars,

40 The rediscovery of the Classical authors in the late Middle Ages and the constant revision of and exegetical work on the authoritative texts as compared to the Sacred Page only helped further the nascent perception of the world as part of a dynamic system. The first medieval translation efforts typically aimed at correcting the work of the predecessors, at commenting on their work, at examining and explaining the differences between classical and scholastic Latin. The attention to detail was of particular importance. The essentially repetitive and introspective work of glossators and scholastic commentators, although initially an attempt to strengthen the static and divine, eventually led to new discoveries, individual interpretations and questioning on an unprecedented scale (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).

marked the beginning of a new status for the medieval national languages. The embryonic apprehension of the process of *translatio studii*—to which the wandering scholars greatly contributed—as the transference of knowledge between geographical and linguistic regions as well as different historical periods were instrumental to the liberation and development of the vernacular (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967).⁴¹ The increasing awareness of the former vernacular status of Latin and the historic passage of the Greek letter into the Latin vernacular was at the basis of the first great mutation or proto-renaissance of the 12th century. The idea of transference had already been suggested by Hugh of Saint Victor and Bernard of Chartres (d. c. 1126), and had been adopted by Chrétien de Troyes (active c. 1164-1190) and further elaborated by Nicole d'Oresme (c.1320/5-1382) (Lusignan 1986). The notion of *translatio studii* took into account a conscious transition from secular to sacred in ancient times (Minnis 1988).⁴²

41 Medieval scholars were almost exclusively born into the vernacular language, a fact reflected in the different regional coloring of the Latin. As a result of its uncontested status as the superior language in the fields of education, religion, and culture, medieval Latin can be characterized as an semi-living language (Lusignan 1986). The wandering scholars and students had indeed been physically instrumental to a *translatio studii* long before Bernard of Chartres (d. c. 1126) developed the idea of intellectual heritage (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967). Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303-1304)—the medieval work that best analyzes the relations between the vernacular and Latin (Lusignan 1986)—is aware of the vernacular nature of the mother tongue of the first man, Adam, and develops a theory of linguistic evolution in order to explain the existence of the various vernaculars. Dante believed, like many of his contemporaries, that all the vernaculars in the world derived from the one given to the first man at the moment of his creation, the man who “knew neither mother nor milk, who saw neither childhood nor adolescence” (Dante 1981, p. 20). He continues to claim that “since man is a most unstable and changeable animal, his language cannot be lasting or constant, but must vary according to times and places as do other human things such as manners and customs” (Dante 1981, p. 24). In his search for vernacular eloquence, Dante was certainly ahead of most scholastics. However, his contemporaries and successors seem to have paid little attention to his defence of the vernacular as a poetic and literary expression, and *De vulgari eloquentia* was not printed until 1577 (Dante 1981).

42 The school at Chartres formed the pioneers, amongst others John of Salisbury (c.1110-1180), friend of Abélard, and Bernard of Chartres himself, so instrumental to the promotion of the study of the ancient auctoritates. The intellectuals went ad fontes, to the writings of not only the Church Fathers, but also of the non-Christian philosophers of Antiquity who were supposed to express some degree of auctoritas. The universitarians of the 12th and 13th centuries considered themselves the inheritors of the wisdom of their intellectual ancestors. In order to understand and evolve, they needed to build on the learning and science of the Ancients. The 12th century scholars were rationalists trying to reconcile the wisdom of the pagan authors of Antiquity and the doctrine of the Christian faith. Faith and reason should go hand in hand, and the cumulative nature of knowledge from now on included the masters of the past (Le Goff 1985). In his statement, Bernard implicitly recognized the importance and the wisdom of the Ancients and consequently the justification of the translation and study of their texts (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1957).

The motive for translation during the Middle Ages was initially predominantly didactical, in the French-speaking territories (Lusignan 1986) as it was in Norway, too (Kalinke 1981, Kirby 1986, Barnes 1987). Translation exercises in many instances were integrated in the teaching process and grew out of a need for glossing and explanation in the vernacular. Glossing, commentary and teaching were closely linked (Minnis 1988). Both teachers and students translated passages of the Latin authorities in order to acquire better Latin skills as well as to acquire greater understanding of the *auctoritas* (Lusignan 1986). The vernacular commentaries implicitly gave translators and scholars an autonomous voice (Minnis 1988), and the energy put into the Latin and vernacular glossing and commenting of the authoritative texts reveals a genuine yearning for understanding and (self)-enlightenment. Translation, copying, glossing, and study were in the beginning different ways of achieving the same goal, namely learning. Translation in particular was an effective way to acquire academic knowledge and skills. During the Middle Ages a specialized vocabulary applicable to the study of the Classics developed and became standardized. The intellectuals' persistent probing into the meaning and significance of the written word eventually paved the way for new interpretations, new discourses, and eventually a new order of things (Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988, Lawson 1967).⁴³

The driving force behind the scholastic effort was the conviction that reason could be used to elucidate and defend spiritual truth and the dogmas of faith. The Scholastic rationalism was profoundly opposed to mysticism, which emphasized intuition and

43 Scholasticism was in essence a system of interpretation applicable to the Scriptures as well as to philosophy (and eventually to secular literature). The Scholastics were systematic thinkers who worked hard to classify and organize knowledge and wisdom. The categories of Aristotle (384-322 BC) were important tools in the work of the exegetes, as evidenced by the many medieval commentaries to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, an introduction to and explanation of Aristotelian logic (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Marius Victorinus, Roman rhetorician and grammarian and a man of great learning and knowledge of the philosophers according to Saint Augustine (Augustine 1961, p. 159), had been one of the first to translate Porphyry's *Isagoge* from Greek into Latin in the 4th century. His translation started a series of Latin translations of Aristotle's work, amongst others *Categoria decem* and *Principia Dialectica*. Boethius, too, translated the *Isagoge* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Aristotle profoundly marked Scholastic thinking (Grane & Hørby 1993).

contemplation. Although ridiculed by its descendants, and especially by the humanist scholars, scholasticism as it was developed by the scholars of the first universities can be seen as the first real intellectual opposition to the authority of the Church (Wippel et.al.1969), a first attempt to introduce “objective” experience and observation into the sphere of philosophy and science (Le Goff 1985).

However, the time was not yet ripe for intellectual freedom and independent scientific knowledge. Challenging the Christian doctrine and the authority of the Church remained a dangerous undertaking. The scholastic system of thought as it developed presupposed a hierarchy, not only of texts and words, but also of languages and discourses, and scholarly activity remained highly regulated by the Church. For many centuries to come, Latin would remain the natural superior language because it was believed to hold the keys to divine revelation. For generations of scholars, the pathway to knowledge lay in the secrets of the Latin grammar. The Scholastics believed in the existence of a universal grammar applicable to all languages. Indeed, the grammarians tried to *explain* the vernacular languages in light of the grammar (Lusignan 1986). Scholasticism had its roots in the initial *speculation* of the Church Fathers and particularly that of Saint Augustine (354-430) (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The study of grammar and philosophy were therefore inextricably linked (Lawson 1967), and the prescriptive and normative works of the first grammarians developed into the speculative grammar of the 12th and 13th centuries (Lusignan 1986).⁴⁴

44 The study of grammar thus moved from the initial explanation of the *auctores* (Minnis 1988) to the speculative grammar of the 13th century to which Martinus of Dacia's *De modis significandi* (c.1270); and Roger Bacon's (c.1214-c.1292) *Summa grammatica* (c.1245), the first essay on speculative grammar, contributed (Favier 1999, Brandt 1882, Grane & Hørby 1993), and of which William of Conches (1080-c.1153/4) and Peter Helias (act.1135-1166) were to become the supreme masters. Grammar by now had become a *scientia* and the grammarian a professional philosopher (Favier 1999, Lusignan 1986). Speculative grammar did not apply to any specific language, but rather tended to prove the possibility of a universal grammar applicable to all languages. The Latin language now had become a science based essentially on the study of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (Lusignan 1986).

The medieval notion of *speculum* accentuated the belief that language (meaning Latin) was *reflective* of both the spiritual and the moral reality underlying the physical world. Grammatical research consisted of “speculation” and the medieval grammarians became philosophers looking for some universal key to the mysteries and divine origins of existence itself (*Britannica* 2000, Favier 1999). The scholars did not seek to understand the individual thought of each authoritative writer, but rather to understand the inherent, universal, and *true* knowledge that was supposed to be contained therein (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).⁴⁵

45 The rationalism of Roger Bacon (c.1214-1292) and Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253) contested this universal approach, claiming that science should only rely on experience, and that without experience and observation there could be no satisfactory knowledge (Le Goff 1985). This was in harmony with the conviction of Isidore (c.560-636) who believed that the interpretation of Scripture must be based on rational logic (Minnis 1985). Due to the assiduous work of the universitarians and their quest for reason, the status of the grammar study gradually diminished during the Renaissance as humanist scholars increasingly started looking upon it as a preparatory study. Latin grammar became a tool to further knowledge, not a source of knowledge in itself (Grendler 1989).

Schools, Education and Audience in Medieval Norway

Let those men teach boys who can do nothing greater, whose qualities are a plodding diligence, a rather dull mind, a muddled intellect, ordinary talent ...Neither grammar nor any of the seven liberal arts deserve the entire lifetime of a noble talent. I (...) pity those who waste nearly all their lives in public schools.

(Petrarch in *Rerum familiarium* (1352), cited in Grendler 1989, p. 3)

I believe without a doubt that not merely probable but necessary arguments can be found to explain anything which exists, although they may at times remain hidden despite our efforts to reveal them.

(Richard of Saint Victor in Wippel & Wolter 1969, p. 213)

By the time it reached the North, the Roman Church had already established universal authority in the West, and its main task was to implement and establish the Christian doctrine in the remaining corners of the known world. Medieval educational ideals were introduced along with the new religion as the first missionaries recruited and trained native people for service in the Church. Talented students were sent abroad for higher studies, and institutions of learning on the Continent determined the kind of knowledge that found its way northwards. The people of Norway could now benefit from a highly codified educational system, based on loyalty to the Latin culture of the Roman Church.

Christianity created new bonds to the Continent and represented a step away from the purely regional to the more universal. The channels of contact with the Continent became less personal and more institutional. Through its membership in the Church, every small local community now had affinities with other Christian communities all over Europe (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953). This affinity was enhanced by the creation of schools where the common doctrinal and social ideals could be nurtured.

On the Continent, schools had existed for centuries and were a natural part of society.⁴⁶ They had been indispensable tools in the struggle against what the Church

46 On the Continent, there were also a number of secular municipal schools. The historian Froissart had attended a mixed elementary school in Valenciennes (Larrington 1995).

considered paganism and heathen ignorance. The first elementary schools in Europe date back to the Etruscan period. The Romans followed suit with institutions of advanced learning.⁴⁷ During the early Roman Empire, quite a sophisticated network of elementary and secondary schools developed throughout the territory, as well as some institutions of superior learning. In Gaul, cities such as Besançon, Lyon, and Toulouse established and financed elementary and reading schools. The main subjects were reading, writing, simple mathematics, and reciting. Both boys and girls had been accepted as pupils in the Roman public schools. Christian schools, too—both public and communal—initially accepted both sexes; however, the practice of admitting girls was gradually abolished as the Church asserted its authority (Léon 1967).

The fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 led to the disintegration of the public school system, so that by the end of the 6th century, the Roman school system based on Greco-Roman ideals was completely in ruins. Education had become the privilege of the few. The immanent conflict between the principles and traditions of classical education and the ideals and moral principles of the new faith still in search of a comprehensive doctrine led to a radical change of course. Saint Augustine (354-430) had tried to amalgamate and reconcile the ideals of the old culture with the principles of the new. However, not until Gregory (c.540-604) did the truly *universal* character of the Church take form, enabling the Church to start asserting its controlling authority in matters of education and schooling (Léon 1967).

Higher education, promoting refined techniques of thought and speech, and addressing the old problems of philosophy and theology, appeared for the first time in post-empire

47 The Roman schools were headed by a *primus magister*. The children who attended were accompanied by a *paedagogus*, a house slave who functioned as both *repetitor* and *preceptor* to the young pupils. Secondary education was available to both girls and boys between the age of 12 and 15, and offered training in oratory skills based on the work of Cicero, advanced grammar, and the discussion of classical authors. Secondary teaching, in the form of lectures, was performed by a *grammaticus* (Léon 1967, *Britannica* 2000).

Europe. All the new educational schemes were organized by clerics and controlled by the Church. The relative political and religious stability of the reign of Charlemagne (742-814) engendered a renewed interest in education and literature. Distinguished scholars and authors such as Alcuin (735-804)⁴⁸ and Paul the Deacon were invited to his court (Chavy 1988b, Léon 1967, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

The 8th century saw the emergence of the *seven liberal arts*, arranged and codified as the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. The *trivium* consisted of the three basic elements of elementary education and represented an introduction to more advanced studies: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The *quadrivium* dealt specifically with science and numbers, i.e. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (Léon 1967). Cathedrals and monasteries had hosted school activities from the early days of Christianity. However, from the 11th century, higher learning was dispensed in *studia* by semi-professional, independent teachers, such as the universitarian Abélard (1079-1142/4), and monks such as Lanfranc (c.1005-1089), Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), and Hugh of Saint Victor in Paris (Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).⁴⁹

With time, the *studium generale* in Paris became a renowned center for theological studies. Both students and teachers enjoyed special privileges and tax exemption, and could only be judged by their own ecclesiastical tribunals, despite the fact that they were considered secular. The secular status of the Schoolmen signified a step away from ecclesiastic control over the curriculum taught and studied at the university. Aristotelian

48 Also known as Flaccus. English scholar, educator, and theologian, he was master of the cathedral school at York (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). His work *De virtutibus et vitiis* (about virtues and weaknesses) was translated into Old Norse and figured in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* preserved in Codex AM 619 quarto (Flom 1929).

49 Some of the cathedral schools, which initially were quite small and unpretentious local seminaries, would later develop into the universities of the 12th century (Léon 1967). The term *universitas* initially signified a loose association of students and teachers and conveyed a notion of *openness* and general *accessibility*, with an inherent assumption (at least in theory) of universal and academic freedom (Lawson 1967).

logic and Priscian's and Donatus' grammars were officially adopted,⁵⁰ and soon became the foundations of grammar teaching.⁵¹ The decision to confirm the authority of Priscian and Donatus testifies to the inherent conservatism of medieval teaching and the intrinsic veneration for the established grammatical authorities. Grammar was indeed considered the foundation and beginning of all other sciences (Léon 1967, Lawson 1967, Grendler 1989).

Many students from the Scandinavian countries enrolled at the University of Paris in search of higher education (Grane & Hørby 1993). The University of Paris was organized into four faculties from 1222: the arts, medicine, theology, and law. The Faculty of Arts, where all students started out and which led to the lower degrees, was where most of the Nordic students were found (Léon 1967). The faculty of Arts at Paris, like that of Bologna, dispensed both *secondary* and *superior* education. In Paris, some of the monastic schools also gained great reputation, such as Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Sainte-Geneviève and Saint Victor on the Île-de-la-Cité in what would become known as the Latin Quarter (Léon 1967). However, the papal schism in the late Middle Ages (1378-1417) and the war between France and England made Nordic students seek other universities, predominantly in the German-speaking territories (Grane & Hørby 1993).⁵²

50 Priscian (491-518) was a grammarian from Mauritania who taught Latin in Constantinople, where Greek was the main language of culture and science. He was a Latin teacher in a cultural context where Latin had status as second language in much the same way as it had in Europe during the Middle Ages (Lusignan 1986). His *Institutiones grammaticae* and Aelius Donatus' (4th century) *Ars minor* were used as an introduction to the Latin language for many generations of Christians. The acquisition of the Latin language and the interpretation and exegesis of the Scriptures passed through the study of Latin grammar (Lusignan 1986). Donatus taught rhetoric at Rome. Eusebius (later Saint Jerome) was his student (*Britannica* 2000).

51 These two grammars, Æsop's *Fables*, and Cato's *Disticha Catonis* constituted the main curriculum of elementary Latin teaching. The *Disticha* were used when teaching basic reading skills (Lawson 1967, Grendler 1989), and were translated into Old Norse as *Hugsvinnsmál*, probably some time before the translation of chivalric court literature, i.e. the beginning of the 13th century (Barnes 1987). Elementary medieval teaching typically focused on the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the main precepts of charity, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven main virtues, and the seven sacraments (Chavy 1988b, Lawson 1967).

52 Between 1419 and 1525, 160 Norwegians had their names entered into the matrix at Rostock. Three of the four last Catholic archbishops, Olav Trondsson (1453-1474), Gaute Ivarsson (1474-1510), and Olav Engelbrektsson (1523-1537) had studied at the University of Rostock (1419). The latter also presided over the Norwegian College there (Øverås 1952).

From a historical perspective, education has predominantly been an *oral* activity between teacher and students, or between master and apprentice. It had been a predominantly private enterprise. Constant rehearsal and repetition were the main didactical tools, and the masters needed only a minimum of skills to teach small children the rudiments of reading and writing. In general, people learned what they needed in their respective trades and crafts, and schooling was usually practical and work-oriented (Grendler 1989). Medieval Christian teaching focused on *reading* skills (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967) and was primarily offered to boys.⁵³ Since ordinary people were illiterate, many remained steeped in what the Church held for pagan tradition in rural areas (Léon 1967). Like their European colleagues, the Norwegian clergy made ample use of simplified liturgies and images from hagiographic works to instill the main articles of the faith.

To remedy the poor quality of popular devotion, the Fourth Lateran Council convened in 1215 to launch a reform of the Church, demanding that all Christians attend Mass every Sunday, and that priests give a sermon at least once a month in order to explain the content of the rites (*Britannica* 2000, Bagge 1998). The new requirements of personal participation engendered a series of sermon books and commentaries on the various passages from the Scriptures, especially the texts of the Gospels and the Epistles (Lawson 1967). The sermons, usually composed in Latin, were in many cases delivered in the vernacular for the benefit of the parishioners. With time, some of the more famous and effective sermons were recorded in the vernacular (Lusignan 1986).⁵⁴ This was also the case in Norway, where the

53 There was no equality between the sexes in medieval Christian schools as there had been in the Roman elementary schools. Girls normally learnt to read the vernacular, seldom Latin or rhetoric, which were the prerogatives of men (Hannay 1985, Larrington 1995).

54 During the reforms of the 11th and 12th centuries, many priests felt an urgent need for sermons in the vernacular, and often translated the Latin text *impromptu* when addressing the congregation. Spontaneous translations of sermons were fairly common in 12th century France, and probably elsewhere, too. In addition, there is strong evidence that the vernacular was used regularly between the lower clergy, who were living symbols of the perpetual contrast and opposition between the vernacular and Latin culture, men situated at the interstice between their own vernacular origin and subsequent ecclesiastic vocation (Lusignan 1986).

vernacular had a strong position. The Old Norse *Humiliúbók* contains a series of well-known homilies and sermons in vernacular translation.⁵⁵ The texts in *Humiliúbók* must have been used from quite early on and were probably studied in the cathedral schools and in monastic communities,⁵⁶ and in general served as a guidebook for both clergy and parishioners (Kirby 1986, Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931, Salvesen 1971).

In pre-Christian time, from the 9th century, children of leading Norwegian families had been sent to foster care with friends of family abroad, normally to contacts in England or in France. Some children could be as young as seven years old when they were sent away. In the foster homes they encountered Christian culture and the literary traditions of early medieval Europe (Baune 1995). The fostering system created allegiances across borders and helped introduce European ideas into the Norwegian upper classes. In the early days, when the archdiocese for the northern regions was located in Hamburg (831-1103), a few Norwegian and Icelandic students had studied at the Benedictine monastery in Fulda, which had become a renowned cultural and intellectual center in the Germanic world (Øverås 1952).⁵⁷

From the very beginning, the missionaries, who were used to organize and supervise schools, organized systematic teaching in the more important churches as well as in the monasteries. The teaching primarily aimed at recruiting native clergy for which there was a great demand; however, like in most countries, also lay students were

55 In general, the difference between a homily and a sermon is mainly that a homily expounds on a textual excerpt from the Evangelia—an exegesis of the passage—whereas the sermon takes its lead from a specific event in the day's text (Knudsen 1952, Salvesen 1971, *Britannica* 2000).

56 Some of the texts address the “good brothers.”

57 The monastic school at Fulda was primarily the work of Maurus Rabanus (c.776-856), Archbishop of Mainz and Abbot of the monastery (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). The first two Icelandic bishops, Isleifr Gizurarson and his son Gizurr Isleifsson, had both studied in Saxony. Isleifr had been consecrated by Adalbert of Bremen in 1056 (Harðars-son). He had studied in Herford in Westphalia (Øverås 1952).

accepted in Norwegian schools, usually the sons of the ruling classes.⁵⁸ The larger Norwegian chapters offered elementary education and remained economically responsible for education throughout the Middle Ages (Berggrav 1953). The smaller churches at Nidaros had probably organized some type of teaching before the cathedral school opened, but not all churches or chapters had schools (Øverås 1952).⁵⁹

In 1215, Pope Innocent III reiterated, in an announcement by the Fourth Lateran Council, that it was every chapter's duty to hold school and teach the basic articles of the faith (Grendler 1989). This of course applied to the Norwegian chapters, too, which had not been able to implement the educational policy of the Holy See in a satisfactory manner. A special letter from the Pope reminded the Norwegian authorities of the irregularities and demanded that schools be founded. This project became easier when permanent dioceses were established (Øverås 1953).

The different ways in which medieval European teaching was organized did not affect the choice of manuals and books put to use in the various schools and universities around Europe. Indeed, the common curriculum varied very little until the beginning of the 15th century when the humanists effected a revision of the universities' academic content (Berggrav 1953).⁶⁰ The content of the teaching in the Norwegian schools was

58 We never hear of girls being enrolled in the Norwegian schools. Girls may have received some education at home. If not, the usual road to knowledge and education for medieval women was the convent (Larrington 1995).

59 Trondheim was also called Nidaros in medieval and Viking times; the name Trondheim (Trondhjem, Trondhem) became more prominent during the 15th century (Müller 1997).

60 The common school curriculum throughout the Christian world was as follows: **Grammar:** Priscian (3rd century) and Donatus (4th century) together with the ancient poets, later Alexandre de Villedieu (c.1150-c.1240). **Rhetoric:** Cicero (106-43 BC). **Dialectic:** Aristotles (384-322 BC), Porphyry (233-309) and Boethius (480-c.524/5). **Arithmetic:** Martianus Capella (5th century) and Boethius. **Astronomy:** Hyginus and Ptolemy (85-165 Egypt). **Medicine:** Claudius Galenus (c.130-200) and Constantin Africanus (c.1015-c.1087). **Canon law:** Gratian (d.c.1159) *Decretum gratiani – Concordia discordantium canonum* (c. 1140) at the University of Bologna. **Theology:** The Bible, later also Peter Lombard's (c.1100-1160/4) *Sentences*. The curriculum had its origins in the 5th century Roman schools (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985, Léon 1967, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). In the 12th and 13th centuries, schoolmasters and university professors invariably used *Speculum Doctrinale* by Vincent of Beauvais, and Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, as well as Jerome's (c.350-420) *Vulgata* (Minnis 1985).

the same as in other European schools: *trivium* for the lower classes and *quadrivium* for the more advanced students. The school at Nidaros was founded around 1153 in conjunction with the establishment of the Archdiocese for the Northern countries and the Atlantic Islands (Øverås 1952).⁶¹ The same year, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (c.1110-1159)⁶² traveled to Norway to supervise and reform the school at Nidaros (Øverås 1952). He was probably assisted by Bishop Eystein, himself a keen reformer (Foote 1998). The Holy See clearly tried to supervise even the most remote regions.

The fact that the Latin culture arrived late in the North made its Nordic expression slightly different from that of the Continent. The Latin alphabet was not immediately adopted by those writing in vernacular Norse, and national and foreign traditions continued in parallel for some time after the introduction of Christianity.⁶³ The Latin culture remained confined to ecclesiastical matters and rarely manifested itself in other spheres of Norwegian society. Hence, the vernacular enjoyed a less subordinate status in Norway than on the Continent, and was even taught in the schools from the beginning. The omnipresence of the vernacular did not, however, diminish the role and status of Latin in the school program. Latin grammar, of course, remained the main preoccupation of medieval teachers and students, in Norway as elsewhere (Øverås 1952). It was after all the key to both contemporary and ancient knowledge.

The introduction of a foreign language and a culture based on books changed the way people thought about learning and knowledge and the way learning was transmitted to future generations. The Christian educational system brought with it the idea of a

61 The Archbishop for the northern regions and the Atlantic islands had previously been stationed in Bremen between 788 (832) and 1072 when separate archdioceses for these regions were founded (Kolsrud 1913). Breakspear later became Pope Adrian IV, the only Englishman to have held this position (*Britannica* 2000).

62 Later Pope Adrian IV (r. 1154-1159).

63 The oldest surviving Norwegian manuscripts using Latin characters date back to around 1150, but the Old Norse language was probably codified and the orthography fixed as early as the beginning of the 11th century (Venås 1962).

society of experts in which expertise was defined according to an individual's degree of learning and bookly experience. Knowledge and wisdom no longer passed from generation to generation in a direct oral manner, as had been customary in Old Norse society: rather they were contained in the philosophy and experience of foreign people in remote countries, in places unfamiliar to most Nordic people. The historical experience of Christianity had been recorded in Latin and its introduction created an immediate need not only for education but for translation so as to reach the vernacular-speaking Old Norse audience.

Christianity and the culture it conveyed and disseminated had a substantial impact on Norwegian medieval society and its literate elite (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953). As the Church strengthened its position as both a secular and religious authority and increased its control over the monarchy, many Latin texts necessary to the rites of the Church were written down, imported, and translated into the vernacular. Two English vernacular homilies were probably translated into Old Norse as early as 1060/66, not long after the fall of Olav Haraldsson in 1030. The language of the homilies is didactical: simple and straight to the point, adapted to the mentality of a people unfamiliar with the Latin language and Christianity's literary traditions (Halvorsen 1959).

In view of the primarily oral aspect of both learning and teaching in the Middle Ages, the notion of audience in the sense of those who give an ear should not be underestimated. There was always a much greater audience than there was readership. The notion of audience reflects some degree of interactivity, of apprenticeship; a close relation between the reader and the listeners. In the Middle Ages, the close relationship between scholarly authority and the learners was an important one, as the organization of the first universities demonstrates (Lawson 1967).

For the Church, translation had primarily served as exegetical tool for the initiated. The translations between the sacred languages in the centuries of the Church Fathers

had mainly been performed for and by men of the cloth or people otherwise connected with the Church, theologians and scholars. The activity of translation throughout medieval times reflected the power relations between first the Classical languages of their revered *auctores*, and later the opposition between Latin and the vernacular languages in the increasingly bi-lingual medieval societies (Minnis 1988, Lusignan 1986). Reading and study of the *auctoritates* were considered as exclusive activities, and not all texts were deemed suitable for the common people. The Church exercised censure as a tool to keep the “ignorant” from accessing knowledge to which, by their station in life, they were not entitled. However, the care of the soul increasingly preoccupied the Church, and the articles of faith had to be taught.

The religious medieval literature that was imported ended up marking not only the Old Norse secular literature but also popular imagination. Hagiographic legends, for example—narrated first in Latin then in the vernacular—became cherished sources for secular literature and folklore (Kalinke 1981) and confirm the tremendous dominance of the Latin culture on the national cultures throughout the Middle Ages (Gravier 1972).

Medieval readers would normally read aloud, even when they were on their own.⁶⁴ Books were expensive, and few people could afford them. Reading was an oral activity principally between a reader and his audience. In contrast, the education dispensed by the universities depended entirely on the written word and individual and solitary reading. The university manuals were indeed very different objects from the earlier manuscripts of the monastic *scriptoria* of the early Middle Ages, and which had been precious objects of luxury reserved for the few, even within the orders. The book acquired a new status. At the universities, the book became an essential didactic tool.

64 Saint Augustine wondered at Ambrose, who read silently to himself. “Whenever he read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart explored the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue still... He never read aloud... Whatever his reason, we may be sure that it was a good one” (Augustine 1961, p. 114).

The *auctores* on the university curriculum had to be read by all, students and teachers alike. The masters even had to *publish* and make available their own lecture series in advance, and the students were expected to take notes during the classes. The new status of the book is illustrated by the Statutes of the University of Padova (1264), which claimed that “*without written lectures there could be no university*” (Le Goff 1985, p. 96). The textbook emerged as the medieval intellectual’s most significant instrument, a source of income as much as acquisition of knowledge. The many written texts and course manuals contributed to the growing mobility of learning (Le Goff 1985).

The introduction of paper in Western Europe in the 13th century had a positive effect on the prices of books. It allowed for more books to be produced, which in turn led to diminished control by the Church of scholars who translated, commented, corrected, and “improved” on the writings of the classical authors and Biblical sources. The increased use of the book also signified the beginning of new commercial potential. Medieval and Renaissance university scholars benefited from the right to earn a livelihood from their teaching and writing. The book soon became a commercial object and a source of income.⁶⁵ The notion of knowledge as something marketable represented a significant shift away from the traditional exclusive relationship between the scholar and his craft (Eisenstein 1983, Le Goff 1985).

The medieval upper classes often remained illiterate, as writing, to a greater extent than reading, was considered a skill to be mastered by hired help such as scribes, secretaries, and monks. This was particularly true since the notion of literacy and scholarly learning was closely linked to the mastering of Latin (Eisenstein 1983). People who could read and write in the vernacular were generally considered illiterate by the educated elite (Badel 1969). Latin was a privilege of the few, the ultimate key to

65 The commercial potential was further developed with the invention of the printing press.

knowledge and elucidation, reducing those who did not master it to ignorance. The contempt for the native languages by the scholars was universal; yet, the remarkable popularity of court literature, romances, and the poetry of the troubadours testifies to the vernacular's truly literary aspiration and capability.⁶⁶ In the North, the social distinction between the Latin elite and the vernacular classes was much less marked.

Literacy—in Latin as well as in the vernacular—was essentially an *urban* phenomenon throughout Europe (Eisenstein 1979). Medieval literacy has been estimated at approximately 10% in countries such as France and the Netherlands (Edwards 1994). In Norway, the numbers were probably much lower until the Reformation (Bagge 1998). In Europe, the cities made up approximately 10% of the population towards the end of the Middle Ages. In the larger cities, an estimated thirty percent were literate; however, the overall literacy rate has been set at 5%. In view of this level of reading skills, any reform or upheaval, such as the later Reformation, must necessarily be considered a *minority* phenomenon in as much as the “illiterate” masses were hardly ever mobilized (Edwards 1994).

National languages were not taught on a regular basis in European medieval schools, with the exception of England where English had been taught up until the Conquest. In post-Conquest England, Anglo-Norman was taught in order to help the students understand the basic rules of Latin. However, the vernacular had a clearly auxiliary and subordinate function compared with Latin. Nevertheless, just like the superior Latin, the French vernacular in England was indeed an official language throughout most of the Middle Ages (Lusignan 1986). In contrast, Old Norse was

66 Throughout the Middle Ages, many children had been taught how to read, although not always in the Latin, as illustrated by Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400), who in 1391 translated a treatise on the astrolabe for the benefit of a young boy who did not master Latin. As an apology, he argued in the introduction that the people of Antiquity had indeed been able to use their own vernacular language when writing scientific texts, and felt that he was entitled to do the same (Lusignan 1986). Chaucer is a good example of the secular translator of the later Middle Ages who gave the clerics competition. Chaucer was indeed a “multiprofessional:” court official, poet, diplomat, and translator (Pym 1998).

probably taught in the Cathedral schools alongside Latin and the vernacular Norse seems to have been used in most written and oral communications, also within religious contexts, as a matter of course (Øverås 1952). The fact that the early Icelandic family sagas and the Norwegian kings' sagas were composed in the vernacular certainly suggests that the vernacular was taught in the early schools; however, we know little about the organization of such vernacular teaching. Also, we have limited knowledge about the literacy rate as regards the vernacular in Christian medieval Norway; however, the early translations of fundamental texts⁶⁷ into the vernacular suggests that the national tongue in general held a strong position (Halvorsen 1959, Øverås 1952).

Despite the fact that the instruction of young people was often free of charge, the number of Norwegian students remained quite small (Baune 1995). The Norwegian cathedrals were, like their European counterparts, formally obliged to dispense Latin teaching. In 1170, the Vatican issued a papal bull ordering all dioceses to offer elementary schooling (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953, Lawson 1967). The instruction was issued by the Third Lateran Council of 1179, presided by Pope Alexander III (c.1105-1181), and yet again in 1215 (Grendler 1989) testifying to the Church's general concern about and preoccupation with the quality and permanence of education (Lawson 1967). The various churches at Nidaros probably had dispensed some type of teaching before the cathedral school opened, but not all churches or chapters had permanent schools (Øverås 1952). In 1215, Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216) reiterated, in an announcement by the Fourth Lateran Council, that it was every chapter's duty to hold school and teach the basic articles of the faith (Grendler 1989). This of course also applied to the Norwegian chapters which had not been able to implement the educational policy of the Holy See. A special letter

67 For example, various passages from the Gospels, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* and Gregory's *Homilia VIII*.

from the Pope reminded the Norwegian authorities of the irregularities and demanded that schools be founded (Øverås 1952).

In Norway, the European educational system was copied. From the middle of the 12th century, many Norwegians studied at French monastic schools and universities, especially the ones in Paris, which exercised a significant influence on the medieval Norwegian clergy. Bishop Eystein (d. 1188), the first native archbishop, had allegedly been a student at the Monastery of Saint Victor in Paris, a renowned monastic school in the 12th century. He presumably had received his elementary-level schooling in Norway before pursuing abroad. A few studied at Herford in Germany. And King Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093)—one of the first to incorporate the Christian principles into the existing law collections—had received a priest's training abroad (location unknown) and both read and wrote Latin. A certain Jon Fleming, teacher of canon law at Nidaros, had studied in both Paris and Orleans. However, very few of the regular students in Paris were Norwegian. During the 14th century, for instance, only two of the 189 Scandinavian students came from Norway, despite the repeated efforts of the Church to send students abroad (Øverås 1952).

The recovery and study of the Roman law texts by jurists at the University of Bologna, a university specializing in legal studies (Léon 1967), led to the codification and teaching of ecclesiastical canon law in the 12th century.⁶⁸ By the 13th century, both civil and canon law were taught at the major European universities (Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967).⁶⁹ The extensive body of ecclesiastical law and regulations was compiled

68 A certain Imerius (c.1055-1125) was the first university *lector* to teach both Roman and canon law at the University of Bologna (Grane & Hørby 1993). He is believed to have delivered his first law lectures about 1088. Gratian (d.c.1159) codified the field of canon law in a body consisting of more than 3800 texts touching upon every imaginable aspect of Church discipline. *Concordia discordantium canonum* soon led to the recognition of ecclesiastical law as a field of study separate from that of theology (*Britannica* 2000).

69 Only a few universities offered courses in theology, but most had professors of canon law. The University of Montpellier (1289) taught only medicine and Oxford and Paris were the only ones to have professors in all four faculties: arts, medicine, theology and canon and civil law (Grane & Hørby 1993).

primarily in order to ensure uniformity of the faith. Canon law dealt with the organization of the liturgy, preaching, works of charity, and the organization of Church institutions at a time marked by ecclesiastical schisms and doctrinal dispute (*Britannica* 2000).

Olav Haraldsson (r. 1016-1028) and Bishop Grimkjell (d.1046) had incorporated the Christian principles into the laws during a meeting at Moster in 1024.⁷⁰ The recording of the Christian principles into the Norwegian *Gulatingssloven* in the 11th century, with a view to regulating the relationship between the King and the Church, thus preceded the 12th-century introduction of canon law into secular laws throughout Christianity (Kværness 1996, Øverås 1952).⁷¹ Canon law regulated the relation between the secular and ecclesiastical powers. The amendment of the Old Norse laws was a first step towards an institutionalization of Old Norse society under the direction of the Church. There was of course no constitution, and traditionally, Norwegian kings had no legal power other than the one bestowed upon them by their peers (Bagge 1998).

In Old Norse society, the laws had primarily been intended to resolve conflicts between private persons rather than between people and institutions as was the case for canon law. Consequently, the introduction of institutionalized bodies such as schools, churches, and a professional legal system signified a radical change of direction. The implementation of the new institutions was facilitated by the fact that no existing

70 Grimkjell came to Norway as one of four missionary bishops around 1014. He was English of Norwegian descent. He wrote *Officium Olavi* (Øverås 1952, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Kolsrud 1913.) The laws were compiled in the Old Norse vernacular under Olav Kyrre (r.1069-1093) (Øverås 1952), probably as an attempt by the Church to further institutionalize the “legal system” in a society where the hierarchy was loose and where the power structures were constantly changing. Law and politics were mainly a question of interpersonal power structures, where each man competed with his peers (Bagge 1998). The Christian principles and privileges later became known as *Archbishop Jon's Law*. Jon (d.c.1152) was Bishop Eystein's predecessor in Nidaros (Kværness 1996). In the 13th century, Iceland accepted the authority of the Norwegian king, and became part of a greater Norwegian realm. The laws were again revised and compiled and have survived in a codex known as *Jonsbók* from c. 1281 (Arnamagneaeian Institute).

71 The early Christian kings all tried to adapt the existing laws to the new faith. Olav Kyrre (r.1069-1093) also amended the laws and continued the work started by Grimkjell and Olav Haraldsson (Øverås 1952).

institution, religious or legal, had to be set aside or abolished. In fact, there was no real opposition to the new order of things (Bagge 1998).⁷²

By organizing a Norwegian archdiocese, the Roman Church strengthened its influence and authority in both countries simply by becoming a much stronger hierarchical presence locally (Ekrem 1998a & 1998b). The newly found independence from Denmark in ecclesiastical matters had a positive effect on Norwegian intellectual life.⁷³ The presence of higher-ranking Church officials at the archdiocese of Nidaros meant the presence of better-educated people, clergy and clerics with degrees from the emerging European universities and first-hand knowledge of and familiarity with contemporary European culture and literary activity. The proximity between the archdiocese and the King's court in 12th century Trondheim was important for the further development of the relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical powers (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953).⁷⁴ Under Håkon Håkonsson, the royal court moved to Bergen.

Little is known about daily life in the cathedral schools; however, we know that there were quite a number of *secular* pupils in Trondheim, primarily due to the presence of the royal court. In Oslo, there were fewer secular students; the majority of them were *prestlinger*, meaning that they trained for priesthood. Most students boarded, and the

72 The opposition between secular and ecclesiastical authorities was developed in *Konungs Skuggsjá* (the King's Mirror) of c.1260, which tried to reconcile the two powers, at least in theory, by defining and explaining the obligations and privileges of a Christian king in relation to the Church's authority (Astås 1987a & 1993, Barnes 1987). The Mirror's redefinition of the role of the King implicitly aimed at strengthening the power of the monarch in relation to the ecclesiastical authorities (Bagge 1998). *Konungs skuggsjá* can also be seen as an attempt to outline new ideals for the royal power. It condemns the principle of joint kingship so common in Norway in the previous century, and at the same time seeks to strengthen the monarch's position in relation to the ecclesiastic powers (Barnes 1987). Håkon Håkonsson revised the laws further in 1260, explicitly making the monarchy hereditary, thereby eliminating the possibility of joint kingship. In 1274, Magnus Håkonsson continued the revision of the legal texts, laying the ground for a centralized state and a harmonization of the legal system (Venås 1962, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

73 The founding of the archdiocese ended the young Norwegian Church's dependence upon the Danish archdiocese at Lund (then the ecclesiastical center of Denmark. Today part of Sweden).

74 This relationship was modified when the King set up court in Bergen and the physical distance between the two powers became significant. The monarchy gained in strength during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson.

day started around five in the morning and continued until five in the afternoon, with only two breaks during the day. The curriculum was mainly the same as elsewhere, but there seems to have been a general shortage of books. One of the main subjects was the *calendarium*, as it was important to be able to calculate the holidays (Berggrav 1953).

Norwegian schools seem to have collapsed as a result of the devastation of the pestilence in the middle of the 14th century. The quality of the teaching suffered from a lack of qualified teachers and the economy was shattered. When Aslak Bolt (d.1450) became Archbishop in 1436, he found the situation intolerable, and specifically ordered that the chapters send clerics abroad for higher education, partly in order to comply with the many papal bulls that had come over the centuries in an effort to reform and strengthen the educational system, partly in order to assure a minimum of quality.⁷⁵ The intention was good, but few actually were sent abroad as both money and competent candidates were scarce (Øverås 1952). The lack of money in the 14th and 15th centuries may be one of the reasons why the academic level of the late medieval Norwegian clergy was so inconsistent, and why no one at the Norwegian chapters seems to have participated in the debates of the Scholastics, limiting their efforts to the mere importation of the main texts.

The advent of the printing press in the 15th century and the general acceptance of the vernacular in the Reformation century helped authors reach a broader readership. The printed book allowed for better quality control, as texts could be corrected and reprinted at a reasonable cost and within a relative short timeframe. The era of the scholastic glossator and commentator (and guardian of “true” knowledge) effectively came to an end (Eisenstein 1983). The target audience was no longer only the learned scholars of the Church or the universities, but anyone who had the money to purchase books and the curiosity to learn.

75 The Lateran Council of 1215, stipulating that it was every chapter’s duty to organize schools, had been the first attempt at improving the general level of education amongst the lower clergy (*Britannica* 2000).

Early Historical Compilations

Transcuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur in Sueonica vel Nordmanniam, quae sunt duo latissima regna aquilonis et nostro orbi adhuc fere incognita. De quibus narravit mihi scientissimus rex Danorum, quod Nordmannia vix queat transiri per mensem, cum Sueonia duobus mensibus non facile percurratur...

Omnibus itaque diis suis attributos habent sacerdotes, qui sacrificia populi offerant. Si pestis et famis imminet, Thor ydolo lybatur, si bellum, Wodani, su nuptiae celebrandae sunt, Fricconi.⁷⁶

(Adam of Bremen (1876), pp. 169 & 175)

The first native historical works during the Christian era were produced at the archdiocese in Nidaros, not long after it was founded in 1153.⁷⁷ These first histories were probably inspired by the writings of contemporaneous European histories as well as older historical material. The present chapter on the early Norwegian histories has been included not because the early Latin and vernacular chronicles were translations in any sense of the term—in fact they were regular medieval histories—but because many of them became cherished sources for the literary production of the Humanist translators of the 16th century. It is therefore necessary to trace the origins of these medieval Norwegian historical works in order to get the broader picture and assess the scope of

76 “When you travel beyond the Danish Isles, another world opens up: Sweden and Norway, the largest territories in the North and up until now almost unknown to people in our part of the world. The knowledgeable Danish King [Svein] has told me that it takes more than a month to trek through the Norwegian territory, and two months to travel through Sweden... For all their gods the priests have attributes, and offer on behalf of the people. When pestilence and famine are imminent, the idol Thor gives good counsel, when there is war, Wodan (Odin), when marriages are celebrated, the god Frey [is called for].” In his description of the Northern regions, Adam relies to a great extent on previous Latin historians such as Einhard, Martianus Capella, Solinus and Orosius (Adam of Bremen 1876, p. 169).

77 The first recordings of the life of the Norsemen were made by Ottar from Hålogaland, who voyaged to the Arctic North, a journey that took him beyond the Kola Peninsula and down to the White Sea in modern-day Russia. Ottar later visited King Alfred (849-899) in England, who included his story in Paulus Orosius’ (5th century) historical geography book—*Historiarum Adversus Paganos* (The Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans)—the first Christian world history from the Creation to the year 417 AD. King Alfred had Orosius’ history translated into Old English from Latin around 890 (*Britannica* 2001, Danielsen et.al. 1992). The history about Ottar’s travels to the great North thus survived as an insertion in the Old English version of Orosius’ geographical history on the pagans, a work which was later commonly referred to as *Orosius* (Danielsen et.al. 1991, *Britannica* 2000).

the Humanist enterprise. In addition, the Old Norse histories composed in the 12th and 13th centuries reflect a general European interest for the past, as illustrated by the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Hugh of Saint Victor and Peter Lombard to mention a few. They illustrate how Old Norse vernacular cultural traditions in many ways ran parallel to contemporary Latin culture.

The works of medieval Old Norse historians were rediscovered in the 16th and 17th centuries and their translation into contemporaneous Danish formed the basis for an emergent historical and national awareness. Two of the three oldest surviving manuscripts are Latin chronicles written in Norway: Theodoricus Monachus' (13th century) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c.1170) (Halvorsen 1959, Øverås 1952) and the anonymous *Historia Norwegie*, which has been attributed by some to Bishop Eysteinn Erlendsson (d.1188). The third chronicle is the vernacular work *Ágrip af konunga sögum*, an abridged history of the Norwegian kings, probably written in the second half of the 12th century (Halvorsen 1959, Ekrem 1998, Andersson 1985). The text has been preserved in one single slightly defective manuscript, the AM 325 II, 4^o, from around 1220-1225, a copy of an earlier original. Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* and *Historia Norwegie* may have been amongst its sources, as may the work of Sæmundr Sigfússon (1056-1133), the Icelandic author of the now lost *Noregs Konungstál* (the oldest vernacular history of the early Norwegian kings), and Ari Þorgilsson' (c.1067-1148) *Íslendingabók*, composed some time between 1122 and 1132 (Indrebø 1936, Andersson 1985). The internal relationship between the earliest historical sagas, both the Latin chronicles and the vernacular sagas, is not clear.⁷⁸ However, in the 13th century, Snorri Sturlason probably used them and various Icelandic sources when composing *Heimskringla*, the history of the Norwegian kings

78 For a more detailed list of Old Norse-Icelandic saga writers, see Appendix 1: Norse-Icelandic Historical Sagas.

from their mythological origins to the 12th century (Andersson 1985, Snorri 1981, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).

Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium

Historia de antiquitate regum norwagensium was compiled by Theodoricus, a Norwegian (probably Benedictine) monk. This history of the Norwegian kings extends from Harald Hårfagre (r. c. 885-933) to the end of Sigurd Magnusson's reign in 1130, when the civil war (c.1130-1240) broke out as a result of contention over the succession between the different descendants of Sigurd Magnusson (r. 1103-1130) Jorsalfare⁷⁹ and Magnus Olavsson (r. 1093-1103) Berrføtt (Foote 1998, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).⁸⁰ The exact dating of Theodoricus' work is uncertain, but *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagensium* must have been written some time between 1177 and 1188, during the bishopric of Eystein, as it was dedicated to "To his Lord and Father, the most reverend Eystein, Archbishop of Niðaróss [by the] humble sinner Theodoricus [who] pledges the obedience owed by a subject, and the support of prayers" (Foote 1998, p. 1).

In addition to summarizing the lives of kings and events pertaining to Norway and the islands under Norwegian control, Theodoricus specifically raises the issue of royal heredity and succession according to the notions of *primogenitur* and legitimate birth advocated by the Church (Chapter 26). This interruption of the narrative—in which he cites Lucan's (39-65) *De bello civili* as an example—must be regarded in light of the ravages of the Civil War (1130-1240) and the instability it brought to the country (Foote 1998). The civil wars eventually contributed to an accelerated centralization of both the Church and the monarchy, and paved the way for the construction of a national state with

79 He had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

80 A hitherto anonymous *Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam*, estimated to date from around 1200, may also have been compiled by Theodoricus (Ekrem 1998b, Øverås 1952).

fewer main players (Bagge 1998). According to Norse traditions, the male lineage had been of importance (but not exclusively) when selecting a new leader, whether he was born in or out of wedlock; however, the succession was only valid after confirmation by the *Þing*, meaning that the leader needed the support of his subjects to remain in power (Foote 1998). *Support*, not subjection, and *selection*, not heredity, had been the overruling principle, although the factors of family and wealth had counted when it came to being considered. Old Norse society, as we have already mentioned, was in many ways less hierarchical than its European counterparts: a society with few institutions where *free* men enjoyed relative equality. Towards the end of the 13th century, both the old and new aristocracy emerged as clearly subordinate to the monarch, and the new rules were reiterated in the laws recorded by Magnus Håkonsson (Bagge 1998).

The principle of succession by male lineage alone did not become customary until well after the first rounds of civil war in the 12th century (Foote 1998). It remains a central theme in *Konungs skuggsjá*, composed towards the middle of the next century. Traditional Norse society was based on rather precarious relations (and rivalry) between regional chieftains or kings who regarded each other as peers and equals. The setting around the rich landlords was the *farm*, not the court, and the boundaries of the “kingdoms” and ruling families were unstable, constantly at the mercy of changing allegiances and loyalties. Old Norse society was a profoundly *rural* phenomenon and *ruralness* in conjunction with strong bonds to the soil permeated most interpersonal relations and was reflected in the literary traditions. The establishment of the archdiocese meant the replacement of the traditional direct power relations between groups of equals with a more marked opposition between the people and the new ecclesiastical and legal institutions (Bagge 1998).

The narrative of *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* is full of digressions and references to various medieval authorities. Theodoricus says: “In the manner of the

ancient chroniclers, I have added digressions in appropriate places which, in my opinion, are not without value..." (Foote in Faulkes & Perkins 1998, p. 2). In this he did not differ from other medieval historians, as it was normal and accepted practice that the compiler displayed his knowledge and gave pertinent moral advice. The insertion of moralizing material emphasizes the didactical character of the work. Towards the end, Theodoricus acknowledges his indebtedness towards other historians, both contemporary and ancient: "I have learned what I have written from the reports of others" (Foote in Faulkes & Perkins 1998, p. 54). He found the material in various Latin chroniclers and "by assiduous inquiry" of the Icelanders (Foote 1998, Prologue), confirming his dependence upon both vernacular and Latin sources. Amongst the vernacular authors that he may have used, we naturally think of Sæmundr Sigfússon (1056-1133) and Ari Þorgilsson (c. 1067-1148), more or less his contemporaries, who were the first to compile in the vernacular the history of the Norwegian kings and the settlers of Iceland (Andersson 1985).

Amongst the foreign historians consulted by Theodoricus, we find Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030-1112), a Benedictine monk like himself (*Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113*),⁸¹ Hugh of Saint Victor (*Chronicon*), Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) (*Liber exceptionum*),⁸² and Paul the Deacon (c. 720-799) (who wrote *Historia langobardum* and *Historia romana*). Theodoricus may have read these chronicles himself, as they were very highly esteemed and widely disseminated during the Middle Ages, or read

81 Although all sources give 1112 as Sigebert's last year, his chronicle goes from 381 to 1113 (OLIS, BNF, *Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

82 This early compilation, a synopsis of world history, was by many medieval scholars erroneously attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. The passage in Theodoricus' history is taken from the chapter "De gente normannorum" (Foote 1998). Richard's main work is *De trinitate*, a speculation on the Trinity and the Christian notion of love in the spirit of Anselm. He became subprior of Saint Victor in 1159 and prior in 1162, and succeeded Hugh as master of the abbey school and remained there until his death (Wippel & Wolter 1969). Hugh of Saint Victor, however, wrote a *Chronicon*, also a universal history (Favier 1999). Robert Wace (c.1100-1174), the first to write about the Legend of the Round Table in the Anglo-French vernacular in the *Roman de Brut*, also wrote a history of the Normans, the *Roman de Rou* between 1160 and 1174 (Shichtman 1987, *Britannica* 2000). All of these books may have been known to Theodoricus monachus.

selected texts in a compilation. *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the Elder (23-79) is also mentioned in his text. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* by Adam of Bremen, although not mentioned, also seems to have been a more or less direct source (See Anthology Section). However, Theodoricus often misquoted his sources, and mixed them up, so that, for example, when he thought he was citing from *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the Younger (which is actually the work of Pliny the Elder), he really quoted a passage from Isidore's *Etymologia* (Foote 1998).⁸³

Although Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* definitely cannot be defined as a translation, it does however, lean quite heavily on both Latin and vernacular sources, and the narrative is interspersed with references to a number of known historical works, including quotations from these as well as from biblical passages. The narrative, typical of the saga literature, has many features in common with the biographical genre (Bagge 1998). In the chapters relating the lives of Olav Tryggvasson and Olav Haraldsson (the two kings who Christianized the country), the tone is definitely hagiographic (Foote 1998), testifying to the Church's attempt at combining story and sermon in its effort to instill and maintain the faith. The heroic conduct of the two saga kings were probably more in tune with the expectations of the Norse audience as regards valiant behavior and merit. It was easier to accept a strong belligerent King and his religious convictions than to be influenced by the examples of weak martyrs who had led miserable lives and who could lay claim to no heroic deeds whatsoever. The Old Norse admiration of the physically strong and mighty finds its natural expression in the veneration of the "eternal" King, Saint Olaf (Bagge 1998).

83 Auctores explicitly mentioned by Theodoricus: Boethius, Saint Jerome, Isidore of Seville, the Venerable Bede, Remigius of Auxerre, Hugh of Saint Victor, Sigebert of Gembloux, Paul the Deacon, Lucan, Horace, Pliny the Younger, Jordanes, Plato, Origen, Saint Augustine, Pope Gelasius, and Virgil. Theodoricus also refers to the inescapable Holy Scripture, *Septuagint*, as well as some of the apocrypha, such as the Gospel according to Thomas. He also includes a whole chapter (Chapter 20) to the problem of calculating the beginning of the world and the work done by the Church Fathers and their successors (Foote 1998).

Historia Norwegie

The rather brief and unassuming *Historia Norwegie* contains a short prologue and a Book One of only twenty-three pages in all. It includes some material derived from reputed medieval European chronicles such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1135-37); Honorius of Autun's *Imago mundi* (c. 1110); and Julius Solinus' *De mundi mirabilibus* (3rd century) (Venås 1962, Ekrem 1998a, Barnes 1987).⁸⁴ Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, which describes the early Christian missions to the northern regions from 788 to 1072 (Koht 1950), presumably was one of *Historia Norwegie*'s most immediate sources,⁸⁵ and the "Prologue" to *Historia Norwegie* presumably shows a strong dependence upon Honorius of Autun's "Prologue" to *Imago mundi* (Ekrem 1998).⁸⁶ Some of the oldest written material pertaining to the life and miracles of Olav Haraldsson are found in the C-text of the old *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*⁸⁷ which in essence follows the arrangement of Orosius' *Historiarum adversus Paganos* (Sando 1999, OLIS, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Indeed, the main medieval *auctores* and chroniclers seem to have been an inspiration to the Norse historians.

Modern scholars do not agree as to when this history was written. Koht (1950) dates the work till about 1170, whereas Skard (1930) proposes 1180. Kirby (1986), on

84 Solinus was more famous, however, for his compilation of Pliny (the author of *Historia naturalis*). His *Polyhistor* was a popular source for many medieval compilers and encyclopedists (Chavy 1988b, *Britannica* 2000). These mirrors of the world were popular. William of Conches (1080-1153) also wrote a *Philosophia mundi* at almost the same time (Chavy 1988b).

85 Adam of Bremen also draws on Solinus, Lucan, Martianus, Orosius and Bede, all mentioned in his section about the northern regions (Adam of Bremen 1876, pp. 169 and 183).

86 For a comparison of the contents of the two Norwegian Latin histories and Adam's *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, see Appendix 2.

87 The C-version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* narrates the history of the Anglo-Saxons from approximately 500 to William the Conqueror's victory in 1066 (Sando 1999), and is preserved in the British Museum as Ms. Cotton Tiberius B i (OLIS).

the other hand, contends that the history must date from the years 1177-1178 or the years immediately thereafter, as the text refers to the death of a certain Nicolás Sigurðarsson killed on Saint Mary's Mass, meaning September 8, 1176 (Kirby 1986).⁸⁸ Despite the reference to the slaying of Nicolás, Ekrem argues that there are certain textual indicators suggesting that the work may have been composed as early as 1152, in conjunction with the founding of the Norwegian archdiocese at Nidaros (Ekrem 1998a & 1998b). She has suggested the possibility that this rather special historical work could have been inserted by Eystein himself into a petition to the Holy See for a national Norwegian archdiocese and consequently was sent out of the country (Ekrem 1998a).⁸⁹ According to this theory, the original manuscript was sent to Rome along with the petition for an archdiocese, possibly explaining why Theodoricus was unfamiliar with it (Ekrem 1998a). Nevertheless, since so little is known about the circumstances of *Historia Norwegie* and the fate of the original manuscript, these theories remain highly hypothetical.⁹⁰

There are certainly many unanswered questions in relation to the redaction and fate of the original manuscript of *Historia Norwegie*. One thing is certain: Theodoricus never referred to it in his *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensum*. Indeed, *Historia Norwegie* seems to have disappeared from circulation altogether and does not appear to

88 The killing of Nicolás is recorded in both *Historia Norwegie* (Kirby 1986, p. 50) and in Magnus Erlingsson's Saga in *Heimskringla* (Snorri 1979, p. 676).

89 In 1153, Eystein had already been a priest for some time. He was elected Archbishop in 1157 and received the pallium from the Pope in 1161 (Kolsrud 1913).

90 Yet, if Archbishop Eystein was truly the author of *Historia Norwegie* and Theodoricus compiled *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* during Eystein's archbishopric—possibly at Eystein's request as suggested by the dedication—it somehow seems strange that Theodoricus apparently had no knowledge of his patron's historical work, made no reference to it, and that no copy was made. Any theory suggesting that the text was composed prior to the establishment of the archdiocese in 1153 must per force explain the existence of the passage about the death of Nicolás in 1176. The incident may of course have found its way into the narrative at a later date, inserted by a copyist eager to augment and “improve” the text by adding moralizing material—in this case the story of Nicolás's death at the hands of the Birkebeiners.

have been consulted by the 13th-century vernacular saga writers.⁹¹ It has also been argued that *Historia Norwegie* may have been the first of two books, and that *Passio Olavi*—positively attributed to Archbishop Eystein—may have been intended as the second volume, as suggested by the opening lines of *Historia Norwegie*: “Incipit liber primus in ystoria Norwegie” (Ekrem 1998b). The worship of Olav was a national uniting factor throughout the Christian Middle Ages (Mørkhagen 1995). The *Passio Olavi* soon acquired great popularity, also outside Scandinavia, and Nidaros became a cherished place of pilgrimage. There are three extant manuscripts: in England, France and Finland. The *Passio* contained not only the biography of the martyr King, but also accounts of miracles attributed to his divine intervention (Skard 1930).

It could well be that Eystein indeed was the author of both; however, the chronological relationship between the early Latin histories remains to be determined before the various theories can be confirmed. *Historia Norwegie* adopts much of the same structure and historical sequence as Adam’s chronicle, which quickly had been established as an authority on the northern regions, and leans on its content as well its form. However, the narrative tone of *Historia Norwegie* is definitely more optimistic and appealing than that of its German predecessor. The author summarizes the history of the major kings and the story of the country’s Christianization. Norway is presented as a country rich in natural resources, although with remote regions in need of sustained missionary efforts, in short a place worthy of the Church’s engagement (Ekrem 1998b).

Notwithstanding the dispute over *Historia Norwegie*’s origin and conception, compared to its Latin predecessors it certainly offers a new image of Norway, insisting on its natural riches and varied geography. The *Historia* in many ways can be

91 A copy of the manuscript was brought to the Orkneys, and re-copied there. The original is lost, but a manuscript is owned by the Earl of Dalhousie in Scotland. The text was discovered by P.A. Munch discovered there in the 1840s (Koht 1950).

considered a counter-argument to Adam of Bremen's rather condescending description of the Nordic countries as the poorest and most arid of all regions, suitable for sheep only (Ekrem 1998a): *Propter asperitatem montium sive propter frigus intemperatum sterilissima est omnium regionum, solis aptis pecoribus*.⁹² In Adam's history Norway is presented as the most peripheral country in the world, and as such deserves to be put at the end of the book, which is in fact where it is placed.⁹³ Furthermore, Adam's account of Olav Tryggvasson gives a very negative picture of the legendary King, described as a rather violent man of not-so-Christian principles with heathen magic powers—Olav allegedly threw bird bones in order to foresee the future. In Adam's opinion he was not at all a very suitable candidate for sainthood, which had indeed been proposed as an appropriate recognition of his efforts to Christianize the people of the North (Koht 1950). Adam's report probably contributed to the failure of this project. Consequently, *Historia Norwegie* can be seen as an attempt to rectify the negative perception of the Northern regions as underdeveloped in terms of Western Christian civilization and refinement. It definitely offered a renewed image of the Northmen to which Theodoricus' *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensium* also contributed.⁹⁴ However, the sense of cultural inferiority and isolation can be detected in most of the early chronicles and continued to permeate much of the 13th century chivalric and romance writing, as well as the last historical sagas, such as Sturla Þórðarson's *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (Barnes 1987, Andersson 1985).

92 *Gesta Hammaburgensis* 1876, p. 178.

93 Ibid, p. 178: "Nortmannia, sicut ultima orbis provintia est, in ultimo libri loco convenienter ponetur a nobis."

94 On the possible relation between Latin and vernacular chronicles, see Ulset 1983.

Vernacular historical sagas

The third of the oldest surviving Norwegian historical texts is the vernacular *Ágrip af konunga sögum*, an “excerpt” of the history of the Norwegian Kings, written some time around 1190. It has become an important source book, fundamental to understanding of the historical saga writing (Indrebø 1936). Despite the fact that *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* was composed in Latin and the anonymous *Ágrip* in the national tongue, there are so many similarities between the two texts that modern scholars believe that the two texts must have been compiled by one and the same author, or alternatively by two compilers who made use of the same source material (Halvorsen 1959, Andersson 1985).⁹⁵ The chronological sequence and textual interrelation between the early Norwegian historical texts is hard to establish as many of the central manuscripts have been preserved as fragments only or as incomplete later copies (Andersson 1985). *Ágrip* may be seen as one of the earliest attempts at creating literature in the mother tongue for a growing number of more educated people converging on the royal court. It remains the only example of a completely Norwegian-produced vernacular historical work. The Icelanders dominated the historical genre that grew out of the oral —almost biographical—vernacular tradition, whereas the subsequent chivalric and romance genre belonged entirely to the Norwegian court (Halvorsen 1959).

However, the early Norwegian and Icelandic historians seem to have been familiar with each other’s work as well as the work of both contemporaneous and earlier European chroniclers, which may have served as models for Old Norse compositions.

95 Halvorsen maintains that *Ágrip* seems to have been influenced by the rules of rhetoric outlined in *Institutiones grammaticae* by Priscianus, reflected by the vernacular text’s somewhat unusual utilisation of alliterations, amplifications, rhymes, parallelisms etc. Consequently, the vernacular of *Ágrip* is not the colloquial Old Norse found in most secular texts, and shows a move away from the sober and precise Skaldic Norse of the mythological Eddaic poetry (Halvorsen 1959).

The English Henry of Huntingdon (1084-1155)⁹⁶ and the Danish Saxo Grammaticus (d. 1204)⁹⁷ were certainly known to their Norwegian contemporaries. The indebtedness of the Norse historians to the academic works of famous medieval scholars is of course established. Through the numerous *compendiae*, *compilations*, *mirrors*, and *summae*, medieval knowledge had repeatedly and systematically been selected and organized in an effort to arrive at a true comprehension of the order of things and the principle underlying the divine origin of existence. The early Norse vernacular historians probably tried to model themselves after the Latin authoritative sources without, however, attaining the same level of linguistic and narrative elegance, or the scholarly perspicacity and discernment of their predecessors (Halvorsen 1959).

Whereas the vernacular historical works in Latin belong to the second half of the 12th century, during which the Church was established and consolidated as a cultural and political institution with considerable power, the chivalric sagas and sagas of the Norwegian kings were compiled in the 13th century by people associated with the royal court. The early Latin works did not influence the use of the vernacular in any way. Indeed, the vernacular seems to have held the stronger position all along. The Icelanders were the masters of the saga genre (Halvorsen 1959),⁹⁸ and it is largely due to their efforts that the historical manuscripts were preserved, and that the sagas are still read and appreciated, especially *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturlason (Anderson 1985, Kalinke 1981).

Snorri Sturlason—by far the most famous of the Old Norse chroniclers—was but one of a series of Norse-Icelandic historians. He was an Icelandic scribe and legal expert

96 Author of *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardii*.

97 *Gesta Danorum* interestingly contains Saxo's Latin translation of three Danish vernacular legendary heroic poems: *Bjarkamál* (a battle hymn), *Ingjaldskvadet* (on the corruptive dangers of luxury), and *Hagbard oc Signe* (a tragedy of love and family feuds) (*Britannica* 2000. See also Friis-Jensen 1987, Olrik 1982 & 1944, and Eggen 1962).

98 See Appendix 1.

who worked at the Norwegian court during the reign of Håkon. His *Heimskringla* was probably composed some time between 1230-35. It is a comprehensive work covering early Norwegian history from the time of Halvdan Svarte (9th century) to Magnus Erlingsson (r. 1161-1184), preceded by a Prologue outlining the legendary Ynglinge origin of both gods and kings (Andersson 1985, Snorri 1981, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).

Medieval Iceland and Norway were brother nations sharing the same culture, language, history and literary traditions. They had in many instances been subjected to the same political and ecclesiastical authorities. Iceland had been populated by Norwegians early in the 9th century. The Icelanders enjoyed a fair degree of freedom and self-rule, and were not subjected to the monarch in the same way as were the Norwegians, but were governed by a local council of free men who met whenever called for. For a long time, Iceland remained closely linked to Norway through the archdiocese in Nidaros, which also functioned as the archbishopry for all the Atlantic Islands. Scholars and legal experts moved freely between the two communities in medieval times and it is therefore difficult to establish whether the anonymous author of a translated text was Icelandic or Norwegian, as there were only minor dialectical differences between the two vernaculars until the end of the 14th century (Kalinke 1985a). Towards the end of the 13th century, Iceland accepted the authority of the Norwegian Crown but kept the Althing as the local governing body. The Norwegian laws were again revised and reinforced in 1274. New laws were also compiled for Iceland, approved by the Althing and recorded in *Jónsbók* in 1281 (Arnamagnæan Institute).

The Icelanders were the uncontested masters of the saga genre in the vernacular.⁹⁹ Some of the very first Norse-Icelandic historical writers in the vernacular have been

⁹⁹ For a more complete list of historical works by Norse-Icelandic authors, see Appendices.

identified. Sæmundur Sigfússon's (c. 1056-1133) *Konungatál*,¹⁰⁰ and Ari þorgilsson's (c. 1067/8-1148) *Konunga ævi*—now lost—were both sources Snorri must have been familiar with, in addition to the Latin chronicles of Adam of Bremen, Theodoricus, and Eystein. Moreover, Norse chronicles by unknown authors existed, such as the already mentioned *Ágrip* (c. 1190), *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), *Fagrskinna* (c. 1220), and the now lost *Catalogus regum Norwagiensis* (Andersson 1985), mentioned by Theodoricus in his *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (Chapter 20), a work which was probably just what it claimed to be, a simple *list* of Norwegian kings and their reigns (Foote 1998, Anderson 1985, Storm 1880).

All of these books, and in particular Ari þorgilsson's (c. 1067-1148) *Íslendingabók* (c. 1122-32)—considered the prototype for the kings' sagas of the 13th century—and *Konunga ævi*, are now considered amongst the direct “ancestors” of Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Andersson 1985). Snorri himself based his chronicle on both written and oral sources and is careful to insist on the authority of the oral tradition, despite his awareness of the fact that the skalds never were free to tell a story in an “objective” manner:

Bók þessi lét ek rita fornafn frásagnir um höfðingja þá, er ríki hafa haft á Norðrlöndum ok á danska tungu¹⁰¹ hafa mælt, sva sem ek hefi heyrt fróða menn segja, sva ok nökkurar kynkvíslir þeira eftir því, sem mér hefir kennt verit, sumt þat, er finnst í langfeðgatali, því er konungar hafa rakit kyn sitt eða

100 *Konungatál* is contained in a collection of manuscript texts known as the *Fagrskinna*, discovered in the 17th century by Thormod Torfæus, the Icelandic secretary to Christian IV (1588-1648). The manuscript was named *Fagrskinna* because of its beautiful leather binding. In the Middle Ages this book was wrongfully referred to as *Noregs konungatal* (Schreiner 1972). *Konungatal*, the original compilation by Sæmundur Sigfússon, has been lost. *Fagrskinna* is believed to contain material from several source texts: *Morkinskinna*, *Ágrip*, *Hlaðajarla Saga* (lost), and a lost version of the *Jómsvíkingasaga* (Andersson 1985).

101 The Old Scandinavian Norse dialects were commonly referred to as *Danish tongue*, illustrating the dominance of the Danes even in the earlier times.

aðrir stórættaðir menn, en sumt er ritat eftir fornum kvæðum eða sögulljóðum, er mann hafa haft til skemmtanar sér. En þó at vér vitim eigi sannendi á því, þá vitum vér dæmi til þess, at gamlir fræðimenn hafa slíkt fyrir satt haft (...). Tökum vér þat allt fyrir satt, er í þeim kvæðum finnst um ferðir þeira eða orrostur. En þat er háttir skálda at lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja sjálfum honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok sva sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof.¹⁰²

(Pálsson 1944, pp. 1-3)

The sagas reflect the extraordinary evolution of perception the Norse people had of themselves. From the earliest vernacular sagas of the 12th century—in which the old mentality seems to be prevalent—to the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* of the middle of the 13th century, an ideological change had taken place. The strong-willed and powerful elected kings of the Vikings had been replaced with kings theoretically at the service of both God and the people. The ancient kings had owed service to none but themselves. The emergent Christian society built on strong institutions and redefined royal power and privilege. The new order, which finds its expression specifically in *Konungs*

102 In this book [*Heimskringla*] I have written the tales of the old chieftains who ruled in the Northland, and who spoke the Danish Tongue, according to the accounts of old wise men. I have also written about their lineage in the manner that I was told. Some of this is contained in the ancestral speeches, recording the descent of many kings and great men, others derive from old songs and poems of the kind people recite to amuse themselves. Although we do not know for sure the veracity of their content, we still know that wise men have held these tales for true [...] Everything that is told in these songs about their [the king's and chief's] incursions and battles we believed in. It is however in the manner of skalds to praise the man before whom they stand; nevertheless, no one would dare tell a man about sham deeds if everyone listening knew that they were only boasting lies, including the man (for whom the poem was composed). Such behavior [on the part of the skald] would be contempt and not praise [...] And I believe that the old songs are true as long as they are performed well and interpreted with sagacity. (My own literal translation which I think better reflects the original text. For a standardized English translation, see Monsen 1990, pp. xxxv-xxxvii).

skuggsjá (c.1260), the Laws of 1274, and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (c. 1265), marks a clear separation of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, more in compliance with contemporaneous scholastic ideology (Bagge 1998, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967).¹⁰³

The first historical sagas, inspired, in particular, by the English and French medieval chronicles, put Norse society into a historical continuum with tentacles into the histories of other European nations such as the Normans both in France and England. Much more than a mere description of national heroes throughout history, the saga literature engendered a historical and national *conscience*, and an awareness of the *self* in comparison with the *other*. Contemporary European chroniclers wrote almost exclusively in Latin. In light of the Latin literary tradition of Christianity, the omnipresent vernacular of the Old Norse writers therefore stands out as the explicit expression of a nascent national identification. The use of the vernacular can be seen as an *inclusive* exercise aiming at encouraging awareness of the past and a pride in the national, possibly as a natural reaction to the massive importation of foreign material by the Church. The effort to make the foreign material available to a wider audience, in combination with a general strengthening of political structures and the emergence of a more centralized administration led to major changes in literary taste.

By the 13th century, the *state* was in place and interest for past political events and structures declined. The Old Norse audience and readership, mainly members of the clergy and the emergent native aristocracy now converging on the royal court—people

103 The separation of *sacerdotium* and *imperium* so predominant in scholastic thought was radically opposed to the Norse tradition in which there was a close link between the divine and the royal. The legendary divine origin of the royal families was, with the introduction of Christianity, converted into the idea of the “king by the grace of God” (Flint 1975a, *Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967). The God Odin was considered by the Norse people the predecessor of all kings. In *Ynglingesaga* at the beginning of Snorri’s *Heimskringla*, Odin is presented as a great chieftain and soldier from somewhere in Eurasia, where he also supposedly had been a great landowner. With time Odin gained divine status and his descendants were men of great reputation and skills, from amongst which the Norse people elected their kings (Snorri 1981, pp. 13-48, Monsen 1990, pp. 1-35). This divine origin of the pagan Norse kings may have spurred the interest in their lives and deeds.

who had learnt some Latin and maybe some French, and who were eager to appear as educated as their peers in England and France—now turned away from the devotional literature of sermons and homilies characteristic of the missionary period, and also the historical material originating in the 12th century, and embraced the literary conventions of contemporaneous European culture (Halvorsen 1959).

Secular Court Literature in the 13th Century: Chivalric and Arthurian Themes in Old Norse Vernacular

Dyrleger menn ok daða fuller hygner menn ok hæverskir voru i fyrniskonne i Brætlandi at ríki ok at rœysti. at vizsko ok at valde. at forsio ok kvrtæisi. er um atburði þa er jnnanlandz gærðuzt at kunnigir skylldo vera viðrkomandom ok æigi glœymazt okunnom þa leto þær rita til aminningar. i strænglæika lioð ok af þeim gera til skermta nar ok varo mioc margir þær atburðir er oss samer æigi at glœyma. er viðr læitom lioða bok at gera.

(Sir Equitan in *Lai of Equitan*, Cooke & Tveitane, p. 66)¹⁰⁴

Medieval history writing borrowed many features from the biography, and especially that ultimate biographic genre: hagiography. Some times narrative mattered more than historical fact, so that even fantastic and legendary material would be included. The distinction between legend, story and history in medieval writing was not always clear, as all authors laid claim to some degree of historical veracity. The line between fact and fiction was indeed blurred, and the Latin histories of the earlier medieval English chroniclers, for example, contained much of the Celtic material prevalent in the vernacular and secular French court literature of the 12th and 13th centuries. The early European histories were learned “ancestors” of fictional court literature. Both heroic epic and chivalric romance were to become extremely popular throughout Western Europe, both in the oral and the literary traditions.

Norwegian society in the Christian Middle Ages was a sparsely populated rural society far removed from the urban reality and courtly refinement of the creators of the French court literature. Old Norse society was organized around powerful landowners or strong pretenders to the throne and their ability to rally the local peasants and bondsmen in

¹⁰⁴ “Excellent and accomplished men, clever men and courteous, were in Brittany in olden days, with power and prowess, with wisdom and with might, prudence and politeness, who, concerning the events which took place in that country, in order that these be known to posterity and not be lost to strangers, had been written in *lais* for remembrance’s sake and made into entertainment. There were many of these adventures that we ought not to forget when we are trying to make a book of *lais*” (Cooke & Tveitane, p. 67).

local “armies” (Bagge & Mykland 1993).¹⁰⁵ Long before their inclusion into the community of Christian nations, the Vikings had been in regular contact with foreign people along the trading routes. Common commercial travelers emerged as early as the 8th century. In Christian times, the many pilgrimages brought the Norse people in direct contact with contemporaneous popular European literary traditions, songs, and legends, and literary material from even farther away. The commercial and military routes dating back to the Roman Empire were privileged places of encounters between various travelers—pilgrims, students, teachers, merchants—and entertainers such as the jongleurs and the troubadours (Halvorsen 1959).

The three principal destinations for pilgrims from the North were Rome, the Holy Land and Santiago de Compostela. In order to get to Santiago, pilgrims had to pass through the French territories. Traveling was a slow affair. Some people traveled as solitary wanderers, others as part of larger groups. In the opposite direction came foreign pilgrims to the shrine of Saint Olaf in Trondheim. We know very little of the Norwegian pilgrim’s entourage, but at least the more important people, in the manner of their European counterparts, must have traveled with members of their household, including wife, children, clerics and servants (Ørjasæter 1994, Togeby 1972). This was also true for many of the crusaders who crossed the southern parts of the Continent on their way to the Holy Land (Pernoud 1990). The pilgrim routes were essential parts of an informal system of communication between people of different nations and cultural traditions, and the pilgrims were instrumental to the dissemination of well-known stories and legends, the lives of the saints and miracles, as they would share the same devotion, pass-time and entertainment along the way (Ørjasæter 1994, Togeby 1972).

Some of the Celtic themes developed by the romance authors of the 12th century appeared for the first time in the early chronicles. In the early Middle Ages the

¹⁰⁵ In the old pagan society, the main social distinction was between free men and bonded labor (Bagge 1998).

Venerable Bede produced the first history of the English people from the time of their conversion, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. He was also responsible for the first reputed translation of the Bible into the vernacular, but unfortunately his work has not survived (Kirby 1986). William of Malmesbury (12th C) compiled *Gesta regum Anglorum* around 1125 and Geoffrey of Monmouth (d.1154) probably finished his *Historia regum Britanniae*—translated into Old Norse as *Breta sögur*—a decade later, some time between 1136 and 1138 (Barnes 1987, Venås 1962).

Early medieval history writing had predominantly been a monastic activity, and the English chronicles probably arrived in Norway with the missionary monks. They became precious sources for the Old Norse translators and saga writers (Barnes 1987, Venås 1962). In the 12th century, many of the events narrated in the European chronicles moved from the monasteries into the courts. The historical became courteous. Monmouth's *Historia* constitutes the earliest written sources for the Celtic legends of King Arthur and his twelve knights. The Anglo-Norman Robert Wace (c. 1100-1174), a contemporary of Geoffrey and William, repeated parts of Monmouth's history in his vernacular *Roman de Brut* (c. 1155), presented to Eleanor of Aquitaine.¹⁰⁶ Wace transformed Geoffrey's Latin prose chronicle into a verse roman (Brunel 1972, Shichtman 1987, Pym 1998, Britannica 2000), and by doing so introduced the *matière de Bretagne*, i.e. Arthurian fiction, for the first time in the vernacular. *Roman de Brut* was named after the founder of the Britons, presumably the legendary Brutus, son of Caesar. Wace also wrote a *Roman de Rou*, recapitulating the history of the people of Normandy (Shichtman 1987) from Rollo the

106 Eleanor (1122-1204) married Henry II Plantagenet in 1154. Her son was Richard Lion Heart. She was an educated woman with an interest in literature and was grand patron of many troubadours. She also corresponded with the scholarly Hildegard of Bingen (Aasen 1996). Hildegard (1098-1179) was a prolific Latin writer, author of medical treatises, musical plays, and visionary accounts. Her most famous books are *Causae et curae*, *Physica*, *Liber Scivias* and *Liber divinorum operum*. In her work, she reconciles the new intellectual ideas of her time with traditional monastic mysticism, arguing that Man, who himself is nature, is able to understand nature by rational thinking and transform it with his actions. Implicitly, she too challenges the static world order (Le Goff 1985, Larrington 1995).

Viking (c. 911) to Robert II Curthose (1106) (Britannica 2000).¹⁰⁷ The motivating interest behind these two histories probably was the common French characteristics of both the Duchy of Normandy and the English court. France and England represented the pinnacle of medieval refinement and intellectual enterprise. Scholars from many countries converged on the universities and schools there, where the best medieval teachers taught, and where, as we have seen, a few Norwegian students attended. Members of the Norwegian court and church had personal and ecclesiastical contacts with both of these French-speaking entities (Barnes 1987).¹⁰⁸

The Arthurian legends were in essence and composition much closer to the popular story than to the traditional chronicle. They were highly entertaining and quickly appeared in other vernaculars and soon became popular reading throughout Europe. However, a vast repertory of miscellaneous Celtic myths supplemented the Arthurian legends (Barnes 1987), including the legend of Tristan and Isolde, as it has been transmitted by Bérout and Thomas (Marchello-Nizia 1995), in addition to a number of fables and tales disseminated by jongleurs and singers (Brunel 1972).

107 In medieval times, it was usual to assume that a country was named after its first legendary leader or chieftain. Grammaticus Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* narrates the history of the Danish people from Dan the First to the reign of Valdemar II Seier (1170-1241). That Dan had been the first Danish king, was something Saxo had read in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Dan was brother of Angel, who had founded England. Both were sons of Humbli (Book One). Another tradition (*Chronicon Lethrense* – the Chronicle of Lejre) holds that Dan is the brother of both Nor(i), the founder of Norway, and Østen, the first ruler of Sweden, and that Ypper of Uppsala was their father (Fisher & Davidson 1998, Book One, Footnote 1). In *Ynglingesaga*, Snorri refers to Dan the Proud as the person from whom Denmark took its name (Monsen 1990, p. 12).

108 Håkon had several contacts on the Continent. He was on friendly terms with Henry III of England, who mediated between Håkon and the Scottish King Alexander over the Orkneys and Hebrides (Barnes 1987). Håkon also was on good terms with Matthew Paris, the English monk and historian who wrote about the King in his *Chronica majora*. Moreover, Håkon's daughter, Kristin, married Felipe, the brother of Alfonso of Castille in 1268 (Barnes 1987). Alfonso X (1221-1284) was himself a scholar and had produced several compilations as well as a law book—*Las Siete Partidas* (The Seven Divisions of Law)—which contained discourses on manners and moral, as well as the various obligations of a monarch (Britannica 2000). The law collection aimed at creating greater national awareness and political unity in a region where Islam stood against Christianity. Alfonso commissioned a series of translations from Greek and Arabic into the Hispanic vernacular (Pym 2000). He was also interested in mirrors, and may have encouraged or been the source of inspiration for *Konungs skuggsjá* (Barnes 1987). See also Gløersen 1972.

Traditionally, the romance literature imported from the French-speaking territories have been grouped into three distinct branches: the *matière de Bretagne* (represented by Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France), the *matière de France* (romans d'aventure, such as *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Parthenopeu de Blois*), and the *matière de Rome* (for example *Alexanders saga*, *Aneid*, *Troyes*, and *Thèbes*). Almost without exception, the material, including the cycle of Charlemagne—of quite another scope and origin—was presented in the North as *riddarasögur*, as chivalric romance (Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1985, Barhes 1987). As we see, some of the historical and heroic material translated into Old Norse as chivalric romances derived from a distinct Roman tradition, such as *De excidio Troiae Historia* (*Trojumanna saga*) by Darete Phrygius (OLIS),¹⁰⁹ the *Defense of Rome* (*Romverja*) by the Roman historian Sallust (c. 86-35 BC), and a chronicle entitled *Veraldar saga* (History of ancient times) containing extracts from early medieval writings, amongst others the works of Bede and Isidore (Barnes 1987).

Alongside the Arthurian legends, which spread to other cultures with quite some speed, we find the chansons de geste with their roots in the Charlemagne tradition, and non-Arthurian romans d'aventure such as *Floire et Blancheflor* and the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles (*Elis saga ok Rósamunde*) (Barnes 1987). The sources and genres associated with the Arthurian legends and Breton material were many, but in their Old Norse version they were all typically referred to as *riddarsögur*, romances of knightly deeds, a term which came to cover a whole spectrum of imported vernacular literature: the roman courtois, the chansons de geste, the *lais*, as well as some of the more hagiographic and historical works, such as the epic story of Dietrich of Berne (Kalinke 1985b).¹¹⁰

109 A Trojan priest and presumed eyewitness to the Trojan War. *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Trojae Historia*, composed in the 5th century AD, claims to be a translation of Phrygius' first-hand account of the war (*Britannica* 2000).

110 Apparently this heroic figure of the German legendary tradition may have derived from Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth King who ruled over Italy from 493 to 526 (*Britannica* 2000).

The Earliest Epic Figure: Charlemagne And His Entourage

The various chivalric romances of Celtic and Arthurian origin were akin to the spirit of the epic material associated with the achievements and heroic deeds of Charlemagne (742-814)—the first truly great medieval European literary hero—and his entourage. *Vita Karoli* (c. 830), composed by the Frankish historian and Charlemagne's court scholar, Einhard (c. 770-840), had launched in his chronicle a literary theme with an astounding success and longevity (Brunel 1972). The *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* had probably been known in the North long before the reign of Håkon, as it had been included in the story about Holger the Dane (Togeby 1975), a legend subsidiary to the Charlemagne tradition (Brandt 1882, Barnes 1987, Togeby 1972).

The *Chanson de Roland* is the oldest of the French *chansons de geste*, recorded or sung by Turold around 1100 (Brunel 1972, Halvorsen 1985).¹¹¹ Its early conception and popularity in the oral tradition explains why this chanson is amongst the first works of the French vernacular tradition to be translated into Old Norse. Its translation into Old Norse represents the beginning of a literary venture that in Norway would mark the literary efforts of the 13th century (Barnes 1987, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, Britannica 2000). The Charlemagne cycle—and especially the legend of the valiant Roland—must have been known in Norway from quite early on through the tales about Hrolf Kraki, one of Charlemagne's two Danish heroes, the other being Holger the Dane (Lönnroth 1975). In the Ynglinge saga, Snorri briefly mentions Hrolf Kraki, who was only eight years old when he was elected King of Lejre (Snorri 1979, p. 34). The story was retold in the Icelandic *Skjöldungasaga* as well as in some of the Skaldic kennings (REX). The exploits of Charlemagne early on became popular themes in the North, part of a vast repertory of migratory legends, and Saint Olaf's son Magnus

111 The oldest surviving French manuscript dates from between 1125-1150, but the original poem was compiled or recited by a certain Turold, and probably dates back to the end of the 11th century (Brunel 1972).

(1024-1047) was named in honor of the legendary heroic Frankish King (Lönnroth 1975). In Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, the legend finds its parallel in *Bjarkamál* (Lönnroth 1975), an Old Danish epic poem about the siege of Lejre, Hrolf Kraki's fief.

The very first *Vita Caroli Magni* had been written by the Frankish historian Einhard (c. 770-840) about 830, i.e. not long after Charlemagne's death in Spain (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). It soon gave birth to a tradition of heroic poems and songs, which by their reference to the *gesta* had nearly historical ambitions. The *chansons de geste* in the beginning shared some of the same features as the *lai*: they were both musical poems belonging to the repertory of the countless jongleurs and troubadours who crisscrossed the Continent entertaining peasants, towns people, and other travelers along the many pilgrim routes (Barnes 1987, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, Ørjasæter 1994).¹¹²

The different texts belonging to the cycle of Charlemagne were compiled and translated into Old Norse before or around 1250.¹¹³ Scholars usually agree that the part containing the *Chanson de Roland* was produced in its vernacular Norse version as *Runzivals þattr* (the Book of Roncevalles) towards the end of the 12th century. However, the poem must have belonged to an oral tradition long before it was written down. Both Normans and Norwegians had a tradition of reciting heroic poetry to the troops before combat (Lönnroth 1975). According to William of Malmesbury, a singer entertained the Norman troops at Hastings in 1066, performing a cantilene about Roland as

112 The term *gesta* (n. pl) refers to (heroic) deeds and adventures. It initially referred to the verse narratives of Greek and Roman Antiquity such as Homer's *Odyssee* and Virgil's *Enead*. The distinction between story and history is not always clear. The *chanson de geste*, recounting presumable historical events, ran parallel to the Celtic *lai*. It was an oral genre, sung by jongleurs (Moignet 1969). The term *gesta* was used by medieval chroniclers such as Adam of Bremen (*Gesta hammaburgensis*), Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum*), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta regum Anglorum*), Thomas Walsingham (*Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*), and Curtius Rufus (*Gesta Alexandri Magni* also known as *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*).

113 See Appendix 2.

encouragement before the battle (Lönnroth 1975). In the saga about Saint Olaf, the skald Tormod is requested to perform for the men. He recited from the Danish *Bjarkamál*, featuring Bodvar Bjarke, one of Hrolf Kraki's berserks (Snorri 1979). The legend of Hrolf Kraki is interesting in that it took on a life of its own, and presents evident parallels to both the cycle of Charlemagne as well as to the mythical tales of King Arthur. Like Charlemagne and Arthur, Hrolf is accompanied by twelve great heroes: his faithful knights (Lönnroth 1975).

The adventures and deeds of Charlemagne, who gained a reputation as a great Christian King and pilgrim—seem to have been popular knowledge long before it was translated into the vernacular in the 13th century (Togeby 1962). This early heroic legend probably inspired the authors of the various Norwegian sagas. The Battle of Roncevalles, originally a minor encounter between the French King and the Basques, was transformed in the poetic tradition it engendered into a battle between Christians and Saracens, and exemplifies the conflicting loyalties at work in feudal society (Britannica 2000). *La Chanson de Roland* and *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne* were combined by the Norse translator into one tale, the *Karlamagnussaga* (Kalinke 1981, Venås 1962, Togeby 1975, Halvorsen 1959, Cook & Tveitane 1979). The saga was apparently translated in parts over a certain period of time, so that some passages of the Norse cycle may in fact be older than others, and actually much older than previously thought (Lönnroth 1975). Some of the legends about Charlemagne were included in Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium* (Lönnroth 1972).¹¹⁴

The famous tales of Charlemagne's pilgrimage and heroic exploits may have been used by the missionaries as *exempla*, thereby becoming factual rather than fictional. Consequently, the motivation behind the translation of romance and heroic literature was

114 Chapter 23, describing Charlemagne's subjugation of the Langobards (Foote 1998).

not merely entertainment as many of the prefaces so ardently claim, that of *Strengleikar*. They all contain didactical digressions and *interlinea* commentary. Nevertheless, the Old Norse *riddarasögur* brought entertainment to people no longer content with the religious and edifying texts which had marked the first centuries of Christianity. The fictitious character of the *romans courtois* captured the imagination of Norwegian courtiers, although the translations arrived at a time when this type of literature was no longer fashionable at the European courts wherefrom they originated (Kalinke 1981).

The Norman Conquest of England in 1066, led to an abrupt halt in Old English literary and translation activity as the national vernacular was suppressed by French at the court (Kirby 1986, Gravier 1975), which from then on became the everyday language of the Anglo-Norman court in England (Lawson 1967). Consequently, the medieval French territory cannot be restricted to a geographical area, but must include parts of England, as the English elite adopted the French vernacular and remained French-speaking well into the 14th century (Baugh 1978, Gravier 1975, Lusignan 1986). The social status of the French vernacular increased after the Norman Conquest and vernacular literature flourished on both sides of the Channel, explaining how Chrétien de Troyes (act. 1164-1190) and Marie de France (act. 1160-1190), the former royal poet at the court of Marie de Champagne (c. 1126-1173), the latter associated with the Anglo-Norman court of Eleanor of Aquitaine, could be part of the same literary tradition, using almost the same vernacular expression.

The Arthurian Tradition in the *Matière de Bretagne*: Chrétien de Troyes

Between 1164 and 1190, Chrétien composed a series of *romans courtois* that were based on the same Arthurian legends as some of Marie de France's *Lais* (c. 1160). In Chrétien's *romans*, the intricate psychology of the protagonists was carrying the narrative. The action carrying the tale was internal more than external and accompanied

by a good dose of humor, the *rire médiéval*, in the manner of the *fabliau*, through which medieval authors laughed at and criticized members of their society, rich and poor, clerical and profane (Brunel 1972, Laurion 1997). Chrétien's contribution to French vernacular literature is significant. He sought inspiration for his *romans* in classical works such as Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, which he translated in the 1160s (Monfrin 1964 in Deslisle 2001, Foucher 1975). While looking for inspiration in Ovid's poetry, he at the same time successfully operated a cultural transfer between two vernacular traditions, the Celtic and the French, a phenomenon that was quite unheard of then in learned circles (Lusignan 1986).¹¹⁵

The various aspects of matrimonial union and the true passion between lovers constitute the central literary theme in the romance genre, of which *Floire et Blancheflor*—by the Countess of Dia (b.c. 1140), the wife of Guillems of Poitiers—is another good example (Larrington 1995). The romance of *Floire et Blancheflor*, for a long time thought to be of Moorish origin, deals with the separation and reunion of two young lovers, the Saracen Floire and the Christian Blancheflor. The story was translated into the East Midland English vernacular around 1250 and became very popular (*Britannica* 2000). A little later, towards the end of the 13 century, the poem was also translated into Old Norse (Halvorsen 1959) as one of the last “romances” to be translated (Barnes 1987).

Romance literature combined two notions that had hitherto been considered incompatible: love and marriage (Brunel 1972). The *roman*, originally referring to any writing in the vernacular or the *romanz* language, made it easier to present profane themes properly, and to bypass the obligations of correctness and social convention. The use of the vernacular justified the preoccupation with the quotidian and immediate, not the learned

115 Marie de France was also inspired by Ovid's writings, illustrated by her reference to one of his book in the *Lai of Guiamar*: “Le livre d'Ovid, ou il enseigne comment chascun s'amur estreine” (Rychner 1972, p. 12).

and abstract. In addition, the vernacular opened the door for women to be literary characters and active participants in the narrative (Barnes 1987).¹¹⁶

French chivalric literature dealt not so much with the external conflicts between heroic men—although these conflicts constituted the setting—as with the emotional aspects of life and the complex loyalties at play in a feudal medieval society. Chrétien played with the contradictory demands of love and chivalry, and the opposition between the altruistic (and somewhat unattainable) ideals of the heroic knight and his quest for personal glory. The Arthurian legends can be regarded as part entertainment and part didactical stories in which the adventure of the protagonist becomes a learning experience for the audience, and the actions of the heroes become examples to follow (Barnes 1987).

The Celtic legends in French vernacular mix pagan and Christian ideals in an imaginary world of courtship and adventure governed by the intervention of destiny and magic (Venås 1962). Many of the chivalric themes were incorporated into 12th-century courtesy handbooks, such as *De arte honeste amandi* (between 1174-1186) by Andreas Capellanus (Halshall 2000), a forerunner to the many medieval Prince's Mirrors, such as Robert of Blois' *L'enseignement des princes* and *Beudous* (Barnes 1987, *OLIS*). From the early chronicles to the court romance and courtesy books, the characteristics of the protagonist's *persona* evolved and assumed a new mission. The heroes depicted in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannicae* are presented as real historical figures. In the *roman courtois* they are treated primarily as fictional characters, whereas courtesy books present the main characters as recommendable behavioral models (Barnes 1987).

116 The literary representation of women in court literature engendered a new perception of love, marriage and friendship, as developed by Jean de Meung (1250-1305) and Guillaume de Lorris (c.1215-1278) in *Le Roman de la Rose* (Le Goff 1985).

Three of Chrétien's *romans courtois* were translated into Old Norse in the 13th century: *Eric et Enide*, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, and *Perceval ou le conte du Graal* (Zinc 1972). In the Norse romance, the physical strength, courage, and the prowess of the heroic knight came to the fore in a concise and direct narrative more in tune with the native literary traditions and Norse ideals of personal behavior (Halvorsen 1959) than with the well-constructed character study of Chrétien's knights. The Norse versions downplayed the intricate psychological schemes and emotional conflicts of Chrétien's originals (Zinc 1972), and the first person narrator who delivers the author's ironic commentary, as well as monologues and longer descriptive passages, were also eliminated (Halvorsen 1959). One reason for this textual modification may be that Chrétien's audience was made up of courtiers familiar with the literary figures, rhetorical formulae, moral values, and descriptive methods used by the author, whereas the Norse audience represented a group of less sophisticated courtiers who were being introduced to foreign ideals. Consequently, the Old Norse translators of Chrétien's *romances* in many instances worked selectively—omitting passages or explaining the more controversial ones—in an effort to improve on the conduct of the heroes, or at least excuse the worst examples of foolishness and undignified behavior (Barnes 1987).

The new behavioral ideals are echoed in *Konungs skuggsjá*, especially the notion of the divine origin of royal power—the rule by *gratia dei*—and the idea of the King as a *servant* in the larger scheme of things (Øverås 1952). The chivalric court literature introduced the very *unmanly* notion of *service* as part of the noble man's duties. The Christian King was surrounded by his able men, the royal counsel, bound forever by an oath of servitude. In the chivalric world there was a chain of servitude. The idea of individual freedom and independence vis-a-vis the King contained in the old order—in which loyalty to the leader was subject to change, depending on the circumstances—had been lost (Bagge 1998).

The *Matière De Bretagne* and the Romance Tradition: Marie de France

The first religious vernacular texts in Norway had been significantly adapted for the benefit of an audience of Christian neophytes, basically unfamiliar with the scholarly tradition of theological exposition. The early religious material used by the missionaries had already incorporated a certain number of secular legends and stories so as to make the new religious concepts less foreign. Under Håkon Håkonsson the literary taste changed (Venås 1962). Indeed, most medieval Norsemen did not consider tales about God and the sufferings of the Saints entertaining (Kalinke 1981), and the Celtic tradition in its French and Anglo-Norman expression was more in tune with the Norse temperament and mentality than the biblical and religiously inspired material. The original verse romances were translated into a prose vernacular that emulated the native narrative tradition, and—as a result of the subtle amendments to the texts in an effort to reach the Norse audience—changed the spirit of the tales and made them definitely northern (Barnes 1987). Yet, despite the apparent adaptation of the source texts by the translator(s) through omissions and amplifications and notwithstanding the frequent conversion of indirect speech into direct speech (Venås 1962), the Norse romances by and large remained quite faithful to the original texts (Gravier 1975).

King Håkon Håkonson (r. 1217-1263), who had received his education in England and France according to the customs of the upper echelons of society, ordered the translation of a collection of Anglo-Norman *lais* into Old Norse at the very beginning of his reign. These *lais* became some of the first concerted encounters with European romance literature and stories based on the Celtic legends of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. At the time of their translation (Extant manuscript from c. 1270) into the Norse vernacular, the 21 *lais* already existed as an established collection of romances (Kalinke 1981), and Håkon commissioned the translation of the whole sequence (Venås 1962, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

The initial name of the Norse collection was *Lioðabók* (Song Book), but it is better known as *Strengleikar* (stringed plays/dances). The Norse translator explains the title by referring to the instruments that were used when performing the originals (Venås 1962). A *lai* was a Celtic musical poem from the “syðra Bretlande,” i.e. French Brittany, accompanied by one or more stringed instruments, such as harps, fiddles, hurdy-gurdies, lyres, dulcimers, psalteries, and rotes (Kalinke 1981, Cook & Tveitane 1979). Initially, the Celtic singers performed the *lai* in their native tongue while the content was being rendered into the French vernacular by an interpreter. As the genre gained in popularity, the appellation *lai* was transposed to both French translations and copies, even when these were no longer accompanied by music (Venås 1962).

The original manuscript contained not only the *Strengleikar*, but also *Pamphilius* and *Elis saga ok Rósamunde*, the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles (Cook & Tveitane 1979). Some of the stories in *Strengleikar* are anonymous; but eleven have positively been attributed to Marie de France. (Skårup 1962, Laurion 1997, Rychner 1971, Venås 1962, Tveitane & Cook 1979).¹¹⁷ Little is known of Marie’s life, but she probably lived as a *courtisane* at the Angevine court of England (Aasen 1996). Some suggest that she may have been associated in some way with the Convent of Poissy near Paris, entrusted to the nuns at a young age. Others contend that she was Marie, Abbess of Shaftesbury, (illegitimate?) daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet and thereby Henry II’s half-sister (Labarge 1986).¹¹⁸

It has been suggested that the *Strengleikar* were translated by different Norse translators; if so, however, scholars believe that they must have worked as part of a greater

117 For a complete list, see Appendix 3. In addition to the twelve *lais* that Marie is supposed to have written (Cook & Tveitane 1979) she also composed *Isopet* around 1180—a collection of fables based on Æsop’s collection—and *Purgatoire de Saint-Patrick*, which she translated from Latin (Skårup 1975. For a discussion of which *lais* in the collection are anonymous and which are positively attributed to Marie, see Tobin 1976 and Cook & Tveitane 1979.)

118 Duke Geoffrey (1113-1151) of Anjou, Touraine and Maine married Matilda of England in 1128. Their son, Henry, married Eleonor of Aquitaine. He later became King Henry II of England (*Britannica* 2000).

team as the style and overall structure seem coordinated and coherent (Venås 1962).¹¹⁹ At a time of significant scholastic refinement Marie was the first secular author to consciously adopt and adapt the riches of the vigorous folklore and vernacular oral traditions and make it part of a respectable and written “courteous” romance tradition. *Chèvrefeuille*,¹²⁰ *Lanval* and *Le mantel mautailé*¹²¹ are, apart from the Tristan romance the only examples from the Celtic tradition in Great Britain to find their way into Norse translation, with the exception of *Breta sögur* based on Geoffrey de Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*¹²² and *The Prophecies of Merlin*, translated as *Merlinúsþá* (Cook & Tveitane 1979). Probably, the Old Norse translation of the *Prophecies of Merlin* preceded that of *Breta sögur* and may therefore have inspired the latter’s translation. *Merlinúsþá* is an Icelandic verse translation by Gunnlaugr Leifsson, a monk at Þingeyrar, but was probably read in Norway as well (Kalinke 1981). As we have seen, the Arthurian material translated in medieval Norway was indeed limited yet included some of the best of what the chivalric literature had to offer (Halvorsen 1959).

All *lais* comprised in the Old Norse collection *Strengleikar* were believed to be of Celtic origin according to Marie’s own statement as well as the Old Norse translator (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, Marie does not distinguish between the traditions of the two sides of the Channel; to her the *lais* are all “Breton,” meaning from Brittany. *Chèvrefeuille*

119 The collection of *Strengleikar* was also referred to as “breta strengleikar Roberti abbatis” by the Swedish royal antiquarian Olof Verelius in 1691, suggesting that Brother Robert was the translator; however, this remains highly hypothetical (Venås 1962).

120 This Tristanian romance was entitled *Geitarlauf* in Old Norse, a literal translation of the word (Goat Leaf = Old English *Gotelef*), even though the plant existed and had a Norse name: *viðvindill* (Venås 1962).

121 *Le mantel mautailé*—*Mottulssaga*—a fabliau (Zinc 1975) expounding on the disconcerting consequences of a chastity test at the not so “courteous” court of King Arthur (Kalinke 1991). This text was probably translated for sheer amusement and laughter (Kalinke 1981)—by some attributed to Marie, by others to Chrétien de Troyes—and is the only example of fabliaus to be translated into Old Norse (Halvorsen 1959, Barnes 1989).

122 However, Geoffrey’s Arthurian story pretends to be a historical work and not a romance.

(*Geitarlauf*) belongs to the Tristan legend and the imaginary of the British Isles. It narrates a short passage in the longer version, how Tristan carves his name with a knife on a twig of hazel and sends it down a stream as a message to his beloved Isolde (Marchello-Nizis 1995, Cook & Tveitane 1979, see also Anthology Section). The *Lai of Lanval* (*Janual* in Old Norse) derives from the Arthurian tradition. Despite Marie's claim to recounting only Celtic tales, one of the *lais* in the collection is definitely not of Celtic origin, namely the second *Lai of two lovers*, which instead belongs to the *matière de Rome* and tells the story of how the Duke of Piacenza eloped with the one of the Roman emperor's daughters. No sources have been found for this incomplete Old Norse translation, and nothing suggests that this *lai* of non-Breton origin was part of the initial collection. It may have been inserted into the collection at a later point (Cf. Tobin 1976, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

The Old Norse translator of *Strengleikar* made certain modifications to the text of the *lais* to have them conform more to traditional Old Norse literary conventions. As with the translations of Chrétien de Troyes' chivalric romances, the Norwegian *Strengleikar* emphasized action over psychology. The first part of the prologue is not by Marie, but by the Norse translator or redactor, explaining the *lais'* genre and their Celtic origin. The stories were to some extent abridged and simplified for the Old Norse audience, maybe inspired by Marie's intention to keep things short, as expressed in the *Lai of Guiamar*,¹²³ claiming that there would be strict verbal economy and emphasis on the main events. This promise of verbal restraint does not, however, prevent this particular *lai* from being one of the longest in Marie's collection (Cooke & Tveitane 1979).

123 "Les contes ke jo sai verrais, dunt li Bretun unt fait les lais, vos conterai assez briefmen" (I.e.: the stories that I know are true, that the Brittons turned into *Lais*, I now will tell you in brief."). The *Lai of Guiamar*, Rychner 1972, p. 6. This is, however, a *lai* of uncertain origin, that may have been included in the collection by Marie even though she did not write it (Tobin 1976).

The exact literary sources for the *lais* is uncertain, as there are no traces of written Celtic source material before Marie. The *lais* found in *Strengleikar* that cannot positively be attributed to Marie derive from various anonymous French poets or jongleurs' repertory (Tobin 1976 & Cook & Tveitane 1979). The Old Norse collection was accompanied by one *chanson de geste*: the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles. Furthermore, in the Norse collection, the *Lai of Equitan* differs considerably from the rest. It contains a number of the translator's personal *interlinea* commentaries, allusions to the Scriptures, and a couple of Latin quotes not found in Marie's original. In general this gives the *lai* the moralizing tone of an *exemplum*, suggesting that the translator was a cleric used to religious discourse and admonition. Says the narrator of the *Lai of Equitan*: "He who put this book into Norwegian advises all who hear and have heard this story that they never covet that which others own by right, whether property or partner in marriage, and that they never envy another man's lot or luck" (Cooke & Tveitane 1979, p. 79, See also Anthology Section).¹²⁴ Such a moralizing, explanatory, and didactical tone prevails in much of the material translated into Old Norse, suggesting a certain need for clarification or distanciation from the hero's action and the inculcation of more appropriate moral values than those conveyed by the main characters in the story.

The Legend of Tristan and Isolde

The mythical tale of Tristan and Isolde was first recorded in the Anglo-French vernacular by Thomas in England some time between 1170 and 1173. The Frenchman Bérout composed another version just a decade later. The theme seems to have had great success from the start, and Chrétien de Troyes also claims to have composed a *roman*,

¹²⁴ For a comparison of the original French version and its Old Norse counterpart, see Anthology Section.

al hi co. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶

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referred to in the prologue to *Cligès ou la fausse morte*, entitled *Le Roi Marc et Yseult la Blonde* (Foucher 1975, Marchello-Nizia 1995).¹²⁵ Of the earliest French manuscripts and copies, none have survived in their entirety, and Thomas' text as we know it today through Bédier is a reconstruction based on the German and Norse adaptations from the 13th century (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Skårup 1975).¹²⁶ Although strictly speaking not part of the Arthurian cycle, the legendary tales of Tristan and Isolde derive from the same Celtic mythical world, and have a definite Arthurian coloring, especially in their Old Norse version. It was quickly adapted to become more chivalric, closer to the court romance, which was then fashionable on both sides of the Channel. The love relation between Tristan and Isolde is an example of true courtly love—*fin'amor*—the kind that was possible only outside of marriage (Marchello-Nizia 1995).¹²⁷

Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France were contemporaries of Thomas, and certainly the connection to Marie—by way of their simultaneous presence at the court of the Plantagenets—and to chivalric romance must not be ignored. Quite early on, Thomas' *Tristan et Yseut* probably had circulated accompanied by two smaller stories: the *Lai du Chèvrefeuille* (c. 1165) by Marie de France, and *La folie de Tristan*—either the Oxford or the Berne manuscript, which had been composed at approximately the same time. The Tristanian theme became an instant success, of which the many translations and adaptations, both in verse and in prose, over the next centuries, are proof (Marchello-Nizia 1995).

125 In this prologue Chrétien claims to have translated Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (Foucher 1975, p. 94). By the 12th century, the rediscovered Classical authors clearly influenced the writings of the French court poets.

126 Joseph Bédier (1942) *Le Roman de Tristan et Yseut* (Foreword by Gaston Paris). Paris : H. Piazza.

127 Says Marie de France about the passion between the two lovers in the *Lai du Chèvrefeuille*: "De lur amur ki tant fu fine, dont il eurent meinte dolor, puis en mururent en un jur." The notion of *fin'amor* has been eliminated in the Norse version, where it is substituted by "um hina tryggazto ast þeira" (their true love) (Marchello-Nizia 1995: p. 213, and Cook & Tveitane 1979: p. 196).

The Norwegian translation of Thomas' *Tristrams saga ok Isondar* (1226) almost coincides with the composition of Snorri's historical saga (c. 1230-35). The saga of Tristan was the work of a certain Brother or Abbot Robert in 1226, according to the translator's own statement in the prologue (Kalinke 1981, Marchello-Nizia 1995). Robert probably also translated *Elis saga*. Some scholars surmise that he was of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman origin, as indicated by his name, which was not a common Norse name at the time (Venås 1962), others that he may well have been of Norse stock (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Notwithstanding his origin, he was probably attached to one of the two monasteries founded by English monks: either Lyse Kloster (Bergen) or the monastery at Hovedøya (Oslo) (Halvorsen 1959).¹²⁸

Very little is known about Brother Robert; however, a presumed English origin could account for his obvious mastering of the contemporaneous French vernacular which was then the language of the English upper classes, but not at the same time explain his apparent vernacular Norse skills (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, it has been argued that people did on occasion change their name for a more Christian appellation—upon admission into a monastic order for instance—and that the name Robert cannot necessarily be taken as an indication of foreign origin (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Robert—obviously a cleric of scholarly training with knowledge of the literary trends on the Continent and possibly educated abroad—could well be of Norwegian stock and yet master the French language. In *Konungs skuggsjá* the father advises his son to learn both Latin and French—*valsku*¹²⁹—suggesting that French may have been taught

128 Marchello-Nizia positively places Robert at the Monastery of Lyse near Bergen, where Håkon Håkonsson held court (Marchello-Nizia 1995, p. 1519).

129 "*Valsku* / *velsku*": originally the Old Norse term for "Welch" was used to indicate Norman-French (Norrøn ord-bok 1993).

in the 13th century Norway, and considered part of a nobleman's education (Cook & Tveitane 1979).¹³⁰

In the North, the legend of Tristan became a *riddarasaga*. Brother Robert adapted the story to his native audience, an audience completely unfamiliar with the Celtic mythical universe or the intricate and refined ideals of European courtiers and their notion of *fin'amor*. The chivalric and court literature of 12th-century France and England and the mentality it conveyed was indeed far removed from the life and ideals of the people of the North. In Norway there were very few urban centers and very few castles and fortifications resembling the ones described in the legends of Tristan and Arthur. The social hierarchy outlined was established along different lines. The native Norwegian nobility lived under different circumstances than their aristocratic counterparts in other countries. Consequently, the Norse version of the Tristan legend—the first of the French court romances to reach the North—had to be modified in a number of ways to accommodate its Nordic audience and mindset. Yet Robert's work became a model for the subsequent translation of other chivalric themes (Marchello-Nizia 1995) and the romance literature enjoyed great popularity.

The Norse version of the Tristan legend is considerably shorter than Thomas' original. In it, most of the psychological qualms and trials of the protagonists, as well as many of the rhetorical and descriptive passages have been eliminated. The uncontrollable and fatal passion of adulterous love in combination with the intricate psychology of the protagonist—so unfamiliar to the Norse mentality and so essential to the French romance literature—were indeed new literary themes. The expression of

130 It's also tempting to suggest that Robert—if of foreign origin—could have been assisted by a native scholar or oral helper, in the same way as translators of the Arabic scientific and philosophical texts in Toledo were assisted by Jews and Mozarabs who were not accorded any status or importance in relation to the work they performed (cf. Pym 1998).

passionate and fatal love with no regard for honor and lineage had had no place in the saga literature: self-control and the maintenance of one's honor had remained the greater virtues. Yet Robert clearly put considerable effort into making his hero acceptable to the audience in presenting Tristan as both noble and refined. However, the task was formidable (Marchello-Nizia 1995).

The chivalric ideals set out in the *romans courtois* built on the notion of *servitude* inherent to the strongly hierarchical structure of European feudal society. The knights were bound to their sovereign king, God's chosen ruler, by an immutable oath of servitude and loyalty. In return, the King himself owed servitude, at least in principle, to both God and the people. In the court romances, servitude to the knight's chosen lady was added (Marchello-Nizia 1995). This view of inflexible power allegiance was unfamiliar to the Northern mentality (Bagge 1998). In the North, the principle of the King being in power *by the grace of God* had in the 13th century—as a result of the sustained pressure and intervention of the Church—only just started to gain common acceptance (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The traditional Old Norse King had in theory been chosen from amongst equal contenders. The perception of the King remained that of an elected leader. Servitude and submission were not part of the Norse social and political conventions; not until the 13th century, when we see the emergence of a state in a more modern sense of this term does the idea of service enter the mentality.

The irony so prevalent in both Chrétien's *romans* and to some extent in Marie's *Lais* had no equivalent in the Norse literary tradition, as most Old Norse sagas had been composed *in honor of the protagonists*, great men and forefathers worthy of praise and memory. Snorri specifically stresses the importance of the historian's adhering to the truth. Honor depends on truth, and there can be no honor based on deceitful praise. Says Snorri in his Prologue to *Heimskringla*:

En þat er háttr skálda at lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja sjálfum honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok sva sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof.

(Pálsson 1944, p. 2)¹³¹

In the North, a hero or King could definitely not be laughed at, in the manner of *Le mantel mautailé* where the author ridicules the events and behaviors of the people at the court of King Arthur. Moreover, the idea of *nation* had not the same significance in Norway as in the countries where the court literature had developed (Venås 1962). The staying power of a Norwegian King continued very much to be contingent upon the support of powerful regional landlords: by the 13th century the monarchy had not yet grown into a solid institution, although the process of reform had been launched. The French court literature, firmly rooted in a society ruled by the notion of a strong monarch within clearly defined geographical borders, can therefore to some extent be regarded as an important propaganda tool in the service of King Håkon's political ambitions, conducive to the acceptance of the idea of the necessity of a strong monarch. The political message was mixed with the general desire for courtly entertainment.

The Old Norse *Tristan*, therefore, was not a *roman courtois* in the same way as its French model, nor was it a text written according to the traditions of the historical sagas. Rather, as it exists today, it can be considered an *intermediary* type of text, truly at the interstice of two very different literary conventions. There are few surviving manuscripts containing the legend in its entirety in any language. The extant Norse

131 It is fitting for a skald to praise most the man in whose presence he stands; however, no one should make a poem about a man and his deeds when he himself and all around him know that they are nothing but bragging lies. This would be contempt and not praise" (My translation).

version has survived in a 15th century manuscript, meaning that copyists and scholars had had more than 200 years in which to manipulate, adapt and “improve” the text further, in accordance with common medieval scribal practice. It is therefore not possible to assume that the extant Norse version is identical to the one produced by Robert, or that its conciseness and brief form necessarily reflects Robert’s initial work. Medieval convention demanded the elucidation, embellishment, and improvement of the source material, especially when the translator worked for an aristocratic patron, and consequently chivalric romances more often than not idealized the knights as almost perfect representatives of courteous behavior (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Barnes 1987).

The court *romances* dealt with passionate (often extramarital) love, magic, and destiny: in short, love doomed to the torment of repeated separations, passionate reunions, and finally death. These themes are also central to Thomas’ *Tristan* in which passionate love is conceived of as a dangerous emotion that the medieval author implicitly warns against and which inevitably leads to only one thing: to elimination, to final reunion in death (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Tristan, a victim of circumstances beyond his knightly powers, battles against destiny and its fatal outcome. Everything in life is pre-destined, and the adventures of the hero are undertaken solely in order to demonstrate his personal merit. In the Norse world view, man is not ruled by destiny to the same extent. Rather, he must face and challenge it. In short, he must—by his heroic actions—prove that he is a man. This aspect of the *roman* carries the Norse narrative. When Tristan drinks the magic potion that was prepared for someone else, he has no choice but to *accomplish* his destiny which in due course sends him to his death. By adapting the text, by suppressing the recurring mental agony and the moments of hesitation, by rendering the protagonist physically more active and making him less vulnerable to the irrationalities of amorous passion, Brother Robert made the story more

palatable to his native Norse audience while retaining the essence of the narrative (Marchello-Nizia 1995). In adapting the source text to a new audience, Robert performed a *translatio* that became an *emulatio*, and prepared the way for a new literary genre in a distinct Norse context. In the North, the theme of destiny took precedence over magics. Elements of the supernatural and fantastic were confined within the limits of the acceptable and rational.

Latin Romances Inspired by the Chivalric Tradition

The influence of foreign literary models, the vernacular prose style of the historical sagas, and the rhetorical ideals taught in the cathedral schools helped shape the new literary Norse vernacular. The years 1220-1250 were remarkably productive in terms of literary importation and adaptation, and the many translations from the French vernacular marked both the Norse vernacular and the native mentality. The earliest homilies and other devotional material had been translated according to the conventions of saga prose. The Norse vernacular gradually became more complex as a consequence of the encounter with Latin and French, to the point that towards the end of the 13th century, many Norse authors started imitating Latin grammar and syntax (Halvorsen 1959), as did many of the European vernaculars. In 13th-century France, for instance, the vernacular started appearing in certain scholarly texts. The coexistence between Latin and the vernacular over the centuries had an impact on both Latin and the vernacular (Lusignan 1986).

In the second half of the 13th century, the attention of Norse translators turned away from the French chivalric to the common Latin heritage of the medieval Christian world. However, the spirit of court literature lived on for some time. When Håkon's son, Håkon the Younger (d.1257), translated the hagiographic legend of *Barlaams saga ok Josaphat* from Latin, it too was presented to the Norse audience as a *riddarasoga*, i.e. a chivalric

romance. This legend from the early days of Christianity¹³² recounts the story of third- or fourth-century missionary efforts in India, initiated by Saint Thomas.¹³³ Both Barlaam, the missionary monk, and Josaphat quickly found their way into Roman martyrology, and the story of their lives seems to have enjoyed a large popular appeal. Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264) included the story in his *Speculum Historiale* and it can also be found in an abbreviated form in Voragine's (c. 1229-1298) *Legenda aurea*. *Barlaams saga ok Josaphat* was translated into Old Norse around 1250 (Astås 1990a & 1993, Venås 1962, Rindal 1981, Tveitane 1968, Ryan 1993, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

Amongst the Latin material there were epic poems, such as *Pamphilius de amore*,¹³⁴ derived from a 10th-century Latin comedy based on Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (Cook & Tveitane 1979, *OLIS*), and *Alexanders saga* written by the Icelandic Bishop Brandr Jónsson (d.1264)¹³⁵ at the request of Magnus the Law Mender (Halvorsen 1959). This *saga* about the life and deeds of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) was produced after the death of Håkon from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th) (Togeby 1975).

132 Believed by some to derive from a Buddhist legend (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). According to Kirby, this legend was translated into Old Norse in the beginning of the 13th century, under King Håkon Sverresson (Kirby 1986).

133 The Old Norse translation drops the description of the early Christianizing of India, and the material referring to Saint Thomas, but stresses the importance of disseminating the faith to every corner of the universe (Astås 1990, p. 124-152).

134 *Pamphilius ok Galathea*—a Norse translation of *Pamphilius de amore*—has been preserved in the Codex De La Gardie (c.1270) along with *Strengleikar* and *Elis saga*, in Manuscript De La Gardie 4-7 (Kalinke 1981 & 1985b. See also Bate 1976).

135 Brandr Jónsson (c.1200-1264) was born of a wealthy and influential Icelandic family. He received his education at the Augustinian Monastery of Þykkvabær and also probably studied abroad. He was ordained priest in 1238, became Abbot of the monastery in 1247 and Bishop of Hólar in 1262 (Wolf 1995). He also translated parts of *Stjórn* (Unger 1862, Togeby 1975, Kirby 1986) and *Gyðinga saga* (Wolf 1995).

Miscellaneous

Whereas the Icelanders had been the undisputed champions of historical saga writing in the 12th and 13th centuries, the Norwegians became pioneer Old Norse translators of medieval chivalric and contemporaneous court literature in the 13th century. Most modern scholars agree that no *roman courtois* was translated in Iceland, for example, where this genre seems to have been almost ignored and where the family sagas for which the Icelanders have become known were in vogue. The chivalric court literature became popular in Iceland only from the 14th and 15th century, when the surviving manuscripts were copied and preserved for posterity (Togeby 1975). The only other examples of chivalric literature in translation in Scandinavia are the romances commissioned by German-born Queen Eufemia (d.1312). She had married Håkon Magnusson (r. 1299-1319) in 1299 and was Magnus Eriksson's (r. 1319-1355) maternal grandmother (Kalinke 1981, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). At the beginning of the 14th century, she had ordered the translation into Old Swedish of *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*,¹³⁶ the *Duc Frederic of Normandy*, as well as *Flores oc Blantzeflor*, which are amongst the few chivalric romances translated into Old Swedish (Zinc 1972). The Swedish translator of *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* probably used both the Norse *Ivens saga* and Chrétien's original *Yvain* as source texts (Barnes 1987). The translations were probably a gift to the Queen's son-in-law, Duke Erik Magnusson of Sweden (Berdal 1985).

The translation of chivalric and romantic court literature in Norway reflected, as we see, the main trends of the European courts of the same period, although some of the texts translated during 13th-century Norway no longer were fashionable in their

136 The Old Norse version has been preserved primarily in the following vellum manuscripts: Holm 6 (early 15th century), Holm 46 fol. (1690), and AM 489 4^o (c.1450), and a number of derivations of these (see Blaisdell 1979). There are at least nine complete manuscripts of Chrétien's text, and a series of defective ones (Woledge 1986). See also the Anthology Section.

countries of origin. The translated texts depicted a more refined society than that of the Norwegian court, and supported and illustrated the Christian ideals of royal and courtly behavior promoted by the Church. These new ideals were reflected in the revised laws of the second half of the 13th century. The creation of historical texts in the 12th century, the translation of French court literature in the 13th century, and the religious and devotional material imported throughout the period, all worked towards the same goal: a more complete adoption and assimilation of the new secular and religious ideals, and hence the modification of the native mentality.

Biblical and Devotional Texts in Translation

Fili mi. Attende sapientiam meam et prouidentie mee. Inclina aurem tuam ut custodias cogitationes et disciplinam labia mea conferuent. Fauus enim distillant labia meretricis et nitidius olei guttur eius. Novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium et acuta quasi gladius bices. Pedes eius descendunt in mortem et ad inferos gressus eius penetrant. Per semitam uite non ambulant. Uagi sunt gressus eius et inuestigabiles. Nunc autem fili mi audi me et ne recedas a verbis oris mei. Longe fac ab ea viam tuam et ne appropinques foribus eius (Solomon. 5: 1-8).¹³⁷

Written at the back of folio 8 of (AM 619, 4^o) *Humiliúbók*. Indrebø (1931).

Keep me ever your servant, far from pride.

Saint Augustine (1961) p. 24.

Many of the basic texts used by the Church were soon translated into the vernacular and compiled in devotional collections such as homilies, prayer books, and other didactical manuals intended for use in the Church and the Cathedral schools. Parts of the religious literature in Old Norse translation have been preserved, and are indicative of a concerted attempt at introducing the prevailing contemporary scholastic ideas. Notwithstanding the fact that the religious literature in translation was just as voluminous as the courteous saga writings—indicative of a sustained translation activity on behalf of the Church—no traces of autonomous religious polemic or exegetical writing have been detected. However, more than a hundred hagiographic texts have been repertoried, as well as different stories about the apostles (Astås 1993).

Vernacular traces of religious and liturgical material have been preserved in a number of more or less complete manuscripts. The Christian principles that were incorporated into the old law texts contained different vernacular translations of the

137 “My son, attend upon my wisdom, and bow thine ear to my understanding. That thou mayest regard discretion, and that thy lips may keep knowledge. For the lips of a strange woman drops as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil, but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a twoedged sword. Her feet go down to death, her steps take hold on hell. Lest thou shouldest ponder the path of life, her ways are meveable that thou canst not know them. Here me now therefore, O ye children, and depart from the words of my mouth. Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh near the door of her house.” The Holy Bible, King James’ Authorized version, Proverbs, 5:1-8.

apostolic *Credo*, presumably the Old Norse versions that had been introduced by the first missionaries. Although the Mass was celebrated in Latin, the Church encouraged preaching in the native tongue (Astås 1993) and the vernacular seems to have been used as a matter of course. The theology of the 12th and 13th centuries introduced the idea of confession, penitance and redemption on an individual level, and increasingly addressed all parishioners, not only the rich and prosperous. The reforming initiatives of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 modified the way people participated in religious ceremonies. The Council sanctioned the notion of transubstantiation and stipulated that all Christians should attend Mass once a week and receive communion at least once a year, normally at Easter (*Britannica* 2000). With greater popular attendance, the need for sermons and elucidations in the vernacular increased (Bagge 1998). The new organization of Christian life and the Holy Mass, and the demands that it put on the individual parishioner indeed was the prime motivation behind the Old Norse translation of biblical and devotional material.

In the old religion, participation in common rites linked to the seasons and the fertility of both land and beasts had been essential to the feeling of belonging to the community.¹³⁸ The opposition to the “foreign” elements of the new religion can be illustrated by the precarious situation in Iceland at the beginning of the Christian era. Christianity almost tore the small community apart, as people were split over the ban on pagan rites. For the Norse people, religion consisted of communal ceremonies linked to nature’s seasons. Christianity, in contrast, accentuated the importance of philosophy and reflection in accordance with a Church calendar fixed by events that had happened in a faraway country more than one thousand years earlier. In Iceland, a compromise was reached after long negotiations with the main leaders, and it was determined that the

138 Annual blood sacrifices were performed “til árs ok friðar,” i.e. for the year and the peace (Bagge 1998, p. 77).

Icelanders should officially adopt Christianity. Yet they would, for the time being, retain the right to sacrifice animals in secret, expose newborn children, and eat horsemeat as before (Bagge 1998). The incorporation of Christian principles into Icelandic law collections set the scene for the introduction of Christianity in Norway, too.

The oldest extant Norwegian law collection, *Gulatingsloven*—the first to explicitly outline Christian principles, rights and obligations—had been written down for the first time by Olav Haraldsson and Bishop Grimkjell at Moster in 1024. The Church privileges were revised and repeated by Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093) later in the century (Kværness 1996, Øverås 1952), and finally by Magnus the Law Mender in 1274. The Old Norse version of *Symbolum Apostolicum* was used as an introduction to Christian principles (Astås 1987e). Secular laws had existed for a long time before Christian principles were introduced, so that Christian principles were inserted into an already operative legal tradition, and adapted so as to become more palatable to the local population. The practice of some of the old rites was tolerated for a little while longer, giving people the opportunity to adapt gradually to the new faith and its restrictions and obligations. Both the Icelandic *Grágás* and the Norwegian *Gulatingsloven* prohibited pagan rites and blood offerings; however, such rites continued to be performed, and were accepted or at least not severely punished for some time yet. The author of *Íslendingabók*, Ari Þorgilsson, himself a priest, holds that sacrifice can be performed, but for obvious reasons not in public (Kværness 1996).¹³⁹

The translations of the various religious and theological texts had their origin in the missionary priests and monks who had struggled to explain and expound on the *evangelia* in the vernacular from the very beginning. Every "holy" day of the year would be celebrated with a mass in the honor of the patron saint and the story of his or

139 "Blote kan ein godt gjere om det berre skjer i løyndom (Kværness 1996, p. 143)." However, both *Gulatingsloven* and *Grágás* clearly prohibit such pagan practices (Kværness 1996, pp. 148-149).

her life would be read aloud and explained. *Helgar þýðingar*—“interpretations” of the Saints—and homilies in the vernacular had become common by the middle of the 12th century (Astås 1993), as elsewhere in Europe (Lusignan 1986). The difference was that in the North, *Helgar þýðingar* were presented as primarily *historical* material and carried the title *saga*, such as, amongst others, *Mariu saga* and *Postola Sögur*, which included the sagas of Paul and Peter (Kirby 1986, Unger 1871 & 1874).¹⁴⁰ The devotional texts were primarily used as *exempla* in the teaching process, and the translator sometimes added his own comments and proverbs of more familiar Norse stock and in this way made the message less foreign. In fact, the Norwegian Church frequently used both Latin and Old Norse proverbs to illustrate the faith (Astås 1993).

Despite efforts to adapt the constitutive texts to an audience of relative heathens—especially in the early days of Christendom—the vernacular translations in many instances show evidence of substantial dependence upon the Latin sources. The complex relation between the scholarly Latin and the vernacular resulted in a literary Old Norse full of latinizations and loanwords, especially in the earliest translations, proving that finding or inventing appropriate Norse words for the terminology of Christian theology was indeed a difficult task (Tveitane 1968). The work of the earliest Norse translators of religious material contributed substantially to the development of the Norse learned style found in both the *Heilagra manna sögur* (c. 1250-1300) (Tveitane 1968), and the Old Testament material known as *Stjórn* (beginning of the 14th century), and to the colloquial vernacular of the romance and chivalric literature (Astås 1993, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

By the end of the 13th century, not only translators had recourse to Latin syntax and structure, it became outright fashionable to apply both the rules of Latin rhetoric and

140 These stories are also found in the Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Halshall 1997).

grammar to original vernacular prose writing. *Konungs skuggsjá*, composed approximately at the same time and in the same environment as *Barlaams saga* (c. 1260), is a good example. The language of this *speculum*, despite its explicit oral conception in the form of a dialogue between father and son, definitely belongs to the learned style, with many characteristics borrowed from contemporaneous sermon writing, as evidenced by the many references to and quotations from biblical material (Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1987 & 1993). The author of *Konungs skuggsjá* was probably inspired by the third book of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius*, *Speculum historiale*.¹⁴¹ *Speculum maius* consisted of thousands of quotations by classical, patristic, and medieval Latin authors (Øverås 1952). It was indeed a typical medieval court manual, full of moral precepts and rules for good behavior (Lusignan 1986). In the spirit of Vincent's encyclopedic Great Mirror, *Konungs skuggsjá* carried many contemporaneous European ideals to the Norwegian court (Øverås 1952), as well as selected biblical material with explanations, so as to ensure appropriate understanding of the Church's position in questions pertaining to teaching and dogma. *Konungs skuggsjá* is not a translation in the strict sense of, but rather an example of autonomous Norse compilation of contemporaneous medieval wisdom. Paraphrastic renderings of the Genesis, although not excerpts from the earlier parts of *Stjórn*, have been included in *Konungs skuggsjá*,¹⁴² an occurrence which may suggest (but not prove) that, to some

141 Vincent of Beauvais (c.1190-1264) was a contemporary of the Norse compiler of *Konungs skuggsjá*. His goal was to collect, classify, and order knowledge—all available knowledge. He was the first to enumerate kings in his chronological history of France, *Speculum historiale* (BNF). Vincent was in the service of Louis IX (1226-1270) as lector and preceptor (c.1250) to the royal children (Astås 1986) and as such may have been particularly appreciated by the Norwegian compiler as he composed his manual of Christian virtues and recommended royal behavior. Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* also included an extensive compilation of Hélinand of Froidmont's (c.1160-c.1229) *Chronique* in which the idea of *translatio studii* from the Greek and the Latin to French is prominent (Lusignan 1986). His writings are recorded in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 212.

142 Victorine influence on these two books is also possible. A commentary on the Psalms by Hugh of Saint Victor may have figured amongst the numerous sources to *Konungs Skuggsjá*, and many of the interpretations in *Stjórn* seem to derive from the exegetical *Liber exceptionum* de Richard de Saint Victor (Harðarson 1995).

extent, the writing of the two books was either coordinated or part of the same didactical strategy (Astås 1987).¹⁴³

Of the religious works in translation, some texts may be considered more important than others, not only for the role they played in the indoctrination and maintenance of the Christian faith, but because they served as models for the emergent literary vernacular in a society where the Christian faith was in the process of being consolidated. This holds particularly true for the first collections of translations of homilies and didactical material into the Old Norse vernacular. The earliest translations set the stage for the development and orientation of the native language.

Humiliúbók: The Old Norse Book of Homilies

The preserved copy of *Humiliúbók* (*Codex AM 619, 4^o*) is the oldest surviving Norwegian manuscript and dates back to approximately 1200.¹⁴⁴ However, various fragmentary sources exist that may be considerably older. Indeed, the oldest dated fragment has been dated back to c. 1175. The Old Norse homilic texts themselves are probably much older and were probably translated and used by the early English missionary monks and bishops. Evidence of an earlier existence is indicated by recognizable features of older Anglo-Saxon scribal and calligraphic techniques and letter types in the surviving manuscript and fragments (Knudsen 1952). Imported to Norway from England in the early Norwegian Christian Middle Ages, the Latin alphabet had already been modified to accommodate the English vernacular and its particular sounds, and was easily adaptable to the Norse tongue, which shared many phonetic characteristics with Old English (Venås 1962). The material contained in the *Humiliúbók*

¹⁴³ See also Bagge 1973 and 1976.

¹⁴⁴ Probably not after 1220. Parts of the material date back to the beginning of the 12th century (Wolf 1995).

had most likely been introduced in the form of an established Latin collection—brought in by the missionaries—with the exception of the material pertaining to Saint Olaf, which probably derives from a Latin text composed in Norway (Indrebø 1931), such as the *Passio Olavi* written by Eystein Erlendsson (d.1188) (Ebbestad Hansen 1998) or an even earlier unknown hagiography. The various legends of Olaf and the devotion it helped spread quickly became a uniting factor in Norwegian medieval religious life (Mørkhagen 1995).

The *Humiliúbók* shares many characteristics with the contemporaneous Norse translation of *Elucidarius* (c. 1200) by Honorius of Autun, a summary of all Christian theology in the form of a dialogue. The orthography of the Norse homilies is not coherent and the scribe has used both upright and rounded *ds* (not to be mistaken for the fricative *ð*) interchangeably. The upright *d* was primarily used with Latin loanwords, i.e. in unassimilated vocabulary, typical of the earlier translations. By the middle of the 13th century, the upright *d* had all but disappeared in Norway. *Humiliúbók* also uses the Anglo-Saxon *r* with a long “tale” as well as the Anglo-Saxon *æ*, showing a possible debt to an unidentified old English source text (Indrebø 1931).¹⁴⁵

Alcuin’s text, Gregory’s sermon on the nativity, the sermon on Saint Stephen, and the *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli*—a debate between the body and the soul from the 3rd century, originally composed in Greek, the first language of the Church—all contain certain linguistic features that are notably archaic in relation to the Norse vernacular of contemporaneous texts, i.e. texts from the beginning of the 13th century. This strongly suggests that the extant *Humiliúbók* was in part copied from an earlier, already established compilation and that the initial translation of the constituent texts was

145 We know that Ælfric (c.995-1020) had the Old Testament’s historical material translated into the vernacular, and that the Norse “Bel and the dragon” in *Hauksbók* derives from an Old English Homily composed by Ælfric or translated at his request (Kirby 1986).

undertaken before 1150 (Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931). The Old Norse version is not a faithful literal translation of the Latin text, as there are many differences between the two, especially concerning the details of the dialogue.

The Norwegian *Humiliúbók* is mainly a collection of sermons for a selection of days celebrated during the Church calendar (See Appendices for a List of Contents). In the few places where the term *omilia* has been used, the author usually refers to an allegorical explanation and elucidation of a specific Bible quotation, which is given at the top of the text. Sermons like the *Admonitio valde necessaria*, *De ammonitione bone*, and *Sermo ad populum* all are representative of archetypal medieval didactical sermons composed in order to guide the audience through the main articles of faith and giving practical advice in matters pertaining to everyday life. People were advised to behave properly in Church, and the necessity of learning *Pater noster* and *Credo* by heart was underlined. The Norwegian *Humiliúbók* starts with Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*,¹⁴⁶ and ends with a commentary on *Oratio dominica* or the Lord's Prayer. In between comes a selection of sermons appropriate for important Church holidays, in addition to the legendary and miraculous life of Saint Olaf as well as the apocryphal *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli* (Knudsen 1952). Generally speaking, the apocryphal writings were regarded as less authoritative than the works of known *auctores*; however, they were still considered highly worthy of scholarly scrutiny and study and some of them enjoyed immense popularity (Minnis 1988).

The *Visio sancti Pauli* had been translated into Latin from the Greek towards the middle of the 5th century and subsequently into many Western vernaculars. The Latin text was preserved in several versions, some quite heavily abridged and extensively rearranged. The text also reached Norway, probably some time in the 11th or 12th

146 Written for Alcuin's son. The Latin text has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 101: pp. 613-638.

century. There are two extant Old Norse versions of *Visio sancti Pauli*, deriving from this vast repertory of early medieval visionary and apocalyptic apocrypha. The text in *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4^o), and another, a more faithful translation, transmitted in conjunction with another medieval visionary text, *Visio Tnugdali*, found in AM 624, 4^o, a rather complete manuscript of which only a minor part of the beginning is missing (Tveitane 1965).¹⁴⁷

In Norway, the compiler of *Humiliúbók* adapts the apocalyptic “vision” of Paul to the local educational conditions and to the specific mentality of Norse Christianity, emphasizing the concrete and quotidian over the abstract and foreign, freely using the idioms of Old Norse poetry, proverbs, and law texts (Knudsen 1952). The dialogue between the Body and the Soul in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4^o) derives from an apocryphal text commonly referred to as *Visio sancti Pauli*, of which there existed several Latin and vernacular versions, from which the Old Norse version in the *Humiliúbók* takes its title. It also takes material from a *Visio Philiberti*, as well as from an Old French poem entitled *Un samedi par nuit*, also deriving from one of the many *Visio sancti Pauli* texts.¹⁴⁸ In essence, the text tells the story of how the narrator (the apostle is not mentioned in the Norse text) dreams that his soul leaves him after death and what happens to it thereafter. The Norwegian version found in AM 619, 4^o was written down c. 1200 (Salvesen 1971, Tøgeby 1975).¹⁴⁹

In die Pentecosten sermo and *In ascensione domini nostri Jesu Christi* are the only texts in which the Latin quotes have been kept in their original form without any

147 An Icelandic manuscript from the end of the 15th century (Tveitane 1965).

148 The French translation of the *Visio sancti Pauli* has been preserved in a manuscript known as Ms. 815 de Toulouse, fol 58 (Meyer 1895).

149 The theme of falling asleep on a Saturday night is also central to the 14th-century *Draumkvædet*, which is a Norwegian expression of a by then established European visionary tradition.

interlinea or other explanations in the Norse text. These sermons were obviously not intended for the broader public, but rather the brothers of a monastery in the first case and the Latin-reading clergy in the second.

Þess mæiri vón æigum vér þæirrar miscunnar af honom. At vér hofum gort sem Petrus mælte umm sic ok frændr ok aðra postola. *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te*. Vér hofum allt fyrirlátet fyrir guðs sakar. Bæðe fe ok frændr. ok *omnem mundi pompam*... Guð se þes lofaðr at sva erom vér oc aller saman comner til þessa staðar. Æigum ok allt saman... Þes þurfum vér mioc at hugr vœr se æigi aptr til hæims-enns ne til hægóma veraldlegra luta...

(Indrebø 1931, p. 94)¹⁵⁰

About the history of the manuscript of the extant *Humiliúbók*, very little is known indeed, except that Arni Magnusson (1663-1730) discovered the manuscript in Norway and brought it to Copenhagen (Knudsen 1952). The oldest extant Norwegian manuscript, it was probably written down at the monastery of Munkeliv near Bergen (Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931). This Benedictine house soon acquired a reputation as an institution of learning, and is where Arnulf, the first native *magister* or schoolmaster with a valid degree, lived and worked (Øverås 1952). However, the translator or compiler in charge of the Old Norse Homily remains anonymous. His working conditions must have been difficult, since books and libraries were scarce and expensive

150 The greater hope do we have of His mercy, as we have done what Peter told of himself and the other apostles: See, we left everything and followed you. We have left everything for the sake of God, both family and herd. And all the world's delightful splendor ... Praise the Lord that we too have congregated in this place [where] we own everything in common... We must be vigilant lest our minds seek back to the world and the entrapments of temporal things... (My translation).

during the first centuries of Norwegian Christianity. Some of the material in *Humiliúbók* is very old indeed, and belongs to some of Norway's oldest textual material. The more ancient text is probably the explanation of the Pater Noster in the last homily, along with Gregory's *Homily*. However, sermons composed in the 12th century dominate the collection (Knudsen 1952).

Not only were reference books rare in medieval Norwegian scriptoria, the physical material used in medieval book production was also a deficient commodity. There are indications that the scribes working on the preserved manuscript of the *Humiliúbók* were short of parchment, as some of the folios show definite signs of repair *before* redaction (Knudsen 1952). At least two scribes have been at work on the parchment; and in view of the many similarities in their work, scholars now believe that they belonged to the same milieu, again the monastery of Munkeliv (Indrebø 1931).¹⁵¹

Medieval homilies were parts of a truly international body of texts with a wide readership in both the Latin and the Byzantine churches. *Humiliúbók* is no exception, and shows evidence of indebtedness to its medieval ancestors such as the Anglo-Saxon collection attributed to King Ælfric and the writings of the Venerable Bede (c. 672-735).¹⁵² Authorities like Alcuin, a widely respected educator, scholar and theologian in his own time, and Gregory the Great are both represented in the *Humiliúbók*. Bede and Gregory are each represented with a homily on the Nativity according to Lucas (Homily 2 and Homily 4, respectively), presumably copied from Paul the Deacon's (c. 720-799)

151 The manuscript AM 619 4° consisted originally of 80 folios, of which four are missing today. The textual lacunae have been reconstructed using material from other manuscripts, such as the *Legend of Saint Olaf* and a manuscript listed as AM 237 a fol. The extant manuscript is partly defective. In many places, the color has eaten its way through the parchment, but, the text is still quite legible all the way through (Knudsen 1952).

152 The first translation of the Bible into the vernacular in England was reputedly produced by Bede; however, his work has not survived (Kirby 1986).

*Homiliarium*¹⁵³ (Knudsen 1952). This was a collection of 176 homilies, one for every Sunday and holiday in the Church calendar. It functioned as a central sourcebook throughout the Middle Ages (Knudsen 1952, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Gregory's *Homilia XXXII* is also the likely source for both Homily 30 and 32 of the *Humiliúbók*, dealing with the archangel Michael, whereas the *Messuskýringar* in Homily 31 (the inserted leaves) can be traced back to Honorius of Autun's *Gemma animae*¹⁵⁴ (Knudsen 1952), a treatise on the Divine Office (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).¹⁵⁵

Many of the texts in *Humiliúbók* are very old, whereas others originate from the main scholastic centers of Western Europe. Several people could have been the initiators of the translation of the religious and devotional texts. Cultural exchanges with France and the schools in Paris have been demonstrated in previous chapters, especially the presence of Norse students at Saint Victor. Norwegian clergy were instrumental in importing and translating some of the more important texts produced in Paris in the 12th and 13th centuries. Eiríkr Ivarsson, Archbishop of Nidaros from 1189 to 1205, was *religiosus S. Victoris* (Kolsrud 1913), his predecessor Eystein Erlendsson also studied there (Øverås 1952),¹⁵⁶ and his successor Þorir Guðmundarsson (r. 1206-1214) was *canonicus congregationis S. Victoris* (Kolsrud 1913). He was a contemporary of both Peter Comestor and the anonymous compiler of the Norse *Humiliúbók*.

153 *Homiliarium hoc est conciones populares sanctissimorum ecclesie doctorum Hieronymi* (et. al.) published in Basle in 1528 (OLIS), has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina* Vol. 94, pp: 34-38. Paul the Deacon worked for some time at the court of Charlemagne where Alcuin was the palace schoolmaster and advisor to the emperor (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

154 "The Jewel of the Soul"—*Gemma animae*—could also be used when referring to the Eucharist.

155 Honorius also wrote *In inventione sancte crucis* (cf. Sermon No. 24 in the Old Norse *Book of Homilies*) which has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 172: 947-948

156 See also Johnsen 1939.

The book seems to have had a long and prosperous existence. The extant manuscript contains notes in the margin dating from the 16th century; translations, explanations and corrections of Latin terms in the Danish vernacular, a witness to the collection's longevity (Knudsen 1952), as well as a to the general lack of not only reformed clergy but also of reformed text books (Ellingsen 1997).

Vitae Sanctorum Patrum or Heilagra manna sögur

Humiliúbók, along with individual hagiographic material, was of utmost importance for the indoctrination of the Christian faith,. The biographies and legends of the saints had contributed to the dissemination and maintenance of the new faith from the time of the earliest missionaries. Many of these stories circulated as established collections and were popular devotional reading throughout Christianity, especially in the monastic orders, where the meals in many cases were taken while listening to a *lector*. The *Sancti Benedicti regula monachorum* recommended reading, and as pointed out earlier, the Benedictine Order held a prominent position in Norwegian medieval life and probably commissioned the translation of many of the texts used in Norwegian monasteries and churches (Tveitane 1968). The historical material of the Bible, in particular, seems to have captured the Norse people's imagination early on. The first translations of the Old Testament's historical material into the vernacular probably pre-date the texts included in the Old Norse homilies, i.e. they presumably already existed in the 12th century, or even before, in the missionary period. Moreover, there is evidence that a Norse version of the *Psalms* and a Gospel harmony existed in the first half of the 12th century or earlier (Kirby 1986).

The compilation of Latin hagiographic texts generally referred to as *Vitae Patrum*, a collection of lives of the early saints and the Church Fathers, derived from *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum*. All

extant Latin source texts are translations of (partly lost) Greek originals. For a long time *Vitae Patrum* was attributed to Saint Jerome; however, the Latin version of *Historia monachorum* is now positively attributed to Tyrannius Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 345-c. 410) (Tveitane 1968). Rufinus was a contemporary and friend of Saint Jerome (*Britannica* 2000) and is believed to be the translator of the Latin versions upon which the Norse translator of *Vitae Patrum* worked (Tveitane 1968).

The Old Norse *Heilagra manna sögur* contains selected legends of *Vitae Patrum*. The translator remains anonymous, but scholars believe that the Old Norse translation may be a hundred years older than the extant manuscripts, meaning that it may date back to the second half or the end of the 13th century. The first section of the Old Norse collection of hagiographies derives partly from *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (also known as *Historia eremitica*), partly from a collection of 4th-century Latin texts referred to as *Verba seniorum* (by an unidentified translator/compiler). In addition to the material stemming from these two main sources, the Norse version also contains texts from a smaller compilation of hagiographic texts translated from the Greek around 550 by Pope Pelagius I (d. 561) (Tveitane 1968).

In 1877, Unger published the *Heilagra manna sögur* after four Old Norse manuscripts organized in two books with the Latin texts in parallel. The Latin source text used by Unger in order to provide a point of comparison was published by Heribert Rosweyd (1569-1629) in Antwerp in 1615 (Tveitane 1968, *Britannica* 2000).¹⁵⁷

The lives of the saints became popular reading throughout Christianity and probably more than one copy of the Old Norse text must have existed. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Heilagra manna sögur* dates from the beginning of the 14th

¹⁵⁷ In OLIS, the date given for the first publication is 1617.

century and the time of Håkon Magnusson (Halvorsen 1959).¹⁵⁸ In addition, the text is found as part of a large Icelandic codex of medieval manuscripts known as *Stærri Stjórn* (AM 226 fol.).¹⁵⁹ In addition to the the biblical *Stjórn* material and the hagiographic texts of *Vitae Patrum*, the codex contains *Romverja saga* (The Defense of Rome), *Alexanders saga*, and *Gyðinga saga* (the history of the Jews), apparently collected as a comprehensive world history. The survival of numerous fragments strongly suggests that *Stærri Stjórn* must have been one of Iceland's most exquisite and voluminous medieval codices (Tveitane 1968), parts or copies of which must have circulated in Norway, too.

The history of the translation and collection of the many manuscripts associated with *Vitae Patrum* texts into an Old Norse version is highly complex. Arni Magnusson discovered and collected the manuscripts, some of which had by then been partially destroyed after the Reformation. He set about restoring the codex to its former size, tracking down lost folios and adding them to the collection. However, he did not always succeed in inserting them into the right sections, so that the *Heilagra manna sögur* as presented in Unger's edition—largely in accordance with Magnusson's textual arrangement—derives from several individual manuscripts, explaining why the order of the texts in the Norse version in some instances deviates from the traditional text sequence of *Vitae Patrum* (Tveitane 1968).

The various parts of the Old Norse codex were probably translated separately and assembled at a later point. Some texts have been attributed to an Icelandic hand, but

158 The Norse text has been preserved in four manuscripts and a fragment. Only one manuscript can be considered complete: AM 225 fol. (Tveitane 1968). For a detailed account of the various manuscript sources to *Heilagra manna sögur*, see Tveitane 1968, pp. 13-25.

159 AM 226 fol. (*Stærri Stjórn* – The Great Stern) is one of the main manuscript sources to *Stjórn*, a major compilation of historical material from the Bible (Tveitane 1968).

with signs of definite Norwegian influence. The orthographic variations are possibly an indication that the anonymous Icelandic translator was working in Norway; on the other hand, the linguistic irregularities may simply result from the corrections of successive Icelandic copyists. Judging by the generally homogenous and steady cursive calligraphy of the extant manuscript material—all dating back to the beginning of the 15th century—the major parts of the preserved *Heilagra manna sögur* seem to have been the work of one single scribe (Tveitane 1968).

The constant movement of Church scholars between Iceland and Norway and the inevitable literary and linguistic influence between the two geographical entities must not be underestimated. Texts of religious or theological origin were written, compiled, translated, and disseminated in the two countries almost simultaneously (Tveitane 1968). In addition, the secular and ecclesiastic administrations were closely cooperating in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the establishment of the Archdiocese in Nidaros assured Norwegian ecclesiastical control of the northern-most regions as well as the Atlantic Islands, such as Greenland, the Faeroes, and Iceland (Øverås 1952).

The cultural influence between the two countries was reciprocal and sustained, and has made the question of geographical and linguistic origin of translations all the more complicated. Jón Halldórson (d.1322), Norwegian born Icelandic bishop at Skálholt from 1322 (Kolsrud 1913), was instrumental in the copying and subsequently the preservation of many medieval Norwegian texts. The codex containing *Heilagra manna sögur* is an example of the typical example of the typical literary cooperation that had existed between Iceland and Norway throughout the Middle Ages. The question of translative origin continues to preoccupy modern scholars, who, nevertheless, generally agree on the fact that the translation of *Vitae Patrum* was an entirely Norwegian enterprise, commissioned by Håkon Magnusson (r. 1299-1319). The texts have been preserved, however, in a number of Icelandic manuscripts, often in

conjunction with the contemporaneous historical Old Testament material of *Stjórn*, or along with the much older *Barlaams oc Josaphats saga* (Tveitane 1968).¹⁶⁰

In some instances, the Norse translator of *Vitae Patrum* failed to grasp the meaning of the Latin source text. This may be due to errors that already existed in the Latin translation of the original Greek version—misunderstandings perpetuated by generations of medieval copyists—or errors due to scribal inattention when copying the Latin text. The Norse translation of *Vitae Patrum* introduced a number of loanwords and syntactical structures originating not only in the source text itself, but in the Latin *glosses* they reflected and conveyed. The extensive use of loanwords in *Heilagra manna sögur* comprises both Latin and Greek terms, suggesting that the translator must have been a man of some erudition and culture. This is certainly the case where the loanwords do not stem from the source text at all, but have been inserted into the vernacular text as pure stylistic embellishment. The result of the translator's work was the learned vernacular style characteristic of many Old Norse scholars, a style marked by the constructions and conventions borrowed from the contemporaneous scholastic Latin (Tveitane 1968).

The Latin text used by Unger, edited by Rosweyd in 1615, contains some rather unusual and rare terms, mainly Greek expressions. The precise Latin texts behind the Norse translation have not been positively identified; however, different versions of *Vitae Patrum* circulated throughout the Christian world. Early established collections the Christian hagiographic texts (both a *Series Graeca* and a *Series Latina* of *Vitae Patrum*) enjoyed enormous popularity. As mentioned above, medieval scholars commonly

160 Many Icelandic folk tales have their origin in the legends contained in *Heilagra Manna sögur* (Tveitane 1986. See also Hugo von Gering (1882-83) *Izlendzk æventýri*). The author of these tales was Bishop Jon Halldorsson (d.1339), a Norwegian born Icelander who also translated *Clarus saga* around 1300, presumably from a French source text. He was possibly one of the principal brains behind the voluminous *Stjórn* texts (Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1985, Tveitane 1968, Venås 1962).

believed that Saint Jerome was the author of the Latin series, when in fact he was only *one* of its many translators. The Norse text also includes quotations and insertions from works of respected classical *auctores*, amongst others Gregory's *Dialogi* (Tveitane 1968), a collection of edifying texts in honor of the Saints of the Latin Church, another favored source of information for compilers and scholars throughout medieval times (Chavy 1988b).

The Norse translator made a selection of texts to include in the Norse compilation, carefully editing his work, rearranging some of the material, and generally adapting it to the needs of the native audience. Some of the texts were augmented with quotations, commentaries and reflections upon the subject matter, as well as general advice and exhortations in matters pertaining to good Christian conduct. The Norse version does not always follow the Latin sequence; the selection of texts in *Heilagra manna sögur* reflects the translator's own preference and to a large extent supplements the biblical texts commented on in *Konungs skuggsjá* (Tveitane 1968), a princely mirror written in an attempt to gain acceptance for and strengthen the perception of proper Christian behavioral ideals (Bagge 1998). *Konungs skuggsjá* sought to clarify the relation between Church and monarchy, and in many ways reflects the moral values and courteous ideals of the imported court literature (Venås 1962). *Konungs skuggsjá* and the texts in *Heilagra manna sögur* are highly didactical in both tone and textual organization. Evidently the main Christian principles were yet not perceived to be instilled. In fact, *Heilagra manna sögur* makes use of a *wider range* of metaphors than *Vitae Patrum* to explain fundamental concepts, emphasizing the collection's pedagogical goals and revealing the Church's preoccupation with the constant need for further religious and cultural instruction (Astås 1987).

Stjórn: Norse Bible Translation

Stjórn, a collection of historical texts deriving from the Old Testament, was produced in Old Norse at the request of Håkon Magnusson early in the 14th century, and thus was one of the later works of translation in medieval Norway. Jerome's Latin translation and revision of the *Scriptures*—*Vulgata*, which had replaced the Septuagint and the *Old Latin Bible*¹⁶¹—is the main source for most of the biblical material in Norse translation (Kirby 1986). *Stjórn* is not a translation of the complete Old Testament, but rather contains a selection of texts from Genesis and the main historical material (Tveitane 1968).¹⁶² The Norse text was translated partly from the *Vulgata* text, but also contains material deriving from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*,¹⁶³ to which the Norse translator often refers directly in the text (Unger 1862). He also inserted proverbial material from Augustine's *De genesis ad literam* (Astås 1985a). In addition, some parts of *Stjórn* may derive from material in

161 The earliest extant Greek translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew is known as *Septuagint*. There also existed an early, not standardized, *Old Latin Bible* in circulation in North Africa and southern Gaul as early as the second half of the 2nd century, and in Rome at the beginning of the following century (*Britannica* 2000). The *Old Latin Bible* can be regarded as *Vulgata*'s immediate predecessor, and apparently was in use in some countries, for instance England, well into the late Middle Ages (Kirby 1986). The possible origins of the *Old Latin Bible* may be the adoption by early Christians of biblical texts composed by Jews in the Roman province of Africa, where the vernacular remained predominantly Latin. Only quotations from the *Old Latin Bible* have been preserved, but from these it can only be postulated that the *Old Latin Bible* derived not from Hebrew texts but from the Greek material, i.e. *Septuagint*. The *Old Latin Bible* is thus especially valuable as it reflects the state of *Septuagint* before Origen's (c.185-254) revision. The text of *Septuagint* could vary greatly from copy to copy and Origen's revision was the first serious attempt at rectifying the many scribal errors. The textual confusion and the vulgar and colloquial nature of the (non-authorized) *Old Latin Bible* had become intolerable to the Church authorities by the last decade of the 4th century. In 382, Pope Damasus decided to remedy the situation. He put his secretary, Saint Jerome, on the project. The result of Jerome's work was the authorized version known as *Vulgata*, based on the original Greek and Hebrew texts rather than on *Septuagint* which continued to be the authorized version of the Eastern Church (*Britannica* 2000). A tri-lingual scholar, Jerome advocated a literal translation of the Scriptures (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

162 Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy); Book of Joshua; Book of Judgment; Book of Ruth; Book of Samuel (I); Book of Samuel (II); Kings (I); and Kings (II) (including Chapter 24 about Nebuchadnezzar) (Unger 1862).

163 In turn, *Speculum historiale* (c.1250) contains material from Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (c.1164) (Kirby 1986, Chavy 1988b, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999), or at least used many of the same sources.

the *Paris Bible* (Astås 1987d).¹⁶⁴ Honorius of Autun has also been used, with and without acknowledgement, especially passages from *Imago mundi* and *Speculum ecclesiae* (c. 1090). Other frequently cited sources are writings by Jerome and Augustine, whose names along with those of Isidore and Gregorius repeatedly surface in the compiler's *interlinea* commentary (Unger 1862). The Norse translator seems to have had a penchant for Augustinian exegesis, a fact that marks his redaction of *Stjórn* (Astås 1993).

The compilation of biblical texts in Old Norse translation has been preserved in AM 227 fol., another of Arni Magnusson's manuscript acquisitions. No text has survived in full, and the dating of the manuscripts has been based mainly on various linguistic features. However, enough has survived to maintain that the extant fragments are re-workings of older versions. Indeed, the numerous relatively unchanging biblical quotations in the Icelandic sagas of the bishops, for example, as well as in *Heilagra manna sögur* and *Humiliúbók*, suggest that the Old Testament—or parts of it—were translated at quite an early stage (Kirby 1986).

The standardization of the Scriptures continued to preoccupy Church scholars throughout the Middle Ages (Kirby 1986, Le Goff 1985). In fact, the Middle Ages saw several attempts at revising the Bible and at standardizing the interpretation of the Scriptures; however, *Vulgata* was reconfirmed in 1546 and remained the authorized version within the Roman Catholic Church well into the 20th century. The textual purity and universal acceptance medieval exegetes were looking for was not achieved; they never arrived at a common consensus as to the final interpretation of the Holy Scripture. However, their assiduous work is reflected in numerous revisions, commentaries, and biblical paraphrasing that intersperse medieval writing of all genres. This explanatory

¹⁶⁴ Probably the *Codex parisiensis* from the 9th century whereof only fragments have survived (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

material and translation itself had their roots in the extensive exegetical effort of the Scholastics, who continued to work towards greater comprehension and harmony. In England, vernacular glossing and translation of parts of the Bible seem to have been quite common from the 7th century on, meaning that the first missionary bishops who came to Norway from the British Isles would have been accustomed to reading the Holy Scripture in the vernacular. It is difficult to perceive of any missionary work without the translation of at least the Gospels¹⁶⁵ and the articles of faith. This was the case in Germany, where the Church produced a vernacular version of the Gospels as early as the 8th century, primarily based on Tatian's *Diatessaron*.¹⁶⁶ Only fragments of this translation have survived (Kirby 1986).¹⁶⁷

A fairly considerable body of religious literature in the vernacular existed probably in both Iceland and in Norway by the middle of the 12th century, the extant material has survived in mainly 13th-century manuscript and younger copies. The collection commonly referred to as *Stjórn* was edited by C. R. Unger in 1862. It was based on a composite work containing a selection of texts by miscellaneous translators, rather than on a homogenous, established compilation. The name *Stjórn* was first used by Arne Magnusson and is not of medieval origin. *Stjórn* is a title used by modern scholars to

165 The missionary monks must have had brought books in both Latin and Old English. The early service books were of course in Latin, but may have contained English glosses (Kirby 1986).

166 The Germans were also amongst the first to produce a complete vernacular Bible around 1300 (the time of *Stjórn*'s composition). This Bible was the first Bible printed in Germany (Kirby 1986). Indeed, by the 14th century, in both France and Germany parts of the Bible were translated. In France, we particularly note the contribution of Jean de Vignay (1282/85-1350) and Nicolas Oresme (1320-1382) (Lusignan 1986, Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). In the 14th century, England experienced a revival of the English vernacular after centuries of French domination. John Wycliffe (1320-1384) translated the entire Bible from *Vulgata* in 1382 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995) at a time when the Roman Church experienced grave difficulties. His work anticipated the Reformation (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

167 Tatian (120-173), Syrian compiler of the *Diatessaron*, a composite text based on four separate canonical versions of the life of Christ that led to a Gospel arranged in a single continuous narrative. Such a continuous version of the Gospels is called harmonization or synopsis (*Britannica* 2000). See also Quispel (1978), pp. 214-215.

designate the texts edited and published by Unger in 1862, and is thus not the translation of title of an already existing manuscript collection. The series of translated texts comprises what in medieval times was perceived as history of the Jews from the Creation to the Exile.

The material related to *Stjórn* has been preserved in a number of manuscripts, only three of which are relatively complete (AM folios 226, 227, and 228). The earliest dates back to the first quarter of the 14th century (*Stjórn* III only). *Stjórn* also contains a number of inserted quotations from the Book of Proverbs, primarily used as *exempla*. The biblical proverbs were ideal because of their short and concise form. They found their equivalence in old native proverbial literature, such as *Hávamál*. In a number of cases, native pagan proverbs were used alongside Latin *dicta*, and sometimes proverbs from the two traditions were combined into one (Astås 1985a).¹⁶⁸ The Norse biblical texts have been considerably augmented with interlinear commentaries and some extraneous material—mostly borrowed from Comestor and Beauvais—which was included to elucidate the text for the members of the court who were unfamiliar with Latin. At least, this is the reason offered by the translator in the introduction.¹⁶⁹ The *Stjórn* texts were originally meant for use on those days of the Church that were not dedicated to specific saints. The Old Norse translation of the Old Testament material—presented as the oldest history of the world—remains simple and straightforward, in short, suitable for an uneducated audience (Astås 1993).

168 Indeed, it seems to have been common practice to insert proverbs or proverbial paraphrase in translations, normally as an interlinear gloss (Astås 1985b).

169 “Nu sua sem virduligr herra Hacon Noregs konungr hinn coronadi son Magnusar konungs leet snara þa bok upp i norenu sem heitir heilagra manna *blomstr*. Þeim skynsomum til skemtunar sem eigi skilia edr vndirstanda latínu...” (“Now, in the same way, the wonderful sire Hákon, crowned King of Norway, son of Magnus, ordered the translation of the book called “Flowers of the Saints” into Old Norse, [for the] pleasure of those who do not understand Latin” (The medieval compiler’s “Prologum” in Unger 1862, p. 2. My translation and italics). The perception of the work as a “*florilegium biblicum*” cannot be mistaken.

Stjórn normally has been divided into three parts by modern scholars, based on biblical chronology. *Stjórn* I contains Genesis to Exodus; *Stjórn* II the rest of Pentateuch;¹⁷⁰ and *Stjórn* III offers the continued history of the Jews from Joshua to the Exile. The texts were not translated simultaneously, but date from different periods and were collected at a later stage. The earliest translations of the biblical material generally seem to have followed more closely the letter of the originals (Kirby 1986), undertaken in the spirit of Saint Jerome (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). Later translators appear to have adopted a much more liberal approach (Kirby 1986). The earliest possible date of the oldest parts of the compilation may be the late 12th century (Astås 1993), although not earlier than around 1170 in view of the frequent references to Peter Comestor (d. c. 1178) (Unger 1862, Chavy 1988b).

The last part of *Stjórn* III was probably one of the sources of numerous biblical references in *Konungs skuggsjá* (composed around 1260 in the same circles as the *Barlaams saga*) usually attributed to Hákon Hákonson the younger (Astås 1993). It is also believed to contain some of the same material as *Gyðinga saga*. In *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, Finnur Jonsson (1704-1789) claims that Brandr Jonsson¹⁷¹ was responsible for the whole of *Stjórn*. However, in the introduction to *Stjórn* I, the compiler clearly states that the work was performed at the request of Hákon Magnusson, i.e. long after Brandr's death (Unger 1862, Togeby 1975). The older material of *Stjórn* II definitely dates back to the early 13th century, and derives mainly from *Vulgata*, with definite correspondence to Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* which may have

170 A close translation of the *Vulgata* text, this part of *Stjórn* is the oldest material and represents the earliest surviving translation into Old Norse of the historical literature of the Old Testament (Kirby 1986).

171 Brandr Jónsson (d.1264) stayed in Norway in 1262-63, when he translated *Alexanders saga* from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th) (Togeby 1975) during the reign of Magnus The Law Mender (1263-1280) (Halvorsen 1959). *Alexanders saga* was included in the Icelandic codex known as *Stærri Stjórn* along with the *Stjórn* texts, *Rómverja saga*, *Gyðinga saga* and the Old Norse *Vitae Patrum* (Tveitane 1968).

served as a support text. Brandr may, however, have been the hand behind certain sections of *Stjórn* III, composed some time towards the middle of the 13th century (Kirby 1986).

The translation of the Old Testament's historical material, whether based on *Vulgata* or the compilations of Comestor and Vincent of Beauvais, was an ambitious enterprise. *Stjórn* belongs to a series of central religious and biblical texts imported and adapted by the Church whose clergy worked relentlessly to improve the moral standard and religious fervor of the Norse parishioners. The texts are part of a continuous didactical program that started with the first missionaries. They reflect the medieval Church's growing concern for the common people, not only in the North, but throughout Christianity. The Church increasingly emphasized each individual's responsibility for his or her own salvation. What the priest had hitherto performed on behalf of the individual during Mass, now increasingly became the individual's own responsibility, hence the importance of some rudimentary understanding of the faith and knowledge of the Scriptures.

Gyðinga saga or the History of the Jews

Gyðinga saga,¹⁷² biblical material independent of *Stjórn*, corresponds essentially to the two historical books of *Vulgata* entitled The Maccabees (I and II), which tell the story of a legendary Jewish family of priests who rebelled against Anthiocus IV in the Jewish wars of independence (168-164 BC) and the rebels' re-consecration of the defiled Temple of Jerusalem. The Old Norse Maccabees text, attributed to Brandr Jónsson (d.1264), also contained material deriving from Comestor's *Historia scholastica*

172 Preserved in five more or less complete manuscripts: AM 226 fol. AM 225 fol., AM 655, 4°, XXV, AM 238 fol. XVII, and AM 229 fol. IV. The title is not original; Arni Magnusson called it in one catalogue (AM 435a, 4°, *Historia Judaica*, and in AM 654, 4°, *Historia Maccabaeorum* (Wolf 1995).

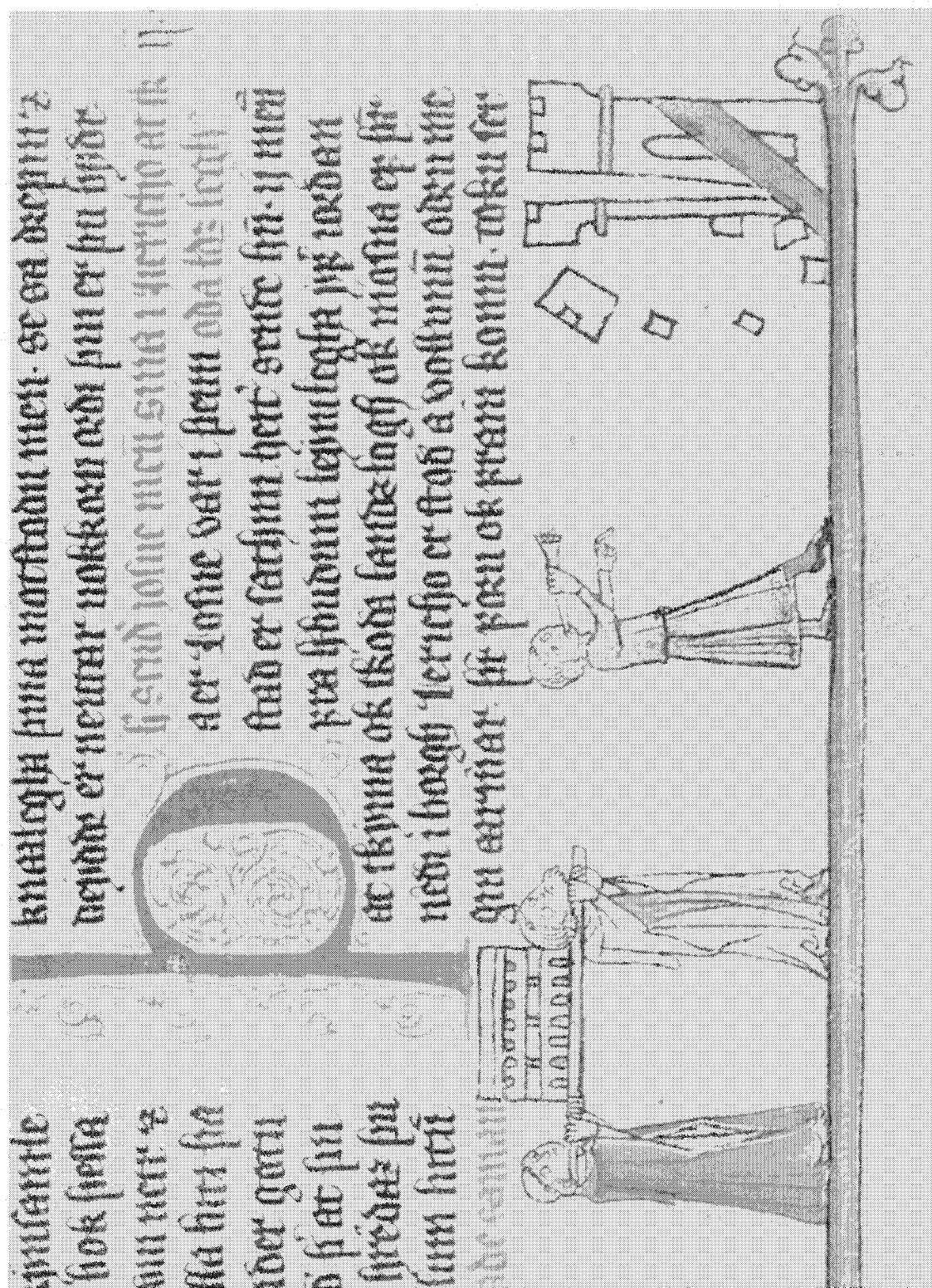


Figure 4: *Stjórn*: “The Sacrifice of Isaac.” AM 227 fol (for the Old Norse text, see Appendix 7)

(Wolf 1995, Kirby 1986, *Britannica* 2000). The Council of Trent (1548) concluded that the First Book of the Maccabees would become part of the Roman Catholic canon. The Council in this way recognized the value of the First Book of the Maccabees as sourcebook to the early Jewish history.

Gyðinga saga can be divided into three parts in concordance with the probable source material. Brandr Jónsson probably translated only the first part, the Maccabee material deriving from *Vulgata*—commonly attributed to Saint Jerome—as hinted to in the epilogue:

”Þessa bok færði hinn heilagra Jeronimus prestr or ebresku mæli ok í latínu.
Enn or latínu. ok í norrænu sneri Brandr prestr ions son. er sidan var byskup at
Holum”

(Wolf 1995, p. 219)¹⁷³

The second part, based primarily on Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* was translated by someone else, as was the part deriving from the anonymous *Historia apocrypha*. In addition, the History of the Jews seems to contain a few minor passages deriving from other sources, notably Josephus Flavius’ *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae*, although only indirectly through unidentified, intermediary sources.

There are also a certain number of passages for which no known exact sources have been identified. For instance, *Historia scholastica* in many cases follows the *Vulgata* texts so closely that it becomes difficult to distinguish between the two in the Old Norse

173 This book, translated by Pater Hieronimus from Hebrew into Latin, was translated from Latin into Old Norse by Pater Brandr Jonsson, who later became bishop of Holar (My translation).

text. *Gyðinga saga* also has been considerably abridged and shortened in relation to the various possible Latin sources. The rather methodical and consistent practice of selecting and abridging strongly suggests that the history existed as an established text when the abridgment was performed by some unknown redactor (Wolf 1995).¹⁷⁴

Elucidarius

Honorius of Autun's (c. 1080-1150/56) writing was widely disseminated throughout medieval Western Christianity. The geographic origin of this influential medieval compiler remains a puzzle, however. Some scholars believe that he was either an Englishman working at Canterbury or an Irish monk residing in Regensburg in what is now Southern Germany. Others contend that he was native of Autun in Burgundy, where he for some time worked as *presbyter et scholasticus* as stated by himself in *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, one of his many didactical works (Firchow 1992). Some maintain that he may have been born in a small place called Augst(burg) near Basel and that his Latin name Augustodunensis derived from this town (Chavy 1988b, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). His anonymity was largely a self-imposed precaution owing to the ecclesiastical and political climate of his day, and probably allowed him to become one of the more prolific medieval encyclopedists, with a substantial readership amongst his contemporaries (Firchow 1992).

A theologian with connections to the Benedictine order, Honorius had studied under Anselm (1033-1109), the Italian-born Archbishop of Canterbury (Flint 1985a, Chavy 1988b).¹⁷⁵ Motivated by an insatiable desire for knowledge and enlightenment, he became a celebrated compiler and vulgarizer in his own time, earning respect and

174 For a more detailed presentation of possible sources and adaptation of the *Gyðinga saga* for a Norse audience, see Wolf 1995, pp. lxxxviii-c.

175 Astås in *Collegium medievale* 1993:2 points to the Augustinian terminology used by Honorius of Autun.

admiration from his peers (Le Goff 1985). His educational ideas had been influenced by the rationalism of university scholars such as Abélard (1079-1142/4), Lanfranc (c. 1005-1089), Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141), and Bernard of Chartres, who advocated the study of philosophy and science based on reason (Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).¹⁷⁶ Throughout his life, Honorius' intellectual activity stayed focused on teaching within the structures of the cathedral school, and it is precisely within this framework that *Elucidarius* must be considered (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992).

In his two main works, *Imago mundi* and *Elucidarius*, Honorius provided a comprehensive synopsis of the available scientific knowledge and philosophy (Chavy 1988b). The *Imago mundi* dealt with science, and included chapters on cosmology, astronomy, meteorology and chronology (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). *Elucidarius* was presented as a *summa totius theologia* and became an instant success, if judged by its translation into a number of vernaculars in the 13th century (Chavy 1988b). Both works reflect the essentials of medieval knowledge and teaching (Flint 1975a). *Elucidarius*, in particular, acquired a privileged status as an authoritative reference book, along with Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maior*, and had immense influence in Western countries where it was used in schools to teach the elementary articles of the faith (Firchow 1992). In Norway, too, the book was in demand (Berggrav 1953).

Honorius's sources included the exegetical works of many of his contemporaries. He consulted *Glossa ordinaria* extensively. This was a commentary on the entire Bible by Anselm of Laon (d.1117)—a theologian who like Honorius had studied at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy when Anselm of Canterbury taught there (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).¹⁷⁷ Although borrowing from the exegetical treatises of his

¹⁷⁶ Evidence of an Old Norse translation of Lanfranc's *Decreta* have been preserved in Norwegian manuscript fragments (Harðarson 1995).

¹⁷⁷ Anselm of Laon's work can be found in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 162.

peers, Honorius' work is not in itself an exegetical work, but a typical medieval *summa* firmly anchored in the contemporaneous discussions of the *divina pagina*. Medieval knowledge was indeed considered common property, written and read, commented on and re-written, in a vortex of exegetical activity. Honorius drew not only on the works of contemporary scholars but also on the writings of the Church Fathers and earlier *auctores*, such as Ambrose (339-397), Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Boethius, Macrobius,¹⁷⁸ and John Scot Erigena (810-877).¹⁷⁹ However, amongst the numerous writings consulted, he relied the most on Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur deus homo* and *Monologion* (Flint 1975a). In the first, Anselm expounded on the new idea of redemption and atonement that was emerging in the 11th century; in the second, he attempted to prove the existence of God by rational thinking alone rather than referring to the writings of the *auctores* consulted by most contemporaneous scholars (*Britannica* 2000). *Elucidarius* nevertheless draws on a number of medieval authorities.¹⁸⁰ Yet, despite the rather difficult source material and the complexity of the subjects discussed, *Elucidarius* remained a text that is simple to read and became an instant success. Its

178 Fifth-century Latin grammarian and philosopher whose most important work is *Saturnalia* (*Britannica* 2000).

179 To whom Honorius refers as Chrysostomus, the "golden-mouthed," maybe as a reference to the eloquent Saint John Chrysostomus (c.347-407), doctor of the Greek Church and contemporary of Augustine. John Chrysostomus composed a book of homilies on the Genesis, and wrote extensive commentaries on both the Psalter and the Evangelium according to Matthew (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). His *Homilia super Matthaëum* was amongst the first printed books in 1466 (Stilwell 1972).

180 Sources to *Elucidarius*: Ambrose: *Hexaemeron*; *De paradiso*; *De sacramentis* – Anselm of Canterbury: *Monologion*; *De Humanis Moribus per Similitudines*; *Cur deus Homo*; *De casu Diaboli*; *Proslogion*; *De conceptu virginali*; *De beatitudine* – Augustine: *De symbolo*; *De genesi ad litteram*; *Confessiones*; *Sermones*; *De civitate Dei*; *De trinitate*; *In Joannis Evangelium*; *Enchiridion*; *Ennarratio in Psalmum*; *De consensu Evangelistarum*; *Contra epistolam Parmeniani* – Bede: *In Matthaëi Evangelium Expositio* – Boethius: *De consolacione philosophiae*; *De fide Catholica* – Cyprianus: *Liber de lapsis* – Gregory: *Homilia*; *Moralia*; *Homilia in Evangelium*; – Jerome: *Liber Hebraic. Quaest. In Gen.* – Isidorus: *Questiones in vetus testamentum* – John Scotus Erigena (Chrysostomus): *De divisione naturae*; *De divinis nominibus*; *Caelestis Ierarchia* – Macrobius: *In Somnium Scipionis* (a commentary of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*) – Orosius: *Historiarum adversus Paganos* – Paschasius: *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* – Peter Comestor: *Historia Scholastica* – Virgil: *The Aneïd* (Flint 1975b) (See also Oddmund Hjelde (1990) Norsk Preken i det 12. århundre. Oslo: Hjelde).

immense popularity explains why so many copies of the text have survived: more than 41 almost complete Latin manuscripts have been preserved (Flint 1975a).

Elucidarius was written in England around the year 1100 not long after the Norman Conquest, and is marked by the dispute over lay investiture in the wake of the reform initiated by Pope Gregory VII (Flint 1975a). The efforts of the reformers of the 11th and 12th centuries to make the Church independent of lay control centered upon the appointment of bishops by the ruler of the country or region. In the beginning, election of bishops had been carried out jointly by clergy and people, followed by lawful consecration. Feudal and royal claims had transformed the election of Church officials into a royal appointment,¹⁸¹ and admission to office was confirmed by the investiture by the local lord, of the ring and staff (Flint 1975a, Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).¹⁸²

The Gregorian reform sought, amongst other things, *libertas et puritas ecclesiae* from secular powers embodied in an extensive system of private churches, the Pope's dependence upon the Roman nobility and emperor, the village priest's subjection to the control of his senior, and the growing practice of simony. The reform aimed at reinforcing the requirements of celibacy, which was rapidly declining, as evidenced by the practice of *hereditary* parishes and bishoprics.¹⁸³ In short, the recommended

181 Gregory aimed at purifying the Church, starting with a reform of the clergy. At his first Lenten Synod (March, 1074) he enacted the following decrees: That clerics who had obtained any grade or office of sacred orders by payment should cease to minister in the Church. That no one who had purchased any church should retain it, and that no one should be permitted to buy or sell ecclesiastical rights. That all those who were guilty of incontinence should cease to exercise their sacred ministry, and that people should reject the ministrations of clerics who failed to obey these injunctions (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

182 Reformers such as Lanfranc (c.1005-1089) and Pope Gregory VI believed that the Roman Church was in grave danger of becoming a proprietary Church whose royal or aristocratic owners regarded, in accordance with age-old custom, as their own private property to be disposed of at will. Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarius* was part of the Church's effort to settle the many disputes that divided it (Flint 1975a)

183 The Second Lateran Council in 1139 declared invalid all marriages of those in major orders and of professed monks, canons, lay brothers, and nuns (*Britannica* 2000). This decree shows that marriage or concubinage was indeed common amongst the lower clergy.

amendments aimed at reforming the clergy and establishing a common rule for clerics and monks and remove the care of the soul from laymen (*Britannica* 2000). In this struggle over lay investiture, the ecclesiastical clergy stood against the secular pastoral, and the monastic orders stood against the non-monastic clergy (Flint 1975a). The Investiture Controversy exemplified the opposition between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, one of the issues that the proponents of canon law—as developed by Gratian in *Concordia discordantium canonum*—tried to resolve (*Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967).¹⁸⁴

Honorius took the Gregorian reform to heart, and composed *Elucidarius* when the crisis in England was at its height. In some instances, even monks were barred from pastoral and teaching duties. Later, Honorius converted to monasticism, and composed an essay in defense of the orders within the educational system (Flint 1975a).¹⁸⁵ At the Synod of Westminster in 1107, the dispute over investiture was finally settled, and King Henry I (r. 1100-1135) renounced the right to appoint bishops and abbots. He did demand, however, that they do homage to him prior to their consecration (*Britannica* 2000). This somewhat special situation may explain, despite the superiority of the French vernacular in England, why the book was quickly translated into the native Old English, probably as early as 1125 (Flint 1975a, Lusignan 1986).

The text found its way to the North, and was translated into the vernacular some time at the beginning of the 13th century. The controversy over investiture so central to Honorius' work (Flint 1975a) was present in Norway, too. Despite the centralizing efforts of the Church, powerful chieftains and landlords maintained their traditional

184 As we have seen, the issue of the power relation between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities was raised a century later in *Konungs skuggsjá* (c.1260), where the ideal of cooperation between the two power structures was promoted (Astås 1993, Astås 1987, Barnes 1987, Kirby 1986).

185 *Quod monachis liceat predicare*, written in the late 1090s (Flint 1975a).

dominance over local politics, as in the pre-Christian era, and many of them influenced and controlled regional churches by appointing the clergy (Bagge 1998). The Old Norse *Elucidarius* thus had much of the same relevance in Norway as it had had in England.

Elucidarius is divided into three books. The first, *De divinis rebus*, deals with the Trinity Genesis, the Fall of Adam, the Incarnation and the Redemption. The second, *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, presents questions of ecclesiastical concern, such as Man's salvation through the Church and the Sacraments. The third, *De futura vita*, discusses the various aspects of life after death and the Last Judgment. The book addresses these issues in the form of a questionnaire, i.e. questions and answers between a *discipulus* and a master (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992). This form was typical of medieval didactical material and derived from the platonic dialogue (Berggrav 1953).

The Norse translator has not been identified, and may have been of either Norwegian or Icelandic origin. The linguistic features of the text apparently have not given any clues as to the geographic origin of the translation, of which four more or less complete manuscripts have been collected and preserved by Arni Magnusson. AM 674a 4^o is the oldest; AM 675 4^o—originally part of *Hauksbók* by Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334)¹⁸⁶—AM 544; and AM 238 fol. xviii. A diplomatic Old Norse version has been created using all four manuscripts, representing an estimated 80% of the Norse *Elucidarium*, using Lefevre's critical Latin edition as a reference guide, although this text was not the one used by the Norse translator (Firchow 1992). The Old Norse *Elucidarius* constituted an unparalleled introduction to contemporaneous European scholastic thinking. It summarizes and illustrates medieval Christian doctrinal theory as

186 A large codex of miscellaneous texts compiled by the Icelandic lawyer Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334), containing, amongst others, an extensive Arabic treatise on and guide to advanced mathematics as developed in *Algoritmi de numero Indorum*, written in Baghdad by the mathematician Muhammad Al-Khwarizimi and translated in Toledo around 1130. The Arabs always referred to their mathematical systems as Indian numbers, and indeed the Indians were the first to develop a calculation system based on decimal position in the 4th century (Bekken 1995, Harðarsson 1995). At least fifteen different scribes worked on *Hauksbók* (Harðarsson 1995).

developed by the Church's main *auctoritates*, who are extensively quoted in conjunction with quotations from the Scriptures, both the New and the Old Testament (Flint 1975a).

Elucidarium is thus one of the few examples of scholastic writing in Old Norse translation. It is not merely another didactical work, it clearly takes side in an ongoing theological dilemma with ramifications for the secular as well as the ecclesiastic organization of society. A century after it was originally written, the book was translated into Old Norse, probably because the translator believed that its content still had relevance in a country struggling to define the boundaries between the Church and the monarchy (Firchow 1992).

Soliloquium de arrha animae

Another philosophical-theological text translated into Old Norse was *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, one of Hugh of Saint Victor's mystical writings.¹⁸⁷ An Old Norse text entitled *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* or "Dialogue between the body and the soul" has been preserved in the large composite codex known as *Hauksbók*.¹⁸⁸ The Old Norse *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* consists of two dialogues of which *Soliloquium De arrha animae* is the second.¹⁸⁹ The first dialogue—*Viðræða æðru ok hugrekki* (dialogue between fright and courage)—can be traced back to a pseudo-Seneca text, *De Remediis*, which appears in an

187 The others being: *De Arca Noe Morali et Mystica* and *De vanitate mundi* (Catholic Encyclopedia 1999). The name of Hugh is absent from the Old Norse translation. No mention of him is made in the text itself or in the Prologue (Harðarson 1995). Hugh of Saint Victor (c.1096-1141) was an influential medieval philosopher and mystical writer, one of the founders of Scholasticism, and the first to synthesize and systemize the teaching of the Church fathers and outline them in a coherent body of doctrine (Catholic Encyclopedia 1999).

188 *Hauksbók* has been preserved in two main manuscripts. The first, AM 371, 4^o, contains primarily *Landnamabók* (about the settling of Iceland) and *Kristnissaga* (about the Christianization of Iceland). AM 544, 4^o comprises a variety of texts, amongst others *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögu*, *Merlínuspá*, the Icelandic *Fóstbræðrasaga* and *Eriks saga rauða*, as well as the mystical pagan *Völuspá*. In addition we find *Algoritmus* and *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* (Harðarson 1995).

189 Preserved in three Icelandic manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries: AM 544, 4^o from the beginning of the 14th century, and part of *Hauksbók*, and the fragments AM 696 XXXII, 4^o and AM 696 XXXIII, 4^o from the second half of the 15th century. Harðarsson sets the various versions up against each other (Harðarsson 1995).

[illegible]

Kępno þef alinne. En vđan e
 þ fogla & fiska & lęte fogla þę
 þe ef fiska vęrne. En vi dęq
 fęp þęv & męv or enne nef
 flo þof of þępno þęv or vęp.
 v kenna fępno. ę. Of ęte ęþe
 þęv ę kęte þęv þęv andauer blę
 ęv of dęv & of onfam ęv al
 lęv blę lifa. ę. & kęv fępa fęv
 þęv kęv þęv þęv fęv of vęv
 ęv þęv þęv fęv fęv ę. ę.
 ęþe hįv ęv nęv. Sol & tęv
 & fęv kęv ę þęv þęv vęv
 vęv fęv fęv fęv at vęv fęv
 fęv kęv þęv þęv fęv vęv
 & ęv alinne tęv. ęv kęv ę þęv þęv
 fęv ęv vęv vęv fęv fęv fęv

Figure 5: *Elucidarium*. AM 674a, 4^o: 8-9 (For Old Norse text, see Anthology Section and Appendix 7.)

abridged form in *De fiducia et securitate*, the 26th chapter of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, often attributed to Gautier de Châtillon, but written by William of Conches (c.1080-1153). The Norse translator also thought the author was *meistari Valtirr* (master Gautier), as stated in the prologue.¹⁹⁰ The epilogue, which in general has been attributed to the translator himself as an original work, in reality contains, in the form of interlinear commentaries, excerpts from Hugh's pedagogical work *Didascalion*, which had been translated some time between 1240 and 1260 (Harðarsson 1995).

The Old Norse translation of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* became a text that was different from the Latin original in many aspects. Although the Old Norse translation in many ways follows the original text quite closely, the text was modified to accommodate the Old Norse audience, an audience anchored in a very different literary and religious tradition. The Old Norse text has been augmented in some places and shortened in others, and reveals extensive paraphrasing of central themes and sporadic interpolations which testify to the translator's will to clarify and explain Hugh's philosophy (Harðarson 1995).¹⁹¹

In *Didascalion*, partly represented in the epilogue to the Old Norse *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, Hugh defends the new scientific techniques of the universitarians, especially Abélard's idea of a *logica ingredientibus* and the existence of a rational soul, upon which Honorius would further elaborate (Le Goff 1985).¹⁹² The prologue, the *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekki*, the *Soliloquium*, and the epilogue form one unit in

190 Harðarson 1995, p. 43.

191 Another text by Hugh of Saint Victor—one chapter of *De quinque septenis* ("On the five numbers")—was also translated into Old Norse. This text has been preserved in a 15th century Icelandic manuscript (Harðarsson 1995).

192 In *Didascalion*, Hugh of Saint Victor proposes a new division of knowledge: «Philosophia dividitur in theoreticam, practicam, mechanicam et logicam. Haec quatuor omnem continent scientiam» (*Eruditiones Didascalie*, II, 2). "Philosophy is divided into the theoretical, the practical, the mechanical, and the logical. These four comprise all knowledge" (My translation). His theory led to the perception of knowledge as speculative science. Man, by using reason, could and must arrive at the rational knowledge of the Divine essence (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

Hauksbók. The Norse version of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* and its accompanying texts demonstrate both the Old Norse translator's theological discernment and compiling skills (Harðarsson 1995).

Devotional Texts and Christian Poetry

In addition to the voluminous biblical and texts found in *Stjórn* and the hagiographic legends compiled in *Vitae Patrum*, seven Christian didactical poems—composed in the Old Norse vernacular at the beginning of the 14th century—have also been preserved, as well as a number of devotional texts recorded in the 13th century. The composition of the extant Christian poems are believed to have been undertaken in a monastic environment. It is not certain whether or not the poems are translations or original composition inspired by contemporaneous Latin poetry, but one may conjecture that they were a combination of both.

The seven poems are *Geisli* (ray of light); *Plácítusdrápa* (In praise of Placidus);¹⁹³ *Leiðarvisan* (the Guide); *Harmsól* (Consolation of the sun); *Sólarljóð* (Song to the sun); *Líknarbraut* (Road to mercy); and *Lilja*, an adoration of the Virgin (Astås 1970, Norrøn Ordbok 1993).¹⁹⁴ The Augustine monastery at Þykkvabær in Iceland, established in 1168, was renowned for its Christian poetry, and some of the material may have been written there. The four first poems were produced towards the end of the 12th century, whereas *Sólarljóð* and *Líknarbraut* date from the 13th century. *Lilja* is a later composition from the beginning of the 14th century (Astås 1970). The story of Placidus—Saint Eustachius before his conversion—was one of the best known legends of the Middle Ages, and the Latin text has been preserved in a number of collections of

193 Preserved in the following manuscripts: AM 655, 4° IX and AM 644 4° X, and the fragmentary AM 673b, 4° from c.1200 (Tucker 1998).

194 "The Lily" was a term commonly used in the Middle Ages to designate the Virgin Mary.

saints' lives, including Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Tucker 1998, Ryan 1993). The story of Placidus served as a model for the Old Norse *Leiðarvísan*. Translated from Latin into Old Norse in the 12th century, *Placidusdrápa* figures amongst the earliest legends in Norse translation (Tucker 1998).

The Christian vernacular poetry reveals significant aspects of the way the Norse people interpreted and practised the Christian faith. Especially in the *Leiðarvísan*,¹⁹⁵ which narrates the relationship between the New and the Old Pact, i.e. between the New and the Old Testament, the idea of submission, loyalty, and *service* to Christ once again seems to be at the fore.¹⁹⁶ The didactical overtones are strong and suggestive of a certain need to clarify and reiterate some of the main obligations of Christian men. *Leiðarvísan*, a *drápa* composed by a hitherto unidentified (maybe Icelandic) author, was composed as a celestial letter, inspired by a long medieval tradition of "God's gift of hope" (Astås 1970, p. 259). Celestial letters transmitted a written message directly from God, the supreme *auctor*, not only of the Scriptures but of the entire creation (Minnis 1988).¹⁹⁷ The poem may have been recited during the inauguration and consecration of a new church, although this cannot be confirmed. A guide to Christianity and a praise of God and Christ, *Leiðarvísan* exhorts the audience to lead a good Christian life, reminds them of the need for baptism and attending Mass on Sundays, and venerate Christ. The symbolism of the seventh day permeates the poem. The celestial letter expounds briefly on how God has always intervened to the benefit of his People, with examples from the

195 Preserved in two manuscripts from the last part of the 15th century, AM 757, 4^o and AM 624, 4^o (Astås 1970)

196 These were fundamental Christian virtues, reflecting the ideals of medieval feudalism and its system of interpersonal relations, expressed in the vernacular chivalric romances, and in Anselm's scholarly treatise on the theory of redemption. Christian virtues and vices were also outlined, as we have seen, in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*, which opens with Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*.

197 Such letters find their parallel in the Books of Genesis: 2. Mos. 31, 18; 2. Mos. 32, 16; and 5. Mos. 5. 22. According to legend, the first of the celestial letters was supposedly preserved in Constantinople (Astås 1970).

Old and the New Testament. *Leiðarvísan* contains no devotion to Mary or to the saints, but instead strongly emphasizes the dual origin and essence of Christ—*vere homo, vere deus*. The focus is entirely on Christ as King and leader: he is *drott*, wise and strong—in short a dignified model for appropriate male behavior. The theme of the celestial letter seems to have been known in Iceland before 1150. There is no mention of the Virgin in *Leiðarvísan*, although the Old Norse *Mariú saga* also refers to a celestial letter, albeit not from God, but from the Holy Virgin herself (Astås 1970).¹⁹⁸

Apocryphal Texts

From the Greek word for “hidden,” Saint Jerome was the first to use the term “apocrypha” in reference to the non-canonical texts in the Jewish Bible. The *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the original Hebrew texts, contained texts of uncertain Jewish origin. Despite Jerome’s reserve, most of these texts were included in *Vulgata*, and thus enjoyed a wide dissemination throughout Christianity.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the Old Testament non-authorized material of Hebraic and Greek origin, the term “apocryphal” has come to designate textual material from the early Christian tradition, too, such as the non-canonical versions of the *Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, *Apocalypse* (*Britannica* 2000) and *Visio sancti Pauli* (Knudsen 1952).²⁰⁰ Some of the apocryphal material

198 It is difficult to assess to what point Marial devotion was common in Norway in the 13th century. The cult of the Virgin started in southern Europe in the 12th century, and received much attention in the poetry of the troubadours and the rites of the Cathars who, although strongly condemned by the Church, did much to spread the cult of Mary in other regions (Borst 1974). Nevertheless, many Old Norse Mary legends have been documented.

199 In 1546, the Council of Trent finally declared the canonicity of almost the entire *Vulgata*, excluding only the 3rd and 4th Book of the Maccabees, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, and Second Book of Esdras. The Eastern Church, in comparison, accepted only a few of the Old Testament apocrypha, notably *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, and discarded the rest (*Britannica* 2000).

200 This vision, contained in *Hómiliubók* (AM 619, 4^o), has been linked to the Old Norse translation of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by Hugh of Saint Victor (Harðarson 1995). See Anthology Section.

surfaces in Old Norse texts as quotes and references. Material from *Ecclesiasticus*²⁰¹ and the *Wisdom of Solomon* seems to have been particularly popular. Passages from these books were frequently cited in Old Norse literature, and traces have been found in *Konungs skuggsjá* as well (Astås 1987c). The material was not transferred in its original form, but derived from an intermediate Latin source, probably Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Peter Comestor was one of Saint Victor's greatest scholars, representing the Abbey's mystical tradition (Kirby 1986).

Some of the apocryphal texts became more popular than others, such as the ever-present legend of Virgin Mary. It probably existed in many variants, but the Old Norse version that has been preserved is commonly known as *Mariú saga*, translated by the Icelandic Kygri-Björn Hjaltason of Hólar (d.1237/38) in the first half of the 13th century.²⁰² The text, in its extant form, contains parts of a *Planctus ante nescia*, a pseudo-Bernardian Complaint of Mary by Godefroy de Saint Victor (Astås 1985a), preserved in a 15th century manuscript.²⁰³ The author of the Latin legend at the base of the Norse *Mariú saga* has not been positively identified, but it may well have been extracted from the ubiquitous *Historia scholastica* (Astås 1993).

Of the early Christian apocryphal tradition, only a few texts found their way into the North (Kirby 1986), such as *Transitus Mariae*, the visionary legend about the death and burial of Mary (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1961), regularly attributed by some medieval scholars to John the Apostle (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999), by others to Joseph of Arimathea (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). This legend related to the

201 Also known as the *Book of Sirach*, a collection of old Hebrew proverbs and dicta, the last of the Old Testament's sapiential writings (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

202 Edited and published by C. R. Unger in 1871.

203 Godefroy de Saint Victor's (d.1196) main works are *Microcosmus* and *Fons Philosophia* (OLIS). Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) composed a *Tractatus planctu Mariae* (Collijn 1904).

tradition of Mary's Assumption remained very popular throughout the Middle Ages and circulated in a number of Latin manuscripts (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The only extant Old Norse version of *Transitus Mariae* is found in an Icelandic manuscript and belongs to the same visionary tradition about the Assumption of the Virgin as *Mariú saga* and the Old Norse Homily on the Assumption, both associated with a *Letter on the Assumption* by Saint Jerome. The author of *Mariú saga* seems to have relied on Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, to which the anonymous Icelandic compiler of *Transitus Mariae* also refers. However, the exact Latin source texts of these Marial legends have not yet been identified (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). Furthermore, *Hauksbók* contains one apocryphal text, the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, probably the Old Norse translation of an Old English version included in King Ælfric's Book of Homilies (Kirby 1986).

The first of the two apocryphal *Books of the Maccabees* was translated into Old Norse in the 13th century.²⁰⁴ The Norse version was preserved as part *Gyðinga saga*, compiled some time around 1260 at the request of King Magnus Hákonsson.²⁰⁵ This version of the Jewish history includes material from both the Old and the New Testament and derives primarily from *Vulgata*. Nevertheless, the translator frequently

204 Priestly family of Jews in 2nd century BC Palestine who under Mattathias organized a successful rebellion against the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of Syria, and re-consecrated the defiled Temple of Jerusalem. The name "Maccabee" was originally the surname of Mattathias' third son Judas, but was later extended to all his descendants, and even to all those who participated in the rebellion. The family patronymic of the Maccabees was (H)Asmoneans from Matathias' ancestor "Hashmon." (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The story of the Maccabees was also recorded in Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Halshall 1997). Josephus (37/38-100), a Jewish priest, scholar and historian, was amongst the first non-biblical historians of the Jewish people, the author of *Antiquitates Judaicae* (c. 93) an extensive twenty-volume history, and *Bellum Judaicum*, a seven-volume commentary on the Jewish wars of 66-70 (c. 75-79) (*Britannica* 2000).

205 The Norse text is found in full in only one manuscript, the AM 226 fol. from the middle of the 14th century. Fragments of the history are extant in three manuscripts, one younger and two older (AM 229 fol. c.1400; AM 238 fol. XVII c.1300, and AM 655, 4^o XXV c.1300) (Kirby 1986). The First and Second Book of the Maccabees are canonical to the Roman Catholic Church only, as is *Bel and the Dragon* (*Britannica* 2000).

draws upon intermediary sources such as the omnipresent *Historia scholastica*, as well as on an anonymous *Life of Pontius Pilate* (Kirby 1986, Ryan 1993).²⁰⁶ The Norse translator of the Book of Maccabees significantly simplified the biblical text, and contains distinct Norwegian terms as well as a number of Latin and even a few French loanwords. No complete manuscript containing the Norse texts has survived, and the mid 14th-century manuscript AM 226 fol., the most complete extant version, seems to have been modified. An unknown revisor or copist seems to have further abridged the material some time before the outbreak of the Great Plague in 1349 (Kirby 1986).

The Legend of Barlaam and Josaphat

The history of Barlaam and Josaphat was probably translated into Old Norse some time around 1200 by someone associated with the court of Håkon Sverresson (r. 1202-1204) (Kirby 1986, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). Like most medieval Norse translators, the composer of the Norse text remains unidentified. The text was considered a devotional *romance* in medieval times, but in fact derives from the monastic hagiographic tradition (Astås 1993, Tveitane 1968). The probable source of the Norse version is the younger of two 12th-century Latin translations of the Greek original. The story in its extant form includes letters, speeches, and prayers, as well as a number of inserted stories not related to the main theme. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat recounts the story of the early Cristianization of India, and its didactical purpose is strongly underlined by a number of quotations from the Bible and the frequent repetition of the main articles of the faith. The saga was probably used in the continual work of strengthening the position of the Christian faith in Norway (Astås 1990a).

206 See also Kirsten Wolf (1987-88) "Lífssaga Pilati" in Lbs. 4270, 4° " in Proceedings of the PMR Conference 12/13: 239-262.

The Norse text is a rather free adaptation of the Latin source text and the compiler has made major adjustments and suppressed certain passages. Both the original and the Norse versions are interesting texts, primarily in view of the narrative's composite structure. The story is interspersed with passages from other medieval devotional texts. For instance, the legend contains the oldest extant example of early Christian apologetic literature: Aristides' *Apology*, long believed to have been lost, disguised as the wise man Nachor's speech.²⁰⁷ *Apologeticum* has been moved up in the Old Norse text, to the first part as a substitute for the original version's description of the early Christianization of India. The text emphasizes the importance of monastic life and mission. Yet, curiously, the part about the monastic history of Egypt has also been suppressed in the Norse version, just like the tale of Thomas the Apostle and his missions in Asia. In contrast, the Norse text was augmented with material pertaining to the power of the King and his relation to the Church authorities (Astås 1990a), a recurrent theme in Old Norse translations. The education of the King seemed paramount and essential; it was a task the various Norse translators obviously took to heart (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).

The 12th and 13th centuries were marked by the Roman Church's continued efforts to establish an optimal relationship between *sacerdotium* and *imperium* (Flint 1975a, *Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967). This work is also echoed in *Barlaams*

207 The 2nd century Athenian philosopher Aristides was one of the earliest Christian apologists. The Christians were persecuted in 2nd-century Greece. Two apologies were written: one by Quadratus, the other by Aristides, who presented the text to Emperor Adrian. Aristide's *Apologeticum* is (one of) the oldest extant apologist documents. It was highly thought of by contemporaneous Christian scholars, and Saint Jerome refers to it. The text was lost some time during the 9th century, but resurfaced in the late 19th century in fragmentary Armenian and Syriac versions. With the subsequent identification of a complete Greek version contained in a medieval Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat (attributed to Saint John Damascene c. 676-c. 754), the reconstruction of Aristides' original text finally was achieved. *Apologeticum* gives a brief summary of the Christian faith, and aims at demonstrating that only Christians hold a true conception of God. It points out the errors of Greek, Egyptian, Chaldean, and Jewish writings and beliefs concerning the nature of the Deity (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, *Britannica* 2000).

ok *Josaphats saga*, although not as a major theme. The most striking feature of the Norse version is the many augmentations in relation to the Latin source text, in addition to the strong didactical tone it carries. Elucidation and explanation were apparently considered a necessity when writing for a Norse audience and readership, which had less training in the finer aspects of theology and Christian exegesis. The beginning of the *Apology* in *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, in particular, has been extensively modified and augmented. One single Latin term is often rendered by a series of almost synonymous Old Norse words,²⁰⁸ so that very little indeed remains of Aristides' rather simple Latin vocabulary. Moreover, the idea of *providentia divinae*—inherited from Saint Augustine—dominates the narrative. In the Norse text, the notion of Augustinian predetermination—*per ipsum vero omnia sunt constituta*—takes precedence over Aristotle's principle of the necessity of motion inherent to all elements—*secundum necessitatem motum*—so omnipresent in Aristides' Greek apology (Astås 1990a).

Again we see major adaptation of foreign material to a native audience. The idea of providence was perceived as directly related to and dependent upon the conscious will of God, and the divine force operating on the universe and its inhabitants (Astås 1990a).²⁰⁹ Aristides' simple language and general apology inspired later apologists who developed a more personal and literary style (*Britannica* 2000). In fact, the simple Latin of the original appears quite unsophisticated compared with the flourishing style of the Norse translation. In addition to material from Aristide's *Apologeticum*, *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* contains elements from the regular Old Norse *Credo*—translated

208 *Contumeliam* (insult) is translated as “vannsi, vilsinni, erfiði ok valkan” (i.e. shame, want, vexation, and offense); *Deum creatorum colere* becomes “ælska ok dyrrka, tigna ok þiona” (love, cherish, honor and serve) in the Old Norse text (Astås 1990a, p. 131. My translation).

209 “Secundum praeceptum dei; per quem omnia nihilo facta sunt, per quem continentur omnia et gubernantur et providentia illius regentur” (Astås 1990a, p. 135).

primarily from the *Symbolum Apostolicum*—especially with regard to the vocabulary.²¹⁰ The double status of Christ as Man and God: *vere deus, vere homo*—the formula used by the orthodox Church—is emphasized. “*Hann do sem maðr. Oc reis upp sem Guð*” (Astås 1990a, p. 142, “He died as man and resuscitated as God,” My translation). This formula is very close to the Old Norse *Credo*, but can be traced to other Norse religious works as well, amongst others *Humiliúbók*, and in particular the Old Norse version of *Apostolicum*²¹¹ included into both the 12th century Icelandic and Norwegian law

210 The two variants are:

a) *Symbolum Apostolorum* (before A. D. 390):

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et terrae.

Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Evangelicam (catholicam), sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

b) *Forma Recepta Ecclesiae Orientalis*. (A.D. 381):

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem; factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium.

Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei [unigenitum], natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula [Lumen de Lumine], Deum verum de Deo vero, natum [genitum], non factum, consubstantialem Patri; per quem omni facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et [propter] salutem nostram descendit de coelis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virginine et humanatus [homo factus] est; et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato [passus] et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die [secundum scripturas]; ascendit in coelum [coelos], sedet ad dexteram Patris; interum venturus, cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis.

Et in Spiritum Sanctam, Dominum et vivificantem [vivificantem], ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per sanctos prophetas. Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam futuri saeculi. Amen (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999 & www.creeds.net/ancient).

211 *Symbolum Apostolicum*—also known as the *Apostles' Creed*—became the commonly used statement of faith in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. The *Credo* was, according to legend, attributed to the 12 apostles themselves, composed on the Day of Pentecost. The creed in fact builds on a series of questions and answers used when baptizing people in the early days of Christianity, and is a baptismal creed, standardized in France some time in the 6th or 7th century. In the 12th century, it was confirmed as the official statement of faith for the Roman Church by Pope Innocent III (r.1198-1216) (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The *Apostolic Credo* represented the minimum required knowledge of the Christian doctrine in order to become a member of the Christian community. The nucleus of the Old Norse *Credo* derives from the *Symbolum romanum*, an earlier version used in the first centuries of Christianity (Astås 1987e). During this time, the creed was often referred to as *Regula fidei*, *Doctrina*, or *Traditio*. Tyrannus Rufinus, as one of the first, explains the composition of the Apostolic Creed, and refers to it as a joint composition by the twelve apostles (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The various Old Norse texts derive mainly from *Symbolum Apostolicum*, but also contain articulations from *Symbolum Romanum* (Astås 1987e).

revisions (Astås 1990a and 1987e). What we see, then, is some degree of translational coherence amongst the different Old Norse translations.

The translator of *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* was evidently well acquainted with the theology upon which the Latin source text was founded, and managed to adapt the story to the educational level of his native audience. This text of monastic origin from Christian antiquity has, by the astute manipulation of the Norse adaptor, been turned into an instructive text for the Norwegian King and his people, with less emphasis on mysticism of early Christian writings and more on the elements of rationalism and the ability of man to make decisions based on independent individual judgment (Astås 1990a). This was more in tune with the ideology promoted by Abélard, Bernard of Chartres and the Victorines. The Norse author of *Barlaam ok Josaphats saga* probably belonged to the same doctrinal tradition as the author of *Konungs skuggsjá* (Astås 1993), and was representative of 12th century scholasticism in Norway.

Miscellaneous religious material

In addition to the various religious texts mentioned above, such as the apocryphal material, and the examples of Christian poetry, a few fragments of translated texts have survived in the form of Old Norse glosses to the Book of Psalms,²¹² indicative of translation activity in relation to the non-historical material in the Jewish Bible, too. The Psalms were popular material throughout Christianity, and Latin Psalters became common reading-material amongst the literate. Kristin, Håkon Håkonsson's daughter, for instance, had her own personal psalter, which has been preserved (Kirby 1986). A vernacular Norse version of the Psalms probably existed well before 1150, most likely used when teaching the articles of the faith and for devotional purposes. The Latin

212 Preserved in manuscript AM 241a fol. (Kirby 1986)

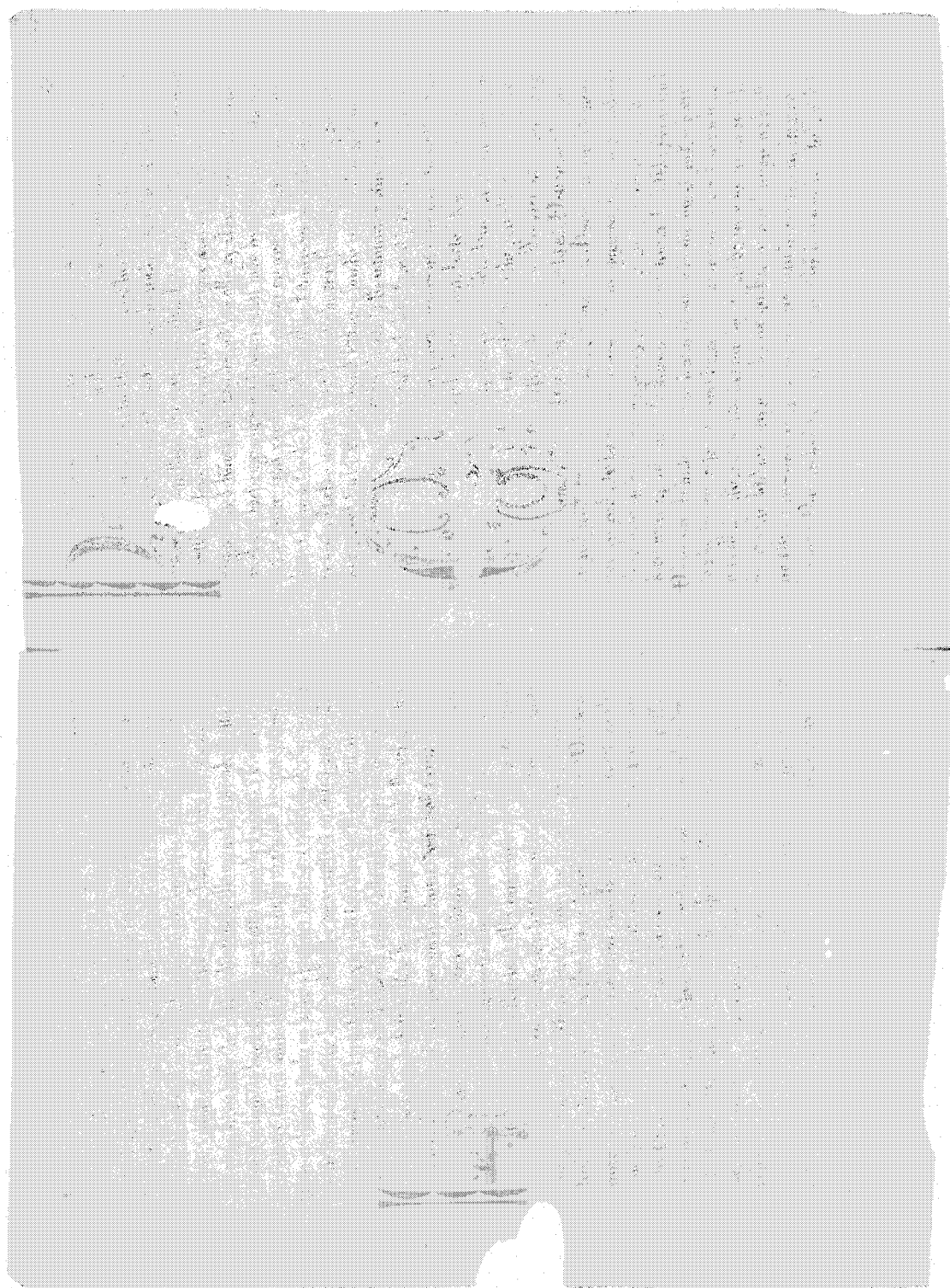


Figure 6: Humiliúbók: AM 619, 4° : 14v-15r. (For the Old Norse text, see Appendix 7).

Psalter seems to have been reserved for liturgical use. Quotations in the Norse vernacular from the Book of Psalms are found in the *Vienna Psalter*, accompanied by German commentaries.²¹³ Moreover, a number of interlinear vernacular quotations from the Psalms of David are also found in an Icelandic Latin Psalter, suggesting the possibility of an independent Norse version of the Psalms. However, the preserved material is too limited to give a clear answer as to whether a comprehensive Old Norse translation of this part of the Old Testament existed (Kirby 1986).

Biblical and moralizing material in Norse expression was, as we have seen, often worked into other texts, both religious and profane, such as the *Lai of Equitan* by Marie de France (Tveitane & Cook 1979) and *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* by Theodoricus (Foote 1998). Longer and shorter passages can be found throughout secular literature, interspersed with quotational material notably from *Vitae Patrum*, the Gregorian homilies, smaller condensed passages from the Bible, and extractions of various liturgical texts. Most of the biblical material derived not from *Vulgata* itself, but from different intermediary sources in accordance with common medieval scholarly practice (Kirby 1986). The manuscript context of Latin sources of vernacular translations, not only the Old Norse vernacular, but other national languages as well, should not be ignored. Medieval vernacular translators typically consulted a number of Latin sources when commenting and glossing. Some of these were non-biblical sources that were considered as authoritative as the original text itself (Minnis 1988). *Glossa ordinaria* by Anselm of Laon and Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* were considered authoritative (Kirby 1986, *Britannica* 2000), as were many of the compilations and *summa* that circulated. These texts were all consulted and copied as if they were original material. Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius* were particularly

213 Cod.Viund. 2713 (BIBSYS).

successful as intermediary sources for medieval writers. Like many medieval texts, many Old Norse texts are interspersed with numerous quotations, paraphrases, and interlinear commentaries on non-historical material from both the Old and the New Testament. Yet, nothing in the extant material suggests that these passages were quoted from an already translated Norse Bible (Kirby 1986).

The biblical material in Old Norse translation belonged predominantly to the historical genre and derived in essence from the Old Testament, with the exception of the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels. An Old Norse Acts of the Apostles (*Heilagra manna sögur*) appeared in the early 13th century.²¹⁴ Scholars have not yet determined whether these texts were translated directly from a Latin source text or whether they are the re-workings of earlier Norse (or English?) translations. The exact source material has not been identified. The preserved material, *Postola sögur*, is very fragmentary and contains texts by different translators, including two different versions of the *Saga of Peter* that may have built on previously translated material or on the usual intermediate Latin corpus of authoritative writing. A certain Grímr Holmsteinsson (13th century) produced a second *Saga of Peter*, commissioned by an Abbot Rúnólf. *Postola sögur* contains glossing material from Gregory's *Homilies*, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and other reputed medieval *auctores* (Kirby 1986)²¹⁵ and thus follows the medieval custom of commenting translations of religious and theological material. Furthermore, the Norse Acts of the Apostles includes a *Saga of Paul* and a *Saga of Stephen* (the first martyr),

214 *Postola sögur*, edited by Unger in 1874

215 “Þers truir ek yör minninga vera, at þer baðut mik saman lesa or likama heilagra gudspialla líf hins sæla Jóhannis baptiste ok setia þar yfir tilheyriligar glosur lesnar af undirdiupi omeliarium hins mikla Gregorij, Augustini, Ambrosij, ok Jeronini ok annarra kennifedra...” (Kirby 1986, p. 87).

“I believe it was your intention, to ask me to collect from the Holy Gospel the bodily life of John the Baptist and thereto adjoin the accompanying glosses extracted from the wonderful homilies of the great Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and other learned [i.e. church] fathers...” (My translation).

probably the same versions as the ones found in the *Heilagra manna sögur* (Kirby 1986). The *Saga of Stephen* also figures in *Humiliúbók* (Indrebø 1931), presented as a combination of *vita*, *passio*, and *miracula*, seemingly based on both the Bible and *Historia scholastica*, although some of the material has been positively attributed to Lucianus (Kirby 1986).²¹⁶

Readings about the saints were popular all through the Middle Ages, and different hagiographical legends circulated in a great number of manuscripts. Voragine's *Legenda aurea* include a substantial number of lives of apostles (Ryan 1993). *Humiliúbók* also includes an apocalyptic vision of Saint Paul (Seip 1952, Indrebø 1931). The *Golden Legend* has survived in more than one thousand Latin manuscripts (Ryan 1993),²¹⁷ which confirms the immense popularity of the genre.

The preoccupation with religion and moral conduct was omnipresent in medieval times, and marks not only devotional material, but also secular writing in both Latin and the vernacular. Biblical quotations appeared frequently in secular literature. This holds true for the North, too, where biblical quotations in Norse secular texts were numerous. The *Lai of Equitan*, for example, provides a good example of biblical quotational material in Old Norse non-religious writing (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, despite the many paraphrases and quotations in the vernacular, there exists no evidence of a comprehensive translation of the whole Bible into Old Norse, neither fragments of manuscripts nor scribal references to such a comprehensive common source. While the absence of conclusive physical material does not necessarily mean that no such material existed, it does make the existence of a Norse translation of the entire Bible from which

216 Maybe Lucian of Anthioch (d.312), revisor of the *Septuagint* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

217 The only existing modern Latin edition is Grässe, Johann Georg Theodor (1846) *Legenda aurea: vulgo historia lombardica dicta*. Dresden: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae. The reference to the history of the Lombards derives from the second last chapter on Pope Pelagius's *History of the Lombards*. The *Legenda aurea* was mainly a compilation of already available material (Ryan 1993).

the authors of vernacular religious material could extract ready translations and quotes very improbable. Most of the biblical excerpts have been traced back to common Latin sources, although seldom to the Bible itself (Kirby 1986).²¹⁸

The milieu in which the Norse translators worked was indeed modest in terms of scholarly training and ambition (Kirby 1986). The translators probably belonged to the same ecclesiastic or monastic orders (Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1987 & 1993). Indeed, 12th- and 13th-century Norway could only muster a handful of scholars able to perform this type of work. They must have coordinated their work to some extent or at least used much of the same reference material. There are observable links and parallels between the different Norse translations and compositions, especially the work performed during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson, explaining why *Konungs skuggsjá* has material in common with *Stjórn* III (Bagge 1973), as well as with *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* (Astås 1993).

What we see reflected in the translated religious material—and echoed in much of the secular writing—is a sustained effort at outlining and instilling good moral values and modes of behavior. The repeated admonitions and commentaries suggest that the new moral principles must initially have been perceived of as rather foreign, and that some of them must have been regarded as largely dishonorable and utterly unmanly to the mentality of medieval Norwegians. The structure of pagan society remained present in the Norse language and mentality and in its linguistic idioms and metaphors. The fundamental notion of submission, humility and service so central to the Christian doctrine (Cf. Augustine's *Confessiones*) probably met with suspicion and even with derision by the Norse people, moulded in a society strongly sceptical and disapproving of human weakness and external

218 The Old Testament: Book of Psalms (best represented), Isaiah, Proverbs and Genesis. Apocrypha: *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon* (the same intermediate source). The New Testament: The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The Epistles: only infrequently represented. Quantitatively, according to Kirby, the material is unassuming. The quotations seem to be extracted from various intermediate sources (Kirby 1986).

signs of emotion (Bagge 1998). *Hávamál*, the old collection of proverbs and sayings, promoted forethought and prudence, not submission or forgiveness (Mortensson-Egnund 1996). A major reshaping of the Norse mentality was needed before people could truly embrace the new religion, reflected in the continual reiteration of the main articles of the Christian faith—in particular the virtues of repentance, confession, and penitance, as presented in Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (Indrebø 1931, Seip 1952). It must have been difficult indeed for the missionaries to gain acceptance for these extraverted expressions of Christian devotion and meekness in the North.

Not only did Christianity convey a completely foreign culture, it centered on the history of a hitherto altogether unknown people, bringing with it the Roman Church's vision of power-sharing between the various secular power foci and itself (Bagge 1998). Throughout the entire Middle Ages, the Church was preoccupied with determining the obligations and privileges of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and in particular with limiting the political powers of the monarchy by placing it under its own supervision (Flint 1975a). Many Norwegian kings opposed the idea of authoritative submission to the Church, especially King Sverre Sigurdsson. An ordained priest himself (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998), he wrote *En tale mot biskopene* (A Speech against the Bishops) in defense of the powers of the monarchy (Bagge 1998).²¹⁹ Perceived as a possible threat to the Church's authority, Sverre was excommunicated (Kirby 1986).²²⁰

King Sverre's behavior was anchored in a society of relatively social equals, in an Old Norse mentality in which personal strength, wisdom and prowess were dominant

219 Sverre's accession to the throne in 1177 marked the beginning of a period of conflict between the King and the Church, leading to a more defined and strengthened monarchy in the 13th century. For more details about King Sverre's role in shaping the Norwegian political scene, see Gunnes 1971 and Gundersen 1984.

220 Sverre stood against the Church in the question of investiture. In 1194, King Sverre ordains Martin, his chaplain, as Bishop of Bergen and lets the new Bishop officiate at his own coronation in the end of June. Sverre and the bishops who supported him were all excommunicated (Thuesen 1997).

features, clashing with the controlling ambitions of the Church. In pagan times, the leader was elected from amongst peers. In fact, the tenure of a Viking leader was a *temporary* position subject to revision on a yearly basis at the annual þing, at least in theory. The system made political life a tumultuous and dangerous affair, both for individual candidates and their supporters. Sverre's claim to the throne initiated almost one hundred years of civil war between rivalling factions, ending only with the reign of Håkon Håkonson, under whom the Church finally enjoyed the advantages of a stable and supportive monarchy (Bagge 1998).

With the introduction of Christianity, the horizontal power structures of pre-Christian Norse society were substituted for a vertical system based on the individual's submission and loyalty to the Church and its appointed secular leader. The Roman Church imposed a highly hierarchical and centralized societal model that the secular powers could not ignore. Once Christianity was accepted, the social structures had to be revised. In fact, the structure of the Church served as archetype for the rearrangement of civil society, and the Church pushed for a social order more in tune with its own organization. The adoption of the new faith therefore entailed substantive modifications of the social structure, its cognitive and linguistic baggage, and of its inherent power conventions (Bagge 1998).

The Norse religion had not been an intellectual phenomenon based on philosophy and bookly knowledge as the Christian faith. The *Ásatro* was first and foremost the expression of communal belonging, and primarily mirrored life on the farm. The old religion was season-bound, born of rural needs. It focused on the welfare of the community as a whole rather than on the individual. In contrast, the Christian faith, of urban origin, far removed from the pagan rites of fertility, had much less concern for the immediate and concrete, since man's fate in the Afterlife was more important than his existence on earth. Christianity focused on the metaphysical aspects of existence and

appealed to the human spirituality. The Church, as we have seen, encouraged the very un-Norse notions of self-sacrifice and service, using the *exempla* of the Church's holy men and women, who, according to the Norse mentality, had in essence lived quite miserable lives and died terrible deaths. The veneration of the various saints must, indeed, have seemed a bizarre demand in the eyes of people raised as autonomous and proud peasant-warriors, loathing any external signs of human weakness (Bagge 1998).

Understandably, the working conditions of the Norwegian clergy must have been very difficult. Their isolation, the geographical distance to the rich European intellectual scene, the fact that schools were late in organizing (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953) so that the general level of education and literacy was modest indeed (Edwards 1994), made the enterprise of the early Norwegian schoolmen all the more difficult (Bagge 1998).

Medieval literacy was essentially an *urban* phenomenon (Edwards 1994), and translation an activity that required not only qualified people but also specific tools and materials, some of which were in short supply in medieval Norway (Knudsen 1952). Nevertheless, quite a substantial number of texts were translated in an effort to remedy the devotional and doctrinal shortcomings of the Norse public, right from the start.

The special needs of the Roman Church in Norway—such as the training of a competent native pastoral clergy and the continual instilling of Christian values and strengthening of the Church's position in all aspects of social life—required didactical material in the vernacular. The constant preoccupation with teaching and preaching left little room for original intellectual debate or native literary production. Yet, the extensive body of religious and theological texts translated into Old Norse suggests a sincere wish to introduce the writings of the main medieval authors to the native audience, principally people associated with the hierarchy of the Church or the royal court. It is also an expression of a desire to belong to and participate in the larger community of European Christianity. The learned, mainly people of the cloth, were

instrumental in importing and adapting the texts necessary for the cultural inclusion of the Nordic people into this larger community. The moulding of the native mentality was contingent upon the transfer and translation of the founding texts and the liturgical material used during the celebration of Mass. The translation of the court literature became part of the same didactical scheme, and helped illustrate the new ideals that were promoted.

Conclusion: Medieval Translation and the Shaping of a Nation

Translation in a medieval European context must be understood as transfer of knowledge, the crossing of linguistic and cultural borders, including adaptation, paraphrase, imitation, re-writing, summary, and compiling. Translation moves a text away from its original version. In medieval times, translation meant migration of texts, the physical displacement of both people and manuscripts, a movement which opened up for appropriation of foreign culture and its literary expression.

Medieval scholars started studying the authors of Antiquity and became aware of the almost migratory passage of knowledge not only in their own time but throughout history. Their preoccupation with the concept of *translatio studii* led to a gradual recognition of the former vernacular status of Latin and the passage of the Greek letter into the Latin vernacular. This perception of *translatio* as a vernacular phenomenon—a conscious transition from secular to sacred between vernaculars in ancient times—was at the root of the proto-renaissance of the 12th century. The Scholastics' systematic scrutiny of the three sacred languages of Scripture in search of a universal grammar applicable to all languages in the end opened up for the vernacular as a scientific language. What had been perceived as eternally static emerged as dynamic and changeable. The study of history added to this awareness of change as a natural and inevitable phenomenon.

The medieval notion of translation as *translatio studii*, defined as a *mise-en-évidence* of the *auctoritates*, including knowledge transfer between vernaculars, therefore seems appropriate when examining the cultural impact of Christianity in the North where the new faith was initiated and sustained by a substantial translation activity. Representative samples of both ancient and contemporaneous literatures were imported, interpreted and adapted for a native Norse audience. As manuscripts and learning flowed in, the focus gradually turned outwards, away from the local to the

foreign, guided by a body of knowledge based on centuries of accumulated cognitive and philosophical experience.

Towards the end of the 13th century the scope widened and a few treatises dealing with natural science and medieval medicine were imported. One such text, *Algoritmus*, an Arabic treatise on advanced mathematics originally written in Baghdad and translated in Toledo around 1130, has been preserved in *Hauksbok*, a voluminous 14th century Icelandic codex containing first of all the early sagas of the settling and Christening of Iceland, but also historical texts such as *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögu*, *Merlínusþá* and the mystical *Völuspá*.

The first Old Norse translators turned to the writings of both earlier and contemporaneous European authors, opening up for new impressions and foreign literary models. The essentially extraverted literary activity was to a large extent commissioned with the specific purpose of reducing the cultural gap between the northern and central European traditions, of bringing the country and its people more in tune with contemporary intellectual currents. For almost two centuries, the royal Norwegian court yearned to be part of a broader cultural and literary tradition.

Translators in Norway were typically associated with the archdiocese or the royal court and catered to a mixed audience of scholars, clergy and educated lay people. The language of their literary productions was the native vernacular. Some of their work was commissioned by the Church, for example the Latin and vernacular chronicles of the 12th century; however, most of the translations were undertaken in the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, commissioned and encouraged especially by Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263) and his grandsson Håkon Magnusson (r. 1299-1319), two men of learning and considerable cultural ambitions. Håkon Håkonsson commissioned the translation of famous court romances from the French-speaking territories, whereas Håkon Magnusson ordered the historical material of the Old Testament in vernacular dress.

The introduction of the Christian faith represented a major break with traditional religious life. It was a significant paradigm shift. Greatly promoted by the early conversion of the Icelanders, Norwegian society fairly rapidly changed into a society controlled by the Roman Church, an institution steeped in rites and liturgical traditions molded by centuries of intellectual and contemplative reflection. The transformation from an oral to a book-centered culture, from a geographically remote society of smaller communities to a nation controlled by the universal apparatus of the Church was in itself no little feat.

The early missionaries depended on the successful translation and rapid indoctrination of the main liturgical texts. The missionary offensive necessitated the translation of liturgical texts and manuals—the main articles of the faith and the *Pater Noster* in particular—so as to be able to explain the Holy Mass and combat the practice of old pagan rites and what the Roman Church considered superstition. In their work, the first English missionary monks and bishops may have used Old English homilies and liturgical books from the beginning of the 9th century, given the linguistic proximity of the two vernaculars. Some of the first Old Norse versions of liturgical material may indeed have been translated from Old English in the early days of Norwegian Christendom. Unfortunately, the earliest versions of the major didactical texts used by the missionaries have not survived in their initial form, but only partially in later manipulated and “corrected” copies. As a result, the exact source material for the oldest surviving Old Norse religious and theological texts—such as for example some of the material recorded in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (c.1200)—remain obscure, and an attempt to fix a specific time for the translation of the earliest texts boils down to mere conjecture.

By the time it reached Norway, the Roman Church was firmly established throughout Western Europe and had become a highly sophisticated, hierarchical and

centralized (and centralizing) institution demanding compliance with a vast body of rather complicated rules and precepts, wanting to regulate not only religious life and practice but also political life and secular society in general. However, the geographical characteristics of the country in conjunction with an already established and commonly respected legal system (which in many instance was not compatible with canon law) and the particular Norse mentality made the conversion process a long one.

Christianity brought with it a great number of hagiographic legends and stories, describing the lives of martyrs, holy men and women as well as wondrous and miraculous events. These stories were narrated in much the same way and ran parallel to heroic stories of valiant kings and warriors. The hagiographic and heroic blended and complemented each other as the Church looked for new religious and social role models.

The models of behavior and social conventions promoted by the Church were not of course accepted over night. The changes brought on by the collective conversion to Christianity were radical in any sense of the word and demanded much work, devotion and persuasion on the part of the clergy, both the first missionaries and their successors. The conversion, as we have stated, signified a greater individual participation in religious life. Every human being became, to a large extent, responsible for his or her own fate, as Christianity introduced the notion of *personal will* and *choice* (this had indeed been a central element in Saint Augustine's conversion for instance), not to forget *obligation* and *duty*. A radical change of mentality was called for to ensure general compliance with the new social and religious conventions. The Old Norse people had been staunch individualist, true, but firmly believed in *fate* as a *ruling force* in life. The concept of personal will in a religious perspective was indeed very new. There was an urgent need for guidance and advice.

The Christening of Norway coincided with the Church's increased emphasis on the importance of the individual effort in the process of salvation. The preoccupation with

the condition of the individual represented a major shift in the Church's focus: a step away from the victorious, immovable and often distant God towards the *passio* of the suffering Christ. New emphasis was put on the notions of charity and redemption by good actions. The Church found itself in the middle of a major theological reorientation, enshrining its final recommendations in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The reform aimed primarily at settling the question of secular investiture and teaching privileges, and the Norwegian chapters had to take Vatican's new directives into consideration when addressing the parishioners. Many Old Norse texts from this period—both religious and secular—testify to the dual mission of the Church in Norway: instilling and strengthening faith locally and at the same time implementing the Church's doctrinal reform universally. Participation in the rites of the Church, attending Mass once a week, for instance, now became compulsory and increasingly obscured the initial concept of individual free will and choice in relation to God. From now on the focus was on the urgent need for personal confession, repentance, and final redemption. The obligation of the Church to care for the individual soul in view of eternal salvation became the overruling principle throughout Christianity.

Christianity upset the established social order in Norway to an extent that must not be ignored. As parishes were established around the country, the lives of ordinary people were affected by the direct and concrete interference of the clergy, incessantly promoting the learning and culture of Christianity. However, in order not to antagonize the natives too much, the Church permitted certain pagan feasts and rites that were considered essential to the functioning of society to be celebrated, especially the rites associated with winter solstice, which continued to be celebrated, slightly concealed as the Christian holiday of the Nativity.

The Church organized schools at the dioceses and sent the more promising students—those destined for service in the Church—abroad in search of higher education,

generally to the universities of France and England, but sometimes to institutions as far away as Italy, often at the expense of the Church. Bishop Eystein, for instance, had been at the monastery of Saint Victor, whereas other clerics studied in England, and a few in Germany. Before leaving, the Norwegian students probably received some basic training in the *Trivium* at home. The number of Norwegian students abroad was never great, but on the Continent they became acquainted with alternative social structures, and an established educational system, as well as a flourishing literary activity. They brought home both their newly acquired learning as well as manuscripts of various genres.

Medieval elementary schools could vary somewhat in their make-up, but the universities were true *international* and *universal* institutions, offering the same corpus, following the same scholastic traditions, and promoting the same Latin culture and language. Medieval universities mixed the ecclesiastic and secular in a unique way. The fact that in many places university scholars enjoyed the protection of secular courts helped promote independent studies and allowed scholars to study material that would otherwise have been unheard of. Especially the universities in the French-speaking territories fostered many (mainly) anonymous, relatively *free-thinking* and *rationalistic* medieval scholars, the Goliards, of which Abélard and Rutebœuf were highly sympathetic. A few centuries later, the European humanism of the Renaissance and the German Protestant movement based much of their arguments on the work and commentaries written by great scholars of the early universities and monastic schools.

The channels of exchange between the Norwegian clergy and the principal English and French centers of learning were present from the beginning. However, very little of the issues debated in the emerging universities and monastic centers of learning seems to have been transmitted to the North, with the exception perhaps of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium* (c. 1200), composed in response to the embarrassing controversy over lay investiture in the 11th century, and Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha*

animae, translated into Old Norse as *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* sometime between 1200 and 1220. The almost simultaneous translation of Honorius' and Hugh's texts can be seen as the Norwegian clergy's need for further clarification and teaching material in matters pertaining to theology and faith in general and power sharing between Crown and Church in particular.

Honorius was above all a rational thinker and a man with a sense for what was practical. This can be said about Hugh of Saint Victor as well. Many of the problems debated in *Elucidarium* and *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, such as the appropriate relations between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, are also discussed by the author of the Old Norse *King's Mirror*, who again and again reiterates the notion of the King's *subordination* to Christ, meaning of course the monarch's formal submission to the Church and its institutions.

Traditionally, religion and politics had largely been considered two distinct but separate spheres in Old Norse society. This distinction was blurred as the Church sought to regulate every aspect of human life. In pagan times, the religious locus had been within the confines of the local community, supervised by the local chieftain who officiated during rites and sacrifices. Under Christianity, the distant Holy See in Rome became the new spiritual center. Religion no longer focused on life on earth, on the seasons and rites of fertility, but rather on redemption in Afterlife, dependent entirely on God's forgiveness of one's sins. The notions of sin and humble repentance—so central to the Christian theory of sacrifice and redemption—were indeed unfamiliar concepts in the North, and very difficult to accept for a people who admired personal strength, leadership, and heroic actions, and who emphatically disapproved of external expressions of weakness, sorrow or remorse.

Many of the "Christian principles" had been incorporated into the secular laws already in the 11th century, but found their final written expression two centuries later

when Magnus the Law Mender had the legal texts recorded and revised in 1274. By then, the Church, with its love for order and rule, had succeeded in creating a *nation* of a people traditionally bound together by loose alliances and political relationships. The notion of *nobility*, and consequently of *leadership*, had traditionally been associated with personal valiancy, skills and performance. In the new order, however, the original perception of nobility as a mental and physical disposition ceded to the idea of nobility as a *birthright*, an inherited distinction (initially) granted by God. The perception of nobility as a condition granted by the “grace of God” was promoted in the popular chivalric and romance literature translated in the 13th century.

The Church introduced the principle of clerical hierarchy based on a well-defined hierarchy of knowledge, as evidenced by the content of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, two distinct curricula leading to very different functions within the Church. In medieval Norway, however, the hierarchical categorizing of clerics was less prominent than on the Continent. The clergy soon became an elite and its members produced most of the translation material throughout the entire period studied: religious and devotional texts, chronicles as well as chivalric and romance literature. This of course was due to the fact that the native clergy were the only people with the education and language skills required to read, compose, and translate secular and religious literature in Latin or in French. In the French-speaking territories, on the other hand, *professional* secular authors produced much of the non-religious literature, both Latin and vernacular.

The early Icelandic saga writers wrote exclusively in the vernacular. They were champions of the historical genre. In contrast, the chroniclers working at the diocese of Trondheim wrote first in Latin, but soon turned to the national tongue used by their Icelandic predecessors, whose work they indeed consulted. Both clerics and secular lawyers wrote some of the first histories. Hence, two very distinct professions and two different judicial traditions recorded the first histories of the nation. The existence of

two parallel legal systems after the introduction of Christianity—with the secular system in many instances the stronger—was in itself rather a unique phenomenon in a medieval Christian context.

The first national historians were inspired by contemporaneous European Latin chroniclers, especially English authors such as the Venerable Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, but also by the earlier Icelandic saga writers. Only a century after the official establishment of the Church, the first national chronicles were written. Theodoricus Monachus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (c.1170), the anonymous *Historia Norwegie* (c.1177), and the vernacular *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sógum* (c.1190) relied to some extent on the anonymous *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Monmouth's (d.1154) *Historia regum Britannicae*, Adam of Bremen's (d.c.1076) *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, and Hugh of Saint Victor's (1096-1141) *Chronicon*. The foreign Latin chronicles inspired histories in the vernacular, and the subsequent saga genre enjoyed a privileged status in both Norway and Iceland, where the historical saga tradition was kept alive for centuries to come.

Significantly, the vernacular expression gained in esteem and impetus and became the dominant and omnipresent literary expression well into the Reformation century, suggesting that the Church may have had less control over literary production and secular life in Norway than elsewhere in Europe, probably because the secular law collections continued to be enforced. The Church, when laying down its foundation, had not substituted the old laws, rather it had sought to amend, correct, and adapt them to the new spiritual and social order. Consequently, the old laws, recorded in the 11th century, were never put aside or overruled. Rather than being rejected by the Church, they were constantly revised and perfected. The question of their legitimacy does not seem to have been an issue.

The need for *exemplification* was of course greatest in the first centuries of Christianity but continued to be felt throughout medieval times. In order to become

satisfactory members of the “universal” community of Christians, the Norse people needed a fundamental mental reorienting. In order to reach people and touch their souls, the Church needed didactical material in the vernacular, it needed new behavioral models.

The earliest translations therefore consisted of predominantly religious and didactical material, prayers and sermons, including quite a number of *exempla* from the Gospels, as well as from apocryphal texts of both Jewish and Christian origin, such as *Barlaams oc Josaphats saga* (c.1260), *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli*, and *Heilagra manna sögur* (*Vitae Patrum*, c.1250-1300). The overriding instructional purpose of the imported texts explains why the material contained in *Stjórn* (c. 1300) is not a direct translation of the biblical texts, but instead leans rather heavily on already established compilations such as *Historia scholastica* and *Speculum maius*, compilations full of ready-to-use glosses and examples. *Stjórn* was commissioned by Håkon Magnusson, and was the last of the major translation projects at the royal Norwegian court, and marked the end of a prolific and extraverted intellectual period during which translators had imported the more prominent texts of contemporaneous European culture. Using intermediate sources when presenting biblical material was an altogether common and accepted medieval practice.

However, the new models for appropriate behavior were not only found in various religious and devotional texts, but also in the French court literature narrating the exploits of legendary Arthurian and Carolingian heroes and expounding on the notion of *fin'amor* in chivalric tales of Breton origin. By the 13th century, the position of the Church had been affirmed, and the country experienced a period of relative peace and prosperity. The political elite associated with the court now had time for recreation and entertainment. Håkon Håkonsson (r.1217-1263) commissioned the translation of the works of Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes, in particular, but also of other medieval tales, such as *Tristan and Isolde* (1170-73) by Thomas (1170-73), translated into Old Norse in 1226, and various legends associated with Charlemagne, especially

the *Chanson de Roland*—the oldest of the French *chansons de geste*—recorded in Old Norse before or around 1250, but which probably had circulated in oral form for centuries. Both heroic epic and chivalric romance literature enjoyed great popularity in Norway, as it combined action and chivalry with good Christian values.

The foreign material in Old Norse translation, including religious (often hagiographic) and chivalric texts, was invariably referred to as *historical* texts, as *sagas*, and borrowed many features from the almost epigrammatic and condensed Old Norse secular historical style. The native courteous style mixed literary features from both traditions; however, a distinctly didactical tone permeates the translations of the popular court literature from the French-speaking territories where Christian conventions had been firmly established for centuries. The finer psychological aspects of the chivalric romances usually were ignored or compressed by the Norse translators in view of a public who preferred action to philosophy. The concrete took precedence over the abstract, direct speech in many instances replaced indirect narrative. Still, the Old Norse court literature managed to reflect the essence of contemporaneous European mentality.

The selected texts did not merely seek to amuse as we have stated, contrary to what often was claimed in the prefaces, but also to instruct people in appropriate Christian behavior and conventions. The translator's *interlinea* comments illustrated and explained the behavior of the hero. In good medieval tradition, court romances were considered sources of learning as much as sources of entertainment. Any text could convey fundamental *truth*. Old Norse court literature therefore can be understood as a *supplement* to the religious and devotional material that preceded it, as it, too, aimed at instilling in the native population a new way of thinking about themselves and their place in society. The selected texts, both the purely devotional and the more "entertaining" court romances, can be seen as parts of a larger educational scheme. The voice of the translators, heard in the *interlinea* commentaries of historical, chivalric and

romance texts, reveal to what extent translators looked upon themselves as social educators, too. Yet, to what degree translation of foreign secular literature was part of a *conscious* missionary scheme remains of course uncertain. In any case, the many translations of secular literature—and their constant emphasis on good Christian principles—must have had an impact.

When we look at the history of translation in medieval Norway, the overall impression is that of a nation of neophytes not only struggling to keep up with the European intellectual currents but relentlessly working to fully introduce, nourish and maintain the Christian faith. Nonetheless, the many evidences of continual missionary efforts in many Old Norse texts—both religious and profane—should not lead us to conclude that the Norwegians were not properly christened during the Middle Ages, they were, and they were like most converts quite fervent. Rather, the many exhortations and commentaries are indicative of the clergy's concern about religious practices in general and testify to a perceived need for continuous religious instruction, as well as for some social and political reform. In view of the estimated medieval literacy rates, the admonitions of the Church were without a doubt directed at the governing elite, in particular the monarch and his immediate entourage, and ultimately aimed at consolidating the Church's position and jurisdiction in relation to the monarchy.

The transition between the pagan era and the Christian Middle Ages in Norway illustrates how—through translation—the Church systematically and concertedly introduced, disseminated and sustained a foreign culture. The Old Norse society had traditionally been organized in function of a religion with relatively few rites primarily linked to seasonal fertility and the beginning and end of life. In pagan times, religion had not influenced political decisions and secular life to a great extent. The Roman Church on the other hand wanted control over most aspects of civil life, and the introduction of Christianity signified rather pervasive transformations of both social and political structures.

The systematic use of the vernacular by Norwegian clergy stands in sharp contrast to the practice of European clerics who mainly (if at all) reserved the vernacular for sermons. Norse translators were in a special position compared with their continental colleagues, who in most instances were rather restricted in their relationship with the vernacular. The omnipresence of the national language in almost all aspects of civil and religious life testifies to the vernacular's strong position in Old Norse medieval society, and to the apparent *confidence* of the native intellectuals working with the foreign material.

The emergence in the North of a Christian vernacular society was indeed particular in a European Christian context, and of course had an impact on the literary expression. The Old Norse vernacular appropriated and adapted many features and conventions of the imported literature while preserving many of its original characteristics. The tendency was generally to conform less with form than with content, typically rendering original verse literature into prose narrative, and converting descriptive writing and indirect speech into direct speech and dramatic narrative. Christian chivalric and heroic ideas blended with the ideals and literary conventions of the old society.

Translation of foreign material demanded creativity and inventiveness on the part of the translators. The foreign did not suppress the national, but contributed to its evolution. The encounter between *self* and *other* engendered the specific courteous prose style in which the traditional declamatory style mixed with European literary conventions. Due to political and demographic circumstances in the 14th century, literary activity all but ceased; however, some of the court literature entered the oral tradition and lived on in the form of ballads and folksongs. The vernacular continued to dominate the scene until Latin reappeared in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Intermezzo

The Devastation of the Black Plague and the End of Autonomy: 1350-1500

The Black Death hit first in Bergen in 1349, followed by rapid outbreaks in other ports. The plague swiftly spread to the inland and for almost a century returned with more or less regular intervals. As a result, an estimated 2/3 of the population died, including most of the literate clergy and the nobility. Indeed, most of the people in charge of civil and ecclesiastic administration perished. People were desperate, and isolated instances of human offerings were reported (Mørkhagen 1994). In Trondheim, the Chapter was all but decimated, and a certain Brother Lodin (Danielsen et.al. 1992) was mandated by Pope Clementius VI in Avignon to the difficult task of selecting an archbishop and appointing new members to the Chapter. Lodin obtained a papal dispense allowing him to nominate candidates without the required qualifications, people who would otherwise not have been eligible for the positions in question. Lodin chose a new Archbishop, Olav (d.1370), in 1349. Olav received his pallium in Avignon in November 1350 and returned home to Trondheim during the spring of 1351 (Kolsrud 1913, Danielsen et.al. 1992).

Combined with an agrarian crisis due to a dramatic cooling of the climate, the Black Death weakened the country economically, religiously, and politically to a much greater extent than neighboring Sweden and Denmark. The country lost most of its institutions and ruling class. A series of political events and informal alliances ended in an agreement of union in Kalmar in 1397. The Norwegian court—or rather what was left of it—had moved to Sweden already in 1319. This move marked the beginning of the end of autonomous self-rule (Danielsen 1992).

The heavy tolls of the Black Death seriously damaged the country's ability to foster and maintain intellectual activity in the manner of the neighboring Sweden or Denmark.

Both these countries had more or less recovered from the crisis of the 1349 pestilence by the year 1400, whereas Norway had not yet fully recovered even at the onset of the 16th century.²²¹ As a result of the sharp demographic decline, Norway lost its cultural viability and the initial *au pair* union with Denmark evolved into a *de facto* subordination. The political authority, confirmed by King Christian I (r. 1450-1481) in the *Håndfestning* of 1449,²²² in many ways seemed inevitable. The country had suffered greatly, both politically and economically, and the educational system had been reduced to five dioceses with responsibility for the obligatory cathedral schools. This does not mean that there was no one in the country with education or intellectual aspirations in the 15th century; however, there was no milieu in which native intellectual talent could evolve and express itself (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

The absence of a strong political and prosperous cultural elite in Norway in the wake of the first incursion of the Black Death in Bergen effectively put a stop to the cultural exchange between Norway and the French-speaking territories of Western Europe. The German-speaking territories, closer to the Danish administration, would from now on dominate the political and economic scene and determine the outcome of the religious strife that marked the beginning of the 16th century. The impoverished and weakened native aristocracy no longer had the financial means to send their children to foster care and studies abroad. The rich literary production of the 13th and 14th century

221 In 1550, Bergen, for example, had only c. 7 000 inhabitants, i.e. the equivalent of the estimated pre-plague population two centuries before (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

222 He had been elected King of Denmark in 1448 and crowned King of Norway in 1450. Christian I was of German descent and enjoyed close relations with the Hanseatic merchants in Norway who helped the Danish administrators collect taxes and dues. During his reign the influence and clout of the Norwegian National Council diminished further and in practice Norway was ruled from Copenhagen (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). A *håndfestning* was a royal charter stipulating the rights and duties of both administration and citizens, guaranteeing the right to property and fair legal process in case of contention. The 1449 *Håndfestning* was the first such charter to be issued by a Norwegian king, but the practice had started in Denmark in the 13th century (Edvard Bull (1977) *Normenn for oss*. Oslo: Tano).

French-speaking territories, notably the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris (c. 1215-c. 1278) and Jean de Meung (1250-1305), which stirred so much debate on the Continent and which was translated into old English by Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400),²²³ apparently never reached the people of the North. At least there are no traces of it, nor of the first Renaissance writers such as Petrarch (1304-1374), who wrote in both Latin and the vernacular. The chivalric court literature and the Celtic themes of the romances, which had been so popular, lost both their readers and audience, and only survived in a mutated form in popular folk songs and ballads. As for other types of texts in translation, especially Latin religious works, scholars believe that such texts may have existed, but that many of them were destroyed during and after the Reformation (Halvorsen 1959, Abrams 1974, Brunel 1972).²²⁴

Archbishop Aslak Bolt (d.1450) is a good example of the intellectual solitude and isolation endured by the Norwegian clergy in the century before the Reformation. Bishop of Oslo in 1407, then of Bergen the year after, he was eventually elected Archbishop of Norway and moved to Trondheim in 1430 (Kolsrud 1913, Øverås 1952). Aslak was a learned man, and is thought to have possessed quite a substantial collection of books. His library contained no less than 19 theological treatises and two *breviaria*. This must have represented quite a respectable collection in Norway at the time. The Archbishop seems to have appreciated the works of authors from the productive 12th and 13th centuries and his collection comprised works like *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* by Albert the Great (c. 1190-1280), Thomas Aquinas' mentor, as well as a compilation of texts by Boethius entitled *Textus Boecii de consolacione*. Aslak also

223 Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* represents a further refinement of the theme of courtly love (Gillie 1977).

224 The 14th and 15th centuries were difficult on the Continent as well, marked by the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), explaining the increased interest for history (Jean le Bel, Froissart and Commynes) and the near abandonment of literary genres such as romances and *lais* (Brunel 1972).

owned a copy of the *Sermones dominicales* by Jacobus Voragine and the *Liber revelacionum Birgitt(a)e* by Saint Brigit of Vadstena (1303-1373). These compilations were probably consulted when he wrote his sermons (Martinsen 1996, *OLIS*, Chavy 1988b).

The 15th century saw the beginning of rationalism throughout Europe: it was a time when national identities surfaced as a result of the consolidation of vernacular expression and a time when some of the main Church doctrines were questioned.²²⁵ Many national histories were written during this period and many medieval historical compilations were translated. In Norway, however, the clergy had other more immediate and urgent preoccupations than discussing the appropriateness of the national tongue or debating the finer aspects of scholastic theology. They struggled to find qualified priests for their parishes and worked hard to collect tithes in a country whose economy had been devastated by almost a century of bad crops (Danielsen et. al. 1992).

The devastation of recurrent pestilence had made it possible for the Hanseatic League to succeed in putting up strong commercial offices in Bergen, filling the gap left by dead Norwegian merchants (Danielsen et. al. 1992). They had been sporadically present from the 13th century. A permanent *Comptoir*—“de contoriske paa Bryggen” as Absalon Beyer (1528-1575) put it (Beyer 1928)—was established already in 1360, only ten years after the onslaught of the Black Death (Bagge & Mykland 1987), and rapidly dominated fishing and grain trade along the Norwegian coast.

The Hanseatic merchants formed a strong economic alliance and was an indisputable commercial force in the whole of what is now commonly referred to as

225 John Wycliffe (c. 1324-1384), doctor of theology at Oxford, was one of the first to translate the entire Bible (1382) into English from *Vulgata*. He introduced many Latin words into vernacular English. He insisted on being guided by the Bible alone in matters pertaining to faith and advocated the poverty of the clergy. His followers formed an anti-papal movement. For this he was accused of heresy (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

Scandinavia. The Hanse established a huge market in Skåne,²²⁶ which gave substantial tax revenues. Both Swedish and Danish crowns were therefore eager to gain control over this province. The political and economic activities of the Hanseatic League gave rise to a series of armed conflicts throughout most of the 14th and 15th centuries (Albrechtsen 1997).²²⁷

By the time of the Reformation, Norway had come to a cultural and economic standstill, placed under Danish political guardianship and subject to the economic dominance of the Hanse. The native vernacular had changed radically as schools had been allowed to decay and few scholars were left to control and direct the evolution of the national language. In approximately a century and a half, the vernacular had evolved from Old Norse into the modern dialects we know today (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The old vernacular was used in legal and administrative documents till around 1370. From then on, Danish was adopted and in 1450 became the Norwegian administration's official language, coinciding with the accession of Christian I (r. 1450-1481) to the Norwegian crown (Bø 1982, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). The evolution of the vernacular had been influenced by the increased use of Danish after the signing of the Kalmar Union of 1397 and the presence of a large number of Danish officials in key positions throughout the country. Furthermore, the country experienced a series of crop failures as a result of cooler temperatures that would last for almost one hundred years. The population's general economy and ability to pay taxes and duties were significantly reduced (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The union with Denmark in 1536 was therefore in many respects

226 The southernmost region of modern-time Sweden. Then part of Denmark.

227 The "Tyske Kontor" had been established in 1360. The Hanseatic League established four offices with permanent settlement: Brügge (c. 1347-1547), London (before 1282-1598, Novgorod (c. 1250-1494) and Bergen. At the time of the Reformation and the emergence of national states the dominion of the Hanseatic traders diminished in the Baltic regions and the Low Countries. In Bergen, however, the German trade continued for yet some time. From 1630 on, Norwegian traders started taking over, buying offices from the Hanse. The last German Office in Bergen closed in 1754 (www.hanseatisk.museum.no).

indispensable for a country that could no longer muster an elite capable of running and financing the administration of the country. The historical and political framework of the two countries from this point on became identical, although the joint rule was perceived very differently by the Norwegians than by the Danes (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

Abroad, the 15th and 16th centuries witnessed many new discoveries and inventions that changed the way people perceived life and their place in the universe. Engineering techniques were improved and new methods of production were discovered. Learned men like Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) dared venture into the long forbidden territory of dissection and organized study of anatomy. New continents were discovered and a sense of nationhood and national identity increased and influenced both linguistic and religious debate. The enquiring scholars of the Renaissance for the first time openly questioned the received idea of a finite universe. The Scholastics had almost unknowingly prepared the way by elaborating and debating the notion of *translatio studii*, implicitly undermining the static and eternal order of things. The translation of the ancient classical and pagan *auctores* of the *quadrivium* at Toledo and Italy in the 12th century had led to a new perception of knowledge and history as cultural phenomena *in progress*.²²⁸

Mathematics was one of the rare subjects of which pagan Antiquity had possessed exact and precise knowledge in a form that could be used and applied, but which had largely escaped the Latin scholars of the Christian era who had been more preoccupied with calculating the Church calendar and determining religious holidays. Nicolas de Cues (1401-1464) was the first to maintain the importance of mathematics in the study of astronomy and to affirm that the universe was unlimited (Larousse 1993). Later,

228 The 12th-century English scholar Daniel de Merlai (of Morley), author of *Philosophia*, explained that he went to Toledo «...since it is at Toledo that Arabic teachings, almost all in the quadrivium, are widely celebrated. I hurry there to listen to the world's wisest philosophers...» (Pym 1998, p 12; Le Goff 1985, p. 23. See also Pym 2000, pp. 39-41). However, in Padua, translators were also working on Arabic texts (Pym 2000).

Copernicus (1473-1543) developed similar theories in his *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543), claiming that the earth was not at the center of the universe (Drake 1970). Nevertheless, his heliocentric theories were in no way more accurate than the medieval theories that they replaced, since he had no new physics with which to replace them. He nevertheless challenged the perceived notions of physics and by doing so encouraged others to investigate further (Brown 1979).

By the Reformation century, scientists had gained some academic independence. In Denmark, the astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), who had studied at several universities in the German territories, installed an observatory on the small island of Hveen. His precise observations later allowed his student Kepler (1571-1630) to develop an exact theory of the planetary movement (Helk 1987).

Only a minute segment of the Norwegian population up-to-date with the scientific work and theological debate that marked European intellectual life towards the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th (Bagge & Mykland 1987). Nevertheless, those who had studied abroad, or came from abroad, must have been aware of the standard of education in other countries. Master Geble (1490-1557), the last Catholic bishop²²⁹ and the first Protestant superintendent of Bergen, worked relentlessly towards a better educated clergy with improved Latin skills, yet never wrote a single theological treatise. Despite the apparent academic silence, Geble was instrumental in directing his proteges towards intellectual curoosity and financed the studies of his adopted students. Like the other Norwegian bishops, Geble kept a low profile in relation to the political and religious turmoil in Denmark in the years leading up to the Reformation, the outcome of which would mean the beginning of yet another long process of change (Ellingsen 1997).²³⁰

229 Elected as successor to Olav Torkjellsson (r.1523-1535), he had not yet received his pallium when the Reformation became a reality (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997).

230 For more details about master Geble, see Part III.

Part III:
A New Beginning: Translation in the Reformation
Century

Introduction

The Reformation century brought about major changes to the Norwegian society once again. Formally, Norway became a Danish province in 1536, a political dependency with little authority in political and cultural matters. Danish administrators were put in key positions, and the few remaining members of the old Norwegian aristocracy found themselves pushed aside and barred from the National Council, which was abolished shortly afterwards. From now on, Danish politics and religious and cultural activities determined the development of Norwegian society, language and literature. The University of Copenhagen, along with the reformed universities in the German-speaking territories, set the tone for intellectual activity and literary production.

The Lutheran Reformation and vernacular were complementary and reciprocal phenomena, the one could not be without the other. As with the first introduction of Christianity in the North, the use of the vernacular was pivotal to the success of the religious reformers of the 16th century. A growing awareness of the vernacular and its emergent status as national language in the European Renaissance had engendered a substantial translation activity, paving the way for and accompanying the Protestant reform movement. Humanism—despite its intellectual attachment to and unequivocal promotion of the Latin language and culture—inevitably led to an increased use of the vernacular.²³¹ In Norway, Latin as an intellectual language was consolidated and strengthened after the Reformation, and the national vernacular had been supplanted by Danish.

Man as an individual came into focus. The Church increasingly had various devotional material translated for the benefit of the uneducated. The use of the vernacular

231 The term “humanism” derives from *studia humanitatis*, a university course of classical studies offered in the 15th century, encompassing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy. The Renaissance signified a shift of focus from the purely divine and universal to the more human and individual, from the revelatory to the scientific (*Britannica* 2000, Grane & Hørby 1991).

can in itself be seen as an expression of a growing interest in the individual. For centuries, the vernacular had been the unofficial companion to the official Latin expression, slowly consolidating its position amongst Church scholars and secular authors. The many translations into the vernacular resulted in a subtle readjustment of the perception of the self. The notion of nationhood based on linguistic unity and geographical location gradually replaced the identification of the individual based on adherence to the international community of the Catholic Church. In Europe, the translation activity of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century was contributory to the mental and intellectual transformation that paved the way for the Reformation.

In medieval times, Denmark had fostered intellectuals of international reputation such as Martinus de Dacia (d.1304), Johannes Dacus (13th C), as well as Boethius de Dacia (13th C) (Grane & Hørby 1993, Brandt 1882). Perhaps as a result of the papal schism, King Erik of Pomerania (c. 1382-1459), had wanted to found a *studium generale* in Denmark at the cathedral school in Copenhagen. The *studium* was to be administered and organized in the same way as the University of Paris. As early as 1419 a papal bull authorized the Danish Archbishop to establish such a *studium* in which all four faculties would be present. This was of some significance as the Holy See had put severe restrictions on theology teaching and very few universities were authorized to open a faculty of theology. Even though a few universities had been established without a papal bull, any *studium generale* needed the Church's authorization for the education dispensed to be universally accepted and for the teachers and students to enjoy the much needed protection of the *libertas scholastica* (Grane 1993).²³²

²³² In North-Western Europe, only Oxford University had all the faculties: arts, medicine, theology and law (Canon and Roman). Paris lacked Roman law. Medieval universities generally tended to be specialized. Montpellier, for example, offered only medicine (Schwartz Lausten in Grane & Hørby 1979).

Erik of Pomerania never saw the completion of this dream. The constituting documents were not signed until 1475 and the University of Copenhagen officially opened in 1479. The establishment of the university signified a big step forward for intellectual life in the North. Magister Peder Albertsen (d.1517) was set to hire teachers and professors and organize the new institution. He had received his degree from the university of Cologne (Dal 1979), and this is where he went looking for suitable *lectores*. He brought back Peter Davidson Scot, *magister* of philosophy and *baccalaureat* in theology; Tilemand Slecht from the Netherlands, *magister* of philosophy and *baccalaureat* of law; Johannes Sartoris from Lingen, Germany; and *magister* Balthasar Wortwin from Mainz, *baccalaureat* of medicine. Bishop Oluf Mogensen of Roskilde became the university's first chancellor. Albertsen himself remained vice-chancellor until his death in 1517 (Grane & Hørby 1993) and initiated a long association between the University and the printer Gottfried of Ghemen (d.1510) (Dal 1979).

After the Reformation, German universities became destinations of choice for many Scandinavian students who had completed their initial studies in Copenhagen. Rostock (1419) and Wittenberg (1503) attracted the highest numbers of Norwegian and Danish students. The majority of the clergy who helped implement the Reformation in Norway had studied at one of these universities, although a few had been to other German universities (Thormodsæter 1912), and some to one of the Catholic seminaries (Helk 1987).

Education abroad was costly and unavailable to most. Some received royal bursaries or were supported by their chapter or a mentor; others found alternative ways to finance their studies, usually by taking on a preceptor's position or being a servant to travelling clergy. Very few Scandinavian students pursued higher degrees (Helk 1987). Most Norwegian students who were enrolled at the University of Copenhagen studied

theology. Although the University offered all four faculties, students who wanted to study other subjects usually went abroad in search of specialized institutions with longer traditions and greater scholars, such as canon law at the University of Padova (1222) and medicine at the University of Montpellier (1289). However, whenever they ventured into Catholic territories, Scandinavian students had to tread very carefully. Many students enrolled in a recognized Protestant institution towards the end of their studies in order not to offend the Reformed authorities upon their return (Helk 1987).

As we have stated, the success of the Reformation depended on the use of the vernacular. In Denmark, translation activities began early, and preceded the Reformation. The Danish Reformation stands out as a concerted national project, a result of coordinated intellectual debate and participation. In Norway, there was no preparation of the clergy or the public. Intellectual life was in practice restricted to a few dedicated men who had been educated on the continent. Certainly, the higher clergy in pre-Reformation Norway must have followed keenly the evolution in Denmark and in the German-speaking territories, but never took an active part in the process, or commented in writing on the events that were to radically change religious life in the North. At least, no evidence of such polemics has been detected.

Whereas Danish translation activities in the 16th century were essentially outwardly oriented, capturing the contemporaneous European intellectual trends and debates, humanists in post-Reformation Norway basically focused on the nation's history, on the work of the Old Norse historians. During the Reformation century, translation in Denmark was predominantly an *inter-lingual* exercise between Latin and Danish or between contemporary vernaculars, especially between Danish and German.

In Norway, however, intellectual activity in the first half of the Reformation century was mainly an *intra-lingual* exercise, an inward looking examination of the former *self*, a quest for identity at a time when so much of the past had been set aside.

The European Renaissance ideal of returning to the sources, to the texts that had not been tampered with, free of commentaries and glosses, evidenced by the new Latin revisions of the Bible, found its expression in Norway in a return to old national historical sources.

The main actors on the Norwegian literary scene were reformed clergy at the five dioceses, especially the ones in Oslo and Bergen. The Norwegian humanists were first and foremost educators, responsible for the instilling of the reformed faith, primarily through the Latin schools that they ran. Nevertheless, they were attracted to the nation's past. The Norwegian clergy must have been inspired by the historical work of Danish scholars—especially Christiern Pedersen's work on Saxo's Danish history. Danish translators and intellectuals had greatly benefited from the establishment of the University of Copenhagen and the many printing presses that opened after the incunabula period (Berggrav 1953, Øverås 1952, Grane & Hørby 1979, Ellingsen 1997).

The doctrinal changes to religious life and the ensuing transformation of Norwegian society spurred an interest in the past, in how life had been in both the Viking Era and in Catholic times. The nation's medieval history was brought to the fore. The literary activity and history writing emerged from the Latin schools and the clergy in charge of them. Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (1528-1575), one of the first to compose a Norwegian history, worked almost alone in Bergen, and his main helpers were legal experts working for the administration of the Chapter who had an interest in the Old Norse historical manuscripts. Required to read the old law collections, legal administrators needed skills in the old language.²³³ The lawyers Jon Simenssøn (1512-1575) and Laurents Hanssøn were amongst the first to study the Old Norse saga

233 Christian IV (r. 1588-1648) translated and revised the Norwegian laws in 1587 and published them in 1604. This was the first revision since Magnus Håkonsson had the old laws recorded and amended in 1274 (Bagge & Mykland 1993, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

material. Although they do not seem to have published any writings of their own, they were able to lend precious assistance to the clergy and teachers who wanted to write the nation's history, such as Absalon Pederssøn Beyer and Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614).

Humanists in Western Norway wrote mainly in the vernacular whereas those of Oslo were pure Latinists. Halvard Gunnarssøn (1545-1608), for instance, translated Norwegian history from Old Norse into Latin. He was the only Norwegian intellectual with the financial means to have most of his writings published, mainly in Rostock (Ekrem 1992, Næss 1993, Bø 1982, Berggrav 1953, Øverås 1952). Despite the efforts of the Lutheran clergy, the humanist ideas that marked European debate were late in reaching Norway, where both the Latin and the vernacular readership remained limited (Naess 1994).

The administrative center of Norway moved from Trondheim to Oslo soon after the Reformation. The geographic proximity to the Danish administration and universities in the northern German regions would somewhat change the orientation of Norwegian humanists. The population of Oslo grew towards the end of the century, and the intellectuals there became more productive than those in Trondheim and Bergen. Nevertheless, the historical work undertaken by the humanists in Bergen figures amongst the earlier Norwegian humanist enterprises. However, Beyer's writings remained unpublished and circulated amongst a rather restricted circle of colleagues and friends. A text in the vernacular had little chance of being printed. Beyer regretted the fact that there was no national printing press and expressed the hope that one day his work would be printed by his descendants. Four centuries later, his wish came true (Beyer 1928).

Beyer was indeed the first native Norwegian in almost three centuries to write a history of the nation. The fact that he did so in the vernacular puts him in a category of

his own and makes him stand out as almost “modern” at a time when Latin was gaining ground in the North (on the Continent the vernacular had started replacing Latin). He probably allowed himself to use the vernacular because he had no intention of publishing his work, but rather wrote for the enlightenment of a restricted group of friends and colleagues. Only the proposed history of the diocese, *Liber capituli bergensis*—intended for his students at the school—was composed in Latin. However, the Latin history of the city was soon abandoned, and the *Liber* continued as Beyer’s personal vernacular diary (Beyer 1928).

European Humanism and the Reformation in Denmark-Norway

In order to contextualize the literary experience in 16th-century Norway, we need to survey the development in Denmark, upon which Norwegian humanism depended. Danish scholars and Church officials had direct contact with German theologians and disseminated their writings in Danish vernacular translation. Many Danish students enrolled at the University of Wittenberg once it was established in 1502. The geographic proximity to the northern German universities made direct contact easy. From the very beginning, The Danish clerics were significantly in tune with the German Protestant movement, and it was no coincidence that the German theologian and reformer Johannes Bugenhagen (d.1558) ordained the first Norwegian superintendent, master Geble Pederssøn (1490-1557), in 1537 (Ellingsen 1997, Tormodsæter 1912, Beyer 1928).²³⁴

The personal relationships between Danish intellectuals and the struggling clergy in post-Reformation Norway seem to have been quite strong. Close relations flourished between Danish Church administrators and the many Danish-born Norwegian clergy. Friendships developed, so that when Absalon Beyer was sent by his mentor and step-father to study in Copenhagen in 1544, he lodged in Bishop Peder Palladius' (1503-1560) household for four years. Palladius and Geble were great friends and allies. Later, when Beyer progressed to the University of Wittenberg, where he studied between 1549 and 1552, it was with a personal letter of recommendation from the famous Danish Bishop (Ellingsen 1987, Helk 1987).

234 Master Geble had himself studied in the Netherlands, first at Alckmar, then in Leuven, where he obtained a degree of *Magister Philosophiae*. Greatly influenced by Dutch Humanism, in particular by Erasmus, he returned to Bergen in 1506 and worked as lector at the school before he was elected canon. He repeatedly pleaded with Peder Palladius for qualified people and more financial resources, but it was difficult to find Danes who wanted to settle in Norway (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

European humanism stands out as a Latin movement, one which promoted correct and elegant Latin, yet it was marked by the pervasive presence of the vernacular (Grendler 1989). As a rule, the humanists' were rather in favor of translation (Brunel 1972). The humanist ideology of the Renaissance began in Italy, where schools were much more independent of the Church than in other European countries, and where most Church-run schools had disappeared by 1300. In Italy, the Catholic Church withdrew from the education of lay children and concentrated solely on the recruitment and education of its aspiring clergy (Grendler 1989). Medieval Italian schools and universities—run and financed locally—enjoyed relative freedom from Papal intervention. The communes had both the ability and the financial means to create and administer universities, and their independence led to a fresh view of grammar and the study of philosophy and the natural sciences (Dal 1979). Because of their relative doctrinal freedom, Italian renaissance scholars became mediators for the vernacular in a way that could not have been accepted elsewhere. Their work paved the way for other national languages (Pym 1998).

In *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (1303-1304) Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) defended the use of the vernacular as a literary language. He used it himself in *Il Convivio* (1303-1307) (Purcell 1981), the first scholarly treatise in the vernacular (*Britannica* 2000), and later in *La Divina Commedia*, completed right before his death. *De Vulgari Eloquentia* provides a definition of the Italian language and its literary merits (Purcell 1981, *Britannica* 2000), and debates the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. Dante wanted to break the irreconcilable opposition between grammar and the mother tongue. The “nobler [language] is the vernacular,” he states, “first because it was the first type to be used by the human race; secondly because the whole world employs it. [...] It is natural to use [whereas the Latin] is an artificial creation” (Purcell 1981, p.15).

Indeed, the study of Latin grammar was the pillar of medieval scholarly activity and the basis for both philosophical as well as scientific inquiry (Léon 1967, Grendler 1989, Favier 1999). To medieval scholars there had existed a natural hierarchy of languages. The three languages of revelation (i.e. Latin, Greek and Hebrew) were placed at the top and the various vernaculars at the bottom. Medieval scholars were aware of the many differences between the national vernaculars, yet they believed that all languages were somehow governed by the same rules, and therefore relentlessly worked towards a universal definition of grammar (Lusignan 1986).

Humanism brought new subjects to the university curriculum: Greek and Hebrew. The classical authors of Antiquity were once again read in their initial form, free of glossing (Grane & Hørby 1991). Along with the study of the original texts came an increasing awareness of evolution and change. In the texts of Antiquity, scholars discovered the vernacular character of the classical languages and began to question the static nature of grammar and the appropriateness of universally applicable rules of grammar. The speculative grammar of the Middle Ages eventually—however not intentionally—paved the way for the empirical study of science and the recognition of vernaculars as scholarly languages in the Renaissance (Lusignan 1986).

By the dawn of the 16th century, European humanism movement had reached Denmark. With its concern for purified editions of the *auctores*, the time had come for a revision of the didactical material used in the schools and at the University of Copenhagen. The first humanist grammar, *Regulae grammaticales*, had been written by Guarino Veronese (c. 1374-1460) around 1418 (Grendler 1989). New “humanist” grammars were written or the old ones revised. The first chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, in collaboration with the printer Gottfried of Ghemen, published *Regulae fundamentalis artis grammaticae* along with two other revised and improved Latin grammars: *Donatus* and *Fundamentum in grammatica* in 1493 for use in grammar

courses (Dal 1979, Nielsen 1996). *Regulae* and *Fundamentum* were partially based on Remigius' *Fundamentum scolarium*.²³⁵ From the early 16th century on, these three grammars replaced the Latin manuals used in Danish schools (Dal 1979, *OLIS*).

The gradual move away from the grammar-based hermeneutics of the scholastic tradition culminated at the beginning of the 16th century. In Denmark, the school curriculum was revised. The traditional teaching had centered on Donatus' (4th C) *Ars minor*²³⁶ and Alexander of Villedieu's (c. 1150-c. 1240) *Doctrinale opus Alexandri grammatici pro eruditione puerorum*, i.e. the customary Latin manuals for elementary classes (Dal 1979, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). Throughout the Middle Ages, *Ars minor* had been used as an introductory manual to Latin grammar (Lusignan 1986) and *Doctrinale* had been the grammar of more advanced students of syntax and style (Dal 1979). These grammars had been used in Norway for centuries, too. In 1522, however, Christian II (r. 1513-1523) banned *Doctrinale* from the school curriculum along with other medieval didactical classics (Dal 1979, Grane & Hørby 1993) and amended the educational legislation so as to comply more with humanist ideals. In Germany, Martin Luther (1483-1546)—staunchly anti-Aristotelian—also proscribed Peter Lombard's (c. 1100-1160) *Liber sententiarum* (Grane & Hørby 1993), on which much of the scholastic ideals were based (Chavy 1988).²³⁷

Humanist ideas and questions had been introduced in Denmark along with the founding of the University of Copenhagen in 1479, and were supported by the printing

235 Remigius (d. c. 908) was a Benedictine monk and teacher at the Monastery of Saint-Germain. He wrote numerous glossaries and commentaries on the Bible, on Priscian's grammar and on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra* (Kelly 1969, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). In 1486, Stephan Arndes published a grammar entitled *Remigius* that would become very popular in Danish schools (Nielsen 1996, Dal 1979).

236 Printed in 1458. One of the first dated printed texts (Stilwell 1972).

237 Thomas Aquinas's first major work was a commentary of Peter Lombard's *Scripta super libros sententiarum* c.1256 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996).

presses established soon afterwards (Grane & Hørby 1993). The mainly Catholic humanists spoke and wrote in Latin until the 1530s, when most intellectuals began expressing themselves in the vernacular.²³⁸ Notwithstanding its Latin appearance, European humanism in essence constituted an *arbitration* between Latin and the vernaculars in which the latter gradually won both recognition and status (Pym 1998). At a time marked by religious dispute and ecclesiastic insubordination, a time when new national entities based on ethnic and linguistic features rather than on adherence to the Catholic Church emerged, humanist scholars such as Didier Erasmus (1466-1536), who published *Institutio principis christiani* in 1516 and *Querela pacis* in 1517 (Ellingsen 1997),²³⁹ increasingly came forth as mediators for peace and reconciliation. Erasmus also published the Greek New Testament accompanied by a Latin translation in 1516 in an attempt to provide a starting point for greater unity within a Church torn apart by doctrinal dissension.

The Reformation that inevitably sprang out of the humanist movement changed the way people thought about school and education. Both humanist and Protestants authorities were in favor of more public schools. Even Erasmus questioned the authority of the Church in matters pertaining to schooling and education. In this he first supported

238 The vernacular rapidly gained ground throughout Europe. Rabelais (1494-1553), a great admirer and friend of Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), translated both Greek and Latin classical authors (Horguelin 1996), published in *Les lettres antiques profanes*. In the early 16th century, vernacular didactical prose emerged with force and was with much success adopted by both Luther and Jean Calvin who mixed the vernacular and theological debate (Brunel 1976). In Italy, where the new humanist ideas first surfaced, the scholastic movement had never dominated intellectual debate to the same extent as in other parts of Europe (Grendler 1989, Dal 1979). During the 14th century, the vernacular had continued to gain ground amongst the intellectual and literary elite throughout Europe. Many scholars started using the vernacular in parallel with Latin: Jacques Bauchant (d. 1396), Jean Golein (1320-1403), Nicole Oresme (1320-1382), Raoul de Presles (c. 1315-1382), and Simon de Hesdin (14th century). All of them translated from both English and Latin into French. In England, the vernacular—usually meaning Norman French—was currently used in most administrative and literary documents, and was taught in the schools alongside Latin. Consequently, by the 15th century, Latin secular literature was experiencing serious competition in the French-speaking territories (Lusignan 1986, Chavy 1988).

239 This treatise was translated into Danish in 1534 by Paul Helias as *Een kortt Vndervisning til een christelig Foreening och Forligilse emod huess wchristelig Twyst oc Twedræckt, som nw haffuer i wor Tiid skiørdet then menige Christen Kirckis eendrektige Samfwnn* (Bruun 1877).

the reformers; however, Erasmus staunchly believed in a reformed *Catholic* school, and accepted translations of biblical texts into the vernacular only in as much as they could support and maintain the Catholic doctrine (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

The transition from medieval to modern ideas in the Reformation century is not always tangible and clear. The new thinking was absorbed and adopted in fragments and parts over a considerable period of time (Drake 1970), and the transformation was less a continuum of intellectual activity than a series of both successive and contemporaneous disruptions (cf. Foucault 1970). And the new ideas were the preoccupation of the few and privileged. Few countries, except for Italy, had an organized school system open to the lower classes (Grendler 1989). The general literacy rate was indeed low, and in Norway probably inferior to other European countries. Nevertheless, the Lutheran church promoted education for all and the use of the vernacular in both schools and the church (Rust 1989). Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), Luther's close collaborator, was continually preoccupied with the content of schooling from his early years as a professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg. He had published a treatise on teaching, *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis* in 1518, and *De loci communes* in 1521, expounding on the main articles of the reformed faith. The first superintendent of Zealand, Peder Palladius, translated Melanchthon's theological treatise into Danish in 1549 (Grane & Hørby 1993, Bruun 1877, Ellingsen 1997).

The invention of the printing press and the reduced cost of book production certainly made the dissemination of new Protestant ideas easier. Books rapidly became commercial products that the printers could earn money from, and as the use of the vernacular gained acceptance, they were able to address a hitherto excluded readership. An increased readership also meant a step away from the predominantly *oral* aspects of medieval teaching and learning (Edwards 1994, Eisenstein 1983). Reading became an individual activity: people started to read to learn instead of simply learning to read as had been the

usual way of doing things. As an individual undertaking, reading increasingly made knowledge more available for women, who could now read in the quiet of their home. After the Reformation, women were actually encouraged to read for themselves and instruct their children in the articles of the faith. Many ministers' wives assisted their husbands in the parish and in this way became instrumental in the maintenance of the faith amongst parishioners (Eisenstein 1983, Willen 1989, Hannay 1985, Krontiris 1992).

The massive production of books by the first presses primarily reached a small, literate, Latin-mastering, elite. In Germany, at the time of the Reformation, only an estimated 5 per cent of the general population could read, and much fewer could write.²⁴⁰ The literacy rate could be as high as 30 per cent for men in the larger cities; however, only 10 per cent of people actually lived in urban areas (Edwards 1994). In Norway, where the population was predominantly rural and scattered, the numbers were probably even lower. The many 16th-century Evangelist publications specifically encouraging people to read for the illiterate are indeed an indication that many were still unable to read, and that reading aloud remained an important way of disseminating the reformed faith: a collective manner of reading inherited from earlier days (Edwards 1994, Eisenstein 1983).²⁴¹

Considering the general reading skills of ordinary people, there was never a question of a *popular* reaction to the controversial literature of the period leading up to the Reformation. The religious and literary changes that occurred towards the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century never preoccupied the common people (Edwards 1994). Nevertheless, the vast output of vernacular texts and the

240 Traditionally, the skills of reading and writing had been separate. Writing was regarded as useful for professionals only (Larrington 1995). Girls were often taught to read the vernacular, seldom Latin, so that more women than men were "illiterate" (Lawson 1967). The advent of the printing press made learning more available to all, both men and women (Eisenstein 1983).

241 Saint Augustine—in *Confessiones*—wonders at Saint Ambrose's reading method: "When he read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart explored the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue was still... he never read aloud... But whatever the reason, we may be sure it was a good one" (Augustine 1961, p. 114).

reduced cost of books gradually improved literacy levels in all walks of life. The acceptance of the vernacular, combined with increased literacy rates and an embryonic notion of nationhood, emerged as a result of the humanists' sustained work (Eisenstein 1983). The effects upon common people's lives were slow yet significant, and the transformation of people's perception of their place in society and of the individual's role in relation to the Church were more extensive than any of the evangelical scholars of the time could have foreseen (Edwards 1994).

Despite the growing presence of the vernacular in Europe during the Middle Ages, there was no organized and structured effort to translate and comment on the Classics in the national tongues until the Renaissance. This work was greatly accelerated by the advent and efficiency of the printing press. In the early decades of the printing revolution, the physical changes to book production were seemingly insignificant as the first printed books generally tried to emulate manuscripts and continued to be illuminated by hand. As a result, it is often difficult to distinguish between manuscripts and early printed texts (Eisenstein 1983). Furthermore, many of the medieval writings and translations were re-published and re-translated, as scholars were still preoccupied with much of the same debates and discussions as their scholastic predecessors (Eisenstein 1983, Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988).²⁴² Naturally, most of the books printed

242 During the first decades of the printing era (the *incunabula* period), the more popular works were various editions of Donatus' *Ars minor* and Aesop's *Fables* (translated by Christiern Pedersen towards the end of his life and printed posthumously in 1556), Saint Augustine's writings, texts by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and Torquemada, as well as the writings of Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264) (Eisenstein 1983, Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988). The number of books published increased rapidly during the *incunabula* period, although most titles were printed in relatively small editions. Of the approximately 40 000 paleotypes printed in Europe by the year 1500, only 9 had been published in Denmark and 15 in Sweden (Painter 1976, Nielsen 1996, Collijn 1904). Most books produced in Denmark in the early years—both in Latin and in the vernacular—were printed abroad for lack of presses and competent printers. Danish authors or publicists turned predominantly to the fast developing northern European centers of Rostock and Lübeck where there were a number of printers. From the end of the 15th century, a small number of books were printed in Denmark by foreign, mainly German, printers who set up temporary facilities in order to print special books and train local craftsmen in the new art (Nielsen 1996).

during the *incunabula* period were of a religious nature (Painter 1976, Stillwell 1972).²⁴³

The first book in the Danish vernacular was printed by Gottfried of Ghemen in 1495—the Danish *Rimkrøniken*—an anonymous verse chronicle in which the various Danish kings tell the story of their lives. Each tale is introduced by a proverb or a rule of governance. *Rimkrøniken*, seen by many as the extension of the preceding manuscript tradition, ends with the narrative of King Christian I who died in 1481 (Bruun 1877, Nielsen 1996).

After the first wave of publications of ancient and medieval Latin authors, publishers started printing more contemporary authors about the newly discovered continents, science, religion, and medicine, mostly in Latin and some in the vernacular. The subject matter of the books varied from falconry, to beekeeping, tobacco, and witchcraft (Beattie 1969).

In the early days of the Reformation the German printers were champions of vernacular texts. The Evangelists made effective use of the new medium, and more or less dominated the presses in central Europe for at least a decade or so before the Catholic counter-attacks were organized. Martin Luther and his supporters out-published the Catholic opponents five to three during the crucial first years. Many evangelist texts were reprinted more than once, indicating their growing popularity. The extensive use of the vernacular in the religious debate was in itself an expression of disapproval of the

243 The first dated book was *Indulgentia* by Pope Nicolaus V (1398-1455), probably printed in Mainz, although this cannot be ascertained. In 1462, *Biblia Pauperum*, also known as the “Poor Man’s Bible”, was printed in Bamberg. The Bamberg press also printed the first illustrated book in 1460 (author unknown and no title). The first Bible in the German language came out in 1466 along with a small manual for confession (Stillwell 1972). The first book printed in English was *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, printed in Brügge in 1473 by William Caxton (1422-1491) three years before he set up his own press at Westminster (Painter 1976). The first book in Swedish, *Aff dyäfwlsens frästilse* (the Devil’s temptations) by Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429), was printed in 1484 (Collijn 1904). Gerson was chancellor of the University of Paris from 1395 (Chavy 1988). The first book printed in Sweden was *Vita Katharinae* in 1482, a biography about Saint Birgitta’s daughter. Both books were printed in Stockholm (Collijn 1904).

papal authorities who repeatedly claimed that all matters dealing with religion and theology should not be debated in front of the “ignorant”, meaning for the most part the *literate* non-Latin speaking lay people, i.e. the vernacular readership of the books published (Edwards 1994).

The correlation between printing, translation and Reformation grew steadily in the first decades of the 16th century. The vernacular readership and the earning potential of the printers led to an increased output. By the 1520s, the European vernaculars dominated the scene, causing an increased awareness of national languages. Many Danish printers and scholars were preoccupied with both language and language theory (Bruun 1877). The great number of dictionaries and vocabularies printed throughout Europe are indicative of the new status of the vernacular in many countries (Lusignan 1986).²⁴⁴

In medieval Norway, the national language had never been subordinate to Latin in the same way as the various European vernaculars. Old Norse had been taught in the cathedral schools from the end of the 11th century (Øverås 1952).²⁴⁵ The law books had been recorded in the Norse vernacular and had never been translated into Latin, not even when Church privileges and Christian principles were adopted at the beginning of the Christian Middle Ages. Both religious material and secular literature had been composed in and translated into the native tongue as a matter of course. Latin was the language of science and theology, however, and would remain so until the 19th century. Thus, when

244 In post-Conquest England, Norman-French had enjoyed a privileged status to the detriment of the native vernacular. In France, the vernacular did not gain control over the judicial system until 1539 (Lusignan 1986). Many Western European printers doubled as translators and were vibrant defenders of the vernacular. As we have seen, William Caxton printed the first book in the English vernacular in Bruges in 1473-4 (Painter 1976). Many saw the usefulness of manuals and books in the national tongues (and certainly the earning potential). Étienne Dolet (1508-1546), who was a printer at Lyon, defended the use of the vernacular in *La Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre*. The increased use of the vernacular created a need for manuals and vocabularies. Robert Estienne (1503-1559) edited and published *Dictionarium Latinogallicum* in 1538 (Eisenstein 1979, Chavy 1988), and one of the earliest printed German books was a *Vocabularius*, published in 1469, an abridged Latin-German dictionary (Stilwell 1972).

245 Indeed, Bishop Eystein used both the Norse vernacular and Latin in his correspondence (Øverås 1952).

the Danish vernacular was officially introduced as the administrative language along with the reformed doctrine in 1536, it did not oppose Latin as a scientific language, it primarily confirmed its own status as the administrative language. The written standard influence the spoken idiom. The upper classes, mostly rich city dwellers, landed gentry, and members of the clergy, would speak (or attempt to speak) Danish, and a specific Danish-influenced towns-vernacular developed. After the annexation of Norway into the Danish kingdom, the Norwegian vernacular was removed from the public arena for good and would remain the expression of the uneducated (Tveitane 1968, Danielsen 1991), creating a greater distance between the different social groups.

The major cities in Europe had printing presses by the end of the 15th century. The art of book printing spread from Germany to Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, the Netherlands, England, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Sicily, Portugal, and Austria. All of these countries had a printing press operating before or around 1480 (Strømholm 1993). Of the Nordic countries, Denmark was the first to set up a press in 1482—not in Copenhagen where the university was located—but in the small town of Odense on the Island of Fyn. A German printer by the name of Johann Snell (d. c. 1519) set up his equipment, and the year after another German, Bartolomaeus of Lübeck, set up a press in Stockholm at the request of the Swedish Archbishop (Collijn 1904). Norway only got its printing press in 1643, almost two centuries after Gutenberg (1400-1468) set up his in Mainz. The first Norwegian press was constructed in Christiania (later Oslo) by Tyge Nielsson, a Danish printer who published the first Norwegian book, a small almanac of 47 pages, in 1644 (Strømholm 1993).

The very late arrival of the printing press in Norway is a strong indication of the country's economic, political, demographic and intellectual inferiority in relation to Denmark. The Norwegian readership was indeed limited. Books had to be imported from abroad and were expensive. Towards the middle of the 16th century, however, a

new bourgeoisie springing from the Lutheran clergy and state administrators emerged, a mixture of Norwegian and Danish families. The Latin schools in Bergen and Oslo became the new intellectual centers where a handful of Norwegian intellectuals started collecting and examining medieval manuscripts. Most of the humanists wrote for their local readership, and their texts circulated primarily in manuscript form as no local printers were available. Curiously enough, the writing elite did not complain about the situation or try to change it. Rather, they accepted their predicament with much stoicism (Strømholm 1993).

The Catholic clergy of the 15th and 16th centuries soon realized the convenience of the printing press, and the possibilities it offered in terms of revision and correction of the Church's fundamental texts. The new invention offered a more permanent means of correction and an easier future revision. Many dioceses ordered new editions of their mass books and *brevaria*. Johan Snell (d. c. 1519), Denmark's first printer, published a new edition of *Brevarium othiense* in 1482. This was the first book to be printed in Denmark. Almost 40 years later, Denmark's first native printer, Poul Ræff (Paul Rev) (d. c. 1533), printed *Missale nidrosiense* in 1519 for the archdiocese of Trondheim (Nilsen 1996). Ræff, originally a canon—not of a diocese strangely enough, but of a local Church in Copenhagen—was elected *rector* of the University of Copenhagen in 1508. He had close connections within the Norwegian Church through his brother, Hans Ræff (d. 1545), the last Catholic bishop of Oslo and the Chapter's first Lutheran superintendent after the Reformation (Ellingsen 1997).

The diversity of books translated into Danish towards the end of the 15th century and in the Reformation century confirms the existence of a vernacular readership with varied taste and curiosity. To what extent these translations were known and read in Norway too is uncertain, but the possibility must not be ignored. The Norwegian readership lived far from where books could be purchased. It was also costly to find a

printer abroad for Norwegian production. Consequently, the manuscript tradition was kept alive in Norway (and also in Iceland) well into the 18th century for lack of printing facilities. The dissemination of national literature indeed remained restricted.²⁴⁶ Oslo humanists with the personal means to finance printing had their books printed in Copenhagen and Rostock. They also bought books when traveling abroad. By the end of the 16th century, a printed book was no longer a rarity in Norway, although the country still had no press of its own (Berggrav 1953, Bekker-Nielsen & Widding 1972, Næss 1994).

In Denmark, the Reformation was the result of a concerted intellectual effort and political instability. Numerous translations of evangelical material had for decades prepared the Danish public for the new doctrine which, when it was introduced, was welcomed by people. In Norway on the other hand, the Reformation resulted from political circumstances over which the Norwegians had no control, and the new doctrine was met with a certain amount of scepticism and resistance (Bø 1982). There was no preliminary preparation of the public for what happened in 1536, and apart from Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson, no one in the Church seems to have publicly opposed the Danish political and religious offensives.

246 This was the case for the literary production of both Peter Dass (1647-1707) and Dorothe Engelbretsdatter (1634-1716). Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), a Norwegian-born Danish satirist and social critic in the spirit of the French comedies, lived for most of his adult life in Copenhagen. He would not have been able to live as a playwright had he remained in his native Bergen.

Sixteenth-Century Danish Translators: A Brief Survey

From the beginning of the 16th century, quite a number of Danish translators were instrumental in making Latin and vernacular texts, especially evangelical pamphlets from the German-speaking territories, available to a broader lay readership.²⁴⁷ Unlike Norway, Denmark had the obvious advantage of a full university and several printing presses from the late 15th century on. As in most Western European countries, printers encouraged the work of both reformed and Catholic authors. Danish scholars were geographically closer to the learned centers on the Continent than their Norwegian counterparts.

The invention of the printing press allowed for a host of new professions and promising earning possibilities. Printers, editors and translators could now expect to make a living from book production as the readership expanded rapidly due to lower production costs. Like elsewhere, both professional and semi-professional scholars in Denmark translated, commented on, and “improved” the texts that they published. In addition to the new texts published, many old manuscripts and cherished medieval classics were revised and re-edited. The medieval tradition of compilations and mirrors persisted well into the 17th century, only slightly modified during the Reformation century. Popular medieval *specula* were gradually replaced by vernacular “house rules” or *hustavler* (Bruun 1877).²⁴⁸

247 In 1623, a royal decree ordered that a copy of every book printed by the university press should be submitted to the Royal Library, and in 1697, this decision was expanded to include every book printed in Denmark. The collection also contained books from foreign literatures. Unfortunately, a fire in 1729 destroyed much of the building and many early Danish books and Protestant pamphlets perished. As a gesture of solidarity, a number of private collectors then either donated or sold books and manuscripts to the library and in this way helped reconstitute much of the original content. The first full-time librarian was employed in 1781 to organize the rather chaotic book collection. He started cataloguing Scandinavian literature in a separate department so as to facilitate consultation (Bruun 1877). For a more detailed list of Danish 16th-century translators and their achievements, see Appendix 5.

248 Johannes Pedersen (Jo Petræius) published *Menniskens Leffnitz Spegel* (The Mirror of Man's Life) in Rostock in 1541. *Egteskabs Order Speyl oc Regel* (1601)—a short treatise on the rules and obligations of marriage (probably by Luther)—was translated and published by Jo Spangenberg. In 1626, *Unge Karles oc Drenges Speyl*, a mirror for young men, was produced by Rasmus Hanssøn (Bruun 1877).

In the decades leading up to the Reformation, both Reformers and Catholic humanists felt an increasing need for re-examining and correcting the Holy Scripture. The printing presses facilitated this work. Copying errors were frequent in manuscript copies and had led to disputes over interpretation and correct reading. Erasmus' new Latin version of the *New Testament* (1516) therefore had been undertaken in an attempt to provide a starting point for increased unity within the Church (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). Erasmus remained resolutely convinced of the superiority of the Latin (Baune 1995), but tolerated the translation of Biblical texts into the vernacular in as much as it could support and maintain the Catholic doctrine. The Scriptures had not been officially revised since Jerome's *Vulgata* had been proclaimed the authorized Latin version within the Roman Church some eleven centuries earlier.²⁴⁹ The Council of Trent in 1546 reiterated this stance, and *Vulgata* remained the authorized version of the Roman Catholic Church until 1943 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

Erasmus' Latin re-translation soon led to vernacular translations of various parts of the Scriptures. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was one of the first to publish the *New Testament* in German in 1522 (Edwards 1994). Jacques Lefèvre d'Estaples (c. 1455-1536) translated the *Old Testament* into French in 1528 and published the complete Bible in 1530. Clément Marot (1494-1544) followed suit and published the *Book of Psalms* in 1542 (Cary 1963, Horguelin 1996). In England, John Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384) had translated the whole Bible as early as in 1382, based on the Latin *Vulgata*.²⁵⁰ In 1525, William Tyndale (c. 1494-1536) rendered the Bible into English from the original Greek and Hebrew texts (Delisle &

249 The question of originality and divine expression had caused dissension even then. Saint Augustine (354-430) had staunchly opposed the translation of Greek or Hebrew canonical texts into Latin (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

250 Wycliffe met with the condemnation of the Church, but staved it off under the protection of the Duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt (1340-1399). Tyndale was not as fortunate. His work was resolutely condemned by Church authorities who sentenced him to burn at the stake. Even so, the authorized Saint James version of 1611 was largely based upon his work (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

Woodsworth 1995). The Swedes got their vernacular Bible in 1541, and Christiern Pedersen's Danish translation was printed and distributed in 1550. By the middle of the 16th century, the different European vernaculars had been successfully introduced as languages capable of adequately conveying religious thought and theory, and Pedersen's Bible greatly influenced the evolution of the Danish vernacular (Brandt 1882, Bruun 1877).²⁵¹

Despite the fact that the vernacular was used relatively commonly in the Renaissance, most books printed towards the end of the 15th century were in Latin. Some texts needed papal permission to be printed; others could be published with some form of royal privilege and consent (Stilwell 1972, Vellev 1986). Danish printers were no exception to this rule. Before the Reformation, anyone wishing to print a book on any topic would need permission from the Church authorities; later they also needed royal consent. When Christiern Pedersen decided to examine and publish Grammaticus Saxo's (d.1204) epic *Gesta Danorum*, he needed a royal permit to start working on the manuscripts.

Christiern Pedersen was one of Denmark's main historians in the 16th century, and in his modest way, probably the scholar with the broadest range of interest, a European humanist in the best sense of the term. Danish contemporary scholars were primarily preoccupied with religious and theological debates, preparing the terrain for the Reformation. Various parts of the Bible were translated. Several versions of the *New Testament* were published in the three first decades of the 16th century, not only the one produced by Pedersen in 1529. Indeed, a number of translators were working on parallel projects. In 1524, Christiern Vinter published a *New Testament* based on Erasmus' 1516 Latin edition (Brandt 1882). The same year, Hans Mikkelsen published another vernacular version based on Luther's German translation of 1522 (Vellev 1986).

251 Like much of Christiern Pedersen's biblical translation projects, the Danish Bible leaned heavily not only on Vulgata, but also on previous German translations, notably Luther's Bible of 1534, and was published along with Luther's preface and introduction (Brandt 1882).

Similarly, when Christiern Pedersen published the *Psalms of David* in 1531, these had already been translated and published in 1528 by both Klaus Mortensen, a priest at the Chapter of Lund, and Frands Vormorsen (Brandt 1882, Grane 1991 & Hørby, *REX*), a former Carmelite working as a *lector* at the *gymnasium* in Malmö (Grane & Hørby 1996). In 1533, Georgio Smalting also published the *Psalms*. Frands Vormorsen became the first Lutheran superintendent in Lund under the new Danish Church Ordinance in 1537 (Grane & Hørby 1989).²⁵² Although a Dutchman by birth, he had been raised in Denmark and early on became involved with the Protestant Movement and its advocates (Brandt 1882).

A man born and raised under the Catholic regime and solidly anchored in the curriculum and traditions of the old order, Christiern Pedersen had only slowly become persuaded of the new religious message. He was essentially a humble and pious man with deep roots in the Latin culture and elaborate rites of the Catholic Church. Throughout his life, he continued to cherish the traditional, to which his great interest for the past and for the Scriptures bear witness. He probably could have been a successful Catholic reformer if the political atmosphere had allowed him to be so.

It is in light of the long transition from a Catholic to a Protestant doctrine and a state-controlled church in Denmark that one must assess the life and work of Christiern Pedersen. His sincere religious devotion and sustained concern for the school and the quality of teaching led him to a lifelong career as a translator of school manuals and religious treatises. The pupils and their welfare was at the center of his attention,

252 The Danish Church Ordinance was in essence a translation and an adaptation of Luther's and Melancthon's ordinance for the German church (Øverås 1952). The Danish text was the work of prominent Danish theologians, amongst others, Peder Palladius (Ellingsen 1997). The Ordinance recommended religious education in the school and anticipated the School Ordinance of 1739, which made primary school compulsory, at least in principle (Larsen 1989). The Church Ordinance contained a special section on Norway, and in many ways shows that the Danish Church administration was aware of the particular Norwegian situation (Ellingsen 1997).

Excessive corporal punishment, in his opinion, had a negative effect on the pupils' ability to learn (Brandt 1882, Øverås 1952).²⁵³

Through his work and printing excursions to Paris, Pedersen came into contact with many of his contemporaneous humanist scholars, such as Erasmus (Grane & Hørby 1993) and José Badé (1462-1535) (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997), who, like himself, were concerned with the quality of education and the pedagogical methods used in the schools.²⁵⁴ Christiern Pedersen, amidst all his religious and historical writings, prepared a *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum: ordine literario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*, a Latin-Danish dictionary to be used in the teaching of Latin and grammar (Ellingsen 1997). This dictionary depended extensively on foreign sources and medieval grammars and dictionaries, especially the *Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae* by Giovanni Balbi (d.1298)—an established medieval manual for teachers of the *Trivium*—and the *Dictionarium latinum* by Ambrogio of Calepio (1435-c. 1511) (Brandt 1882).²⁵⁵ The *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* (1510), like most of Pedersen's early works, was printed in Paris by José Badé (1462-1535) (Ellingsen 1997), motivated by a sincere desire to provide the young pupils at the Chapter of Lund with a Latin manual that

253 He was resolutely opposed to “den ubarmhjertige hudstrøgelse og slag av ferler og store bøddelris som man pleide før å bruke i våre danske, svenske og norske skoler, med hvilke skammelige og umenneskelige slag og hugg de umilde skolemestre fordrev mange gode unge peblinger og degner fra skolen og god lærdom.” (“... the merciless flogging, the shameless use of the ferule and the spanking twigs [...] in our Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian schools [...] and] the shameful and inhuman strokes and raps with which schoolmasters chase many talented young pupils and clerics away from education and good knowledge”) (Øverås 1952, p. 61; Brandt 1882, p. 15-16).

254 Erasmus (1466-1536), in collaboration with William Lily (1468-1522), published a new grammar (1515) for the pupils of Saint Paul's School in Cambridge (Lawson 1976), while in Denmark, Henrik Smith (d.1563) wrote and published a dictionary of synonyms, *Hortulus synonymorum*, in 1519 (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Grane & Hørby 1993). This work was adopted by Danish schools and became so successful that a second and third edition were printed in 1514 and 1518 (Brandt 1882). In 1563, Smith published yet another vocabulary: *Libellus vocum Latinarum* (REX).

255 This book became a reference book for many scholars (Chavy 1988).

would actually teach them something, and give them some respite from *Doctrinale*, which Pedersen considered too obscure and difficult (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988).²⁵⁶

The traditional medieval preoccupation with correct and “proper” Latin as the main goal of schooling was gradually replaced with a greater concern for proper religious indoctrination. Part of this effort is reflected in the many Latin-vernacular dictionaries in the reformed territories. The mastering of Latin remained one of the main preoccupations, at least formally. However, the vernacular steadily gained ground and increasingly served as an *auxiliary tool* in the appropriation of the content of the texts. Eventually, it entirely replaced Latin in school manuals (Brandt 1882, Lusignan 1986). As in Norway, the vernacular had been taught in Danish schools both before and after the Reformation, as evidenced by Pedersen’s remark that the schools no longer managed to teach the students “proper Latin or good Danish in their own tongue” (Brandt 1882).²⁵⁷ He was a staunch advocate of the vernacular, and his defence of using the national tongue early on actually preceded Luther’s debate about the appropriateness of translating treatises dealing with theology and religion into the vernacular for the “illiterate,” i.e. the non-Latin readership (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Garstein 1998).

During his years of study at Copenhagen in his youth, Christiern Pedersen developed an amicable and lasting friendship with Anders Christensen, *lector* at the new University of Copenhagen from 1497. On more than one occasion, Christensen would assist him in his search for historical source material and rare manuscripts (Brandt 1882, Grane & Hørby 1993).²⁵⁸

256 Giovanni Balbi’s grammar had been printed by Gutenberg as early as in 1460 (Stillwell 1972).

257 “... at tale ret Latin eller skrive god Danske på deris eget Tungemaal” (Brandt 1882, p. 14).

258 The historical sources of the Viking past of both Danes and Norsemen were, amongst others, Robert Gangvinus’s (French, d.c. 1501) *Compendium supra Francorum gesta* (1491), Paulus Emilius’ (Italian, d. 1529) *De rebus gestis Francorum*, and Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale*. Gangvinus had been teaching in Paris, and was a friend of Erasmus. Pedersen met Emilius while he was in Paris (Brandt 1882, BNF, OLIS).

Pedersen was eventually assigned to the Chapter of Lund in 1505, and in 1510 he was sent to Paris where he worked and studied for the next five years. This journey abroad was probably a result of the archdiocese's recommendation that the chapters always keep one or two of their clergy at the University of Paris which, despite a certain decline, still enjoyed a solid reputation as a center of learning. The leading humanists that he befriended there certainly influenced his work and interests (Brandt 1882).

While in Paris, Pedersen became acquainted with many contemporaneous chronicles. His interest for the past was aroused, so that when he returned to Denmark he started trying to get hold of a copy of Saxo's Danish history and other medieval chronicles, traveling from monastery to monastery in search of manuscripts (Brandt 1882).²⁵⁹ The ancient history books by various monastic and ancient historians were not readily available, however, and Pedersen had to seek help from prominent Church officials in order to get hold of a Saxo manuscript that he could copy.²⁶⁰ The Danish Archbishop Byrge and the Norwegian Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (r. 1510-1522) in Nidaros helped secure the King's permission to start the work. Pedersen was even promised a small stipend while working on the original (Brandt 1882).²⁶¹ Archbishop Byrge helped him acquire a copy of the text from a monastic library, probably that of Sorø where Saxo had worked (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997).

259 In the early Christian Scandinavian period, the Church and monasteries had dispensed most of the teaching, but as the universities and studia emerged, the monasteries ceased to play any significant role in education. However, they continued to house significant libraries: treasures of rare manuscripts such as bibles, service books, patristic theology, canon law, and standard books used in the arts courses as well as a wide range of Latin Classics (Lawson 1967).

260 Not only were the monasteries reluctant to let anybody borrow their books, the books were stored and classified according to an intricate library system which indeed made them difficult to locate (Eisenstein 1979).

261 Erik Valkendorf was a Dane who had studied in both Cologne and Greifswald. He was deeply rooted in Danish culture and intellectual life. His library supposedly contained quite a number of books, both classical and humanist texts as well as theological works (www.katolsk.no). He was instrumental in the revision and printing of *Missale Nidrosiense*, assisted Christiern Pedersen in his search for Saxo manuscripts, and supported the printing of *Gesta Danorum* (Nielsen 1996). His brother, Hans, befriended Pedersen at the University of Leuven (Brandt 1882).

As a canon at the Chapter at Lund—an important ecclesiastical center with long traditions in schooling and the training of clergy—Pedersen was automatically involved in the life and work of the cathedral school. He soon became concerned about the quality of the teaching dispensed there and in other centers of learning, and much of his writings and translations were intended for use in the schools (Brandt 1882, Øverås 1952), such as the *Proverbs of Laale*, which he revised and “augmented” in 1515. Most of the lay proverbs in this collection are believed to have derived from Latin sources and were not original Danish maxims (Brandt 1882).²⁶²

Pedersen’s early productions were predominantly Latin texts compliant with the Catholic doctrine and scholarly tradition. Nevertheless, he was among the first Danish clergy to start translating and editing Protestant devotional literature in the Danish language. In the spirit of many reform-friendly Catholics, he appreciated the immense dynamic force of vernacular expression. His first book in Danish was a small devotional book of hours, *Vor frue Tider*, published in 1514, followed by a *Postillae* in 1515. A devout Christian, and genuinely concerned with giving the common people a personal experience of the Mass, Christiern Pedersen warmly defended and justified the translation of Holy Scripture and miscellaneous devotional material in the Preface to his Danish translation of the *Postillae*. This devotional book contains a selection of Epistles and sermons, essentially a text for every day of the Church calendar explained and illustrated by a miracle (*jærtegn*) or an *exemplum* (Brandt 1882).²⁶³ Elements of Jacobus of Voragine’s (1229-1298) famous *Legenda aurea* and the ever-present *Vitae Patrum* have been detected amongst the *exempla*

262 *Peder Laales Ordsprog* had previously been printed in 1506 by Gottfried of Ghemen, who also was motivated by an honest desire to enlighten his times and improve the organization of schools and how knowledge was dispensed (Brandt 1882).

263 “Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lessis alle Søndage om Aaret, sammeledis Juledag, Paaskedagh, Pingetzdag, meth deris Vdtydning oc Glose oc eth Jærtegn til huer dag (Jærtegnpostillen).” Printed in Paris.

used by Pedersen in the *Postillae* (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Tveitane 1968).²⁶⁴ The *Postillae* from Pedersen's Catholic days also comprised material from the writings of Ludolphe of Saxony (c. 1300-1378) (Brandt 1822), a Dominican theologian and prior of Chartreux (1343-1348). Ludolphe had written a *Vita Christi*, a well-known medieval text that had been printed in Cologne around 1474 (Collijn 1904).²⁶⁵ Another direct source is believed to be Johannes Herolt's *Postillae* (Nielsen 1996, Bruun 1877).²⁶⁶

Christiern Pedersen, a man of humble ambitions, a pious Christian and a devoted teacher and cleric, was steeped in traditional Catholic pedagogy and doctrine, and sincerely preoccupied with the wellbeing and education of his pupils. When he was obliged to resign from his canonship at the beginning of the 1530s, it was with a great deal of nostalgia and regret, as witnessed by the "once a canon at Lund" with which he signed almost all of his work, both original texts and translations. He did however continue to receive the income or *prebend* from "his" altar of Saint Christopher, primarily as compensation for the ongoing translation of the entire Bible, a project he had taken on in 1532 and which took him seven years to complete (Brandt 1882).

Although the Church had tolerated sermons in the vernacular long before the Reformation (Lusignan 1986), the precept had not always been followed in practice. In his appeal for more vernacular preaching, Pedersen was therefore entirely in accord with his time and era. He wanted to write in a vernacular that was comprehensible to the

624 The full title of which was "All Epistles and Evangelia read in the Church every Sunday the whole year through, including Christmas Day and Easter Day and Pentecost with their explanation and glosses and a miracle and articles which are useful to every human being." He would later, as a Reformed man, regret that he ever wrote this book (Brandt 1882).

365 Ludolphe's *Vita Christi* had been translated into French and published by David Auvert around 1461 (Chavy 1988). An apocryphal text with the same title had circulated in medieval times and been translated into French in 1380. A second French translation of Ludolphe's text by a certain Vêrard was published in 1490 (Chavy 1988).

266 A German Dominican monk, Herolt (d. 1462) was the author of *Sermones ... exemplorum et de beate Virgine* and *Liber discipli et eruditione Christi fidelium*, a collection of sermons by the Church Fathers and medieval preachers, as well as a *Postillae* (Viller et. al. 1937-1995).

greater lay readership and actively used and shaped the Danish language in his evangelical effort (Brandt 1882).

The sources of Pedersen's writings were numerous and reveal his many scholarly interests. In the section of the *Jærtegnspostillen* dealing with the *Psalms of David*, for example, Pedersen leaned heavily on Saxo's comments and explanations of the Bible as well as on Jacques Lefevre's (c. 1455-1537) exegetical writings and Bible translations (Brandt 1882). Pedersen was also familiar with the main medieval authorities, such as Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Saint Augustin (354-430), Hugo de St-Victor (c. 1096-1141), and Saint Bernard (1090-1153), and used excerpts of their writings when expounding on his personal interpretation of the Holy Scripture. Christiern Pedersen's translations are indeed full of comments and glosses that in the process have become part of the integral text, revealing the extent to which he was marked by traditional literary conventions and the heritage of medieval times (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Minnis 1988).

Christiern Pedersen was interested in many subjects, and wrote and translated treatises about medicine²⁶⁷ and religion, as well as schooling and education. However, as time went on, he became increasingly absorbed with the nation's medieval and Norse past as narrated by Saxo Grammaticus, Adam of Bremen, and the saga writers (Brandt 1882, Brøndstedt 1972). In this he was in tune with his Norwegian colleagues. Gottfried of Ghemen's first book in the Danish vernacular, the *Rimkrøniken*, had been published as early as in 1495 (Bruun 1877) and the *Karl Magnus Krønike* was printed in 1509. Three decades later, Christiern Pedersen re-edited and published the chronicle of Charlemagne along with the story of the legendary exploits of Holger the Dane (Nielsen 1996).²⁶⁸ He

267 Henrik Harpestreng (d. 1244) *Liber herbarium* (Brandt 1882, Bruun 1877).

268 One of Charlemagne's valorous knights in the battle of Roncevaux (Brandt 1882).

had come across the manuscripts of these chronicles, which he regarded as complementary to Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, in Paris in 1527 (Brandt 1882).

By the 1530s, Pedersen had started his Bible project, an enterprise that was to accompany his other works and translations until his crippling illness in 1544. He received financial compensation for the Bible project. He based his translation on both Erasmus' revised Latin version of the New Testament (1516) and Luther's German translation of 1522, in addition to the vernacular works of both Christiern Vinter and Hans Mikkelsen (Brandt 1882). Pedersen's translation of the Bible, completed some time around 1539, remained unpublished until 1550, when it was proclaimed the authorized version of the Danish Church (Brandt 1882). The Danish Bible of 1550 greatly influenced the development of both the Danish language and the Norwegian vernacular (Brøndsted 1972).

In view of his varied production and the precarious times he lived in, Pedersen emerges as a remarkable 16th century Danish scholar. After he had been stripped of his clerical duties at the Chapter of Lund and consequently removed from his teaching obligations, he worked as a professional translator for the rest of his life. He was both persevering and patient. While he gradually came to an acceptance of the reformed doctrine, he always seems to have felt a certain regret for some of his former ecclesiastical functions. His pious temperament prevented him from becoming a militant Protestant and he hardly ever mentions Luther in his pre-Reformation writings. In the Preface to the *New Testament* translation of 1529 he only refers to Erasmus. This cautious approach was also adopted by several of his contemporaries, although the majority of Danish scholars, on the whole, seem to have been predominantly and openly in favor of the Reformation.

Translation was not, however, an activity without dangers and pitfalls in the turbulent first four decades of the Reformation century. The religious persuasion of the ruling monarch of course determined to a large extent what kind of texts scholars would

study, translate, and publish. The question of royal succession evolved into a conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant camps. Christian II stood first against Frederik I and later against the reformer Christian III (r. 1537-1559) (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). The years leading up to the formal introduction of the reformed faith were indeed dangerous and tumultuous years in Denmark.

As a place where some of the main battles were fought, the University of Copenhagen was at the center of the conflict. Progressively, the Catholic Church lost its doctrinal control of the teachers and the curriculum (Grane & Hørby 1991). However, the members of the Danish National Council remained predominantly Catholic (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). One of the immediate consequences of the Danish Civil War (1533-1537) and the ensuing hostility between the Catholic and Protestant parties was that the university closed in 1531 and did not re-open until the New Church Ordinance had been adopted and implemented in 1537.²⁶⁹

During the years of turmoil and contention both Danish and Norwegian students had to seek education elsewhere, and immatriculated at universities in the German-speaking territories, in particular the new northern universities of Rostock and Wittenberg where Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon were the leading authorities (Grane & Hørby 1993, Helk 1987), but also elsewhere, marking the beginning of a new tradition of student-traveling (Grane & Hørby 1993).²⁷⁰

Pedersen's personal friendship with King Christian II, who was overthrown in 1523, was to dictate the conditions of his professional life. Pedersen joined the King in

269 The Church Ordinance of 1537 was composed entirely in Latin by some of Denmark's leading theologians, in particular Peder Palladius (Helk 1987). The Ordinance was translated into Danish in 1539 (Ellingsen 1997) and printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth. Palladius may possibly have translated the Ordinance himself; the translator is not named in Barth's edition (Nielsen 1996).

270 The universities of Ingolstadt (1472), Leipzig (1409), Orléans (1444), Tübingen (1477), and Wittenberg (1502) had some of their first Danish-Norwegian students during this instable period (Helk 1987).

his exile in 1526 (Brandt 1882, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998), not to return until 1532 when Christian II had been captured after a final failed coup attempt (Brandt 1882). While in exile, Pedersen had continued his work on the Saxo manuscript and the *Chronicle of Holger the Dane*, which he published in 1534. The original Holger the Dane text was written in Old French, and as Pedersen did not master the French language he had the text translated into Latin (probably by one of his French connections), and worked from this intermediary text (Brandt 1882).²⁷¹

When gathering the historical material he needed, Pedersen consulted a number of French, English and European chronicles, in addition to parts of the Norse Sagas. However, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* remained his main source to the history of Denmark, in conjunction with the anonymous vernacular *Rimkrøniken* that Ghemen had printed. *Rimkrøniken* is believed to have been originally composed in Latin by an unknown medieval author, probably someone connected with the monastery of Sorø (Helk 1987, REX) and later translated into the Danish vernacular. That it is a translation of an earlier work and not an original vernacular composition is clear from the introduction which states that "Hær begynner th(e)n danskæ Kronicke well offuerseet oc ræth ..." (Nielsen 1996, p. 109).²⁷²

In order to complete and supplement Saxo's Danish history, Christiørn Pedersen consulted translated excerpts of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, which he obtained from Jon Simonssøn (1512-1575)—a legal expert with knowledge of the Old Norse language and a special interest in the old saga manuscripts—who for some time was master Geble's deputy administrator in Bergen in the 1530s. Christiørn Pedersen got to know about the documents that Simonssøn was working on, probably through Bishop Palladius who was great friend of Geble, and asked for copies of the translated excerpts, which he got some

271 The story of Holger the Dane would become one of the most popular Danish books of all times. Hans Christian Andersen also wrote his own version of it, showing the enduring popularity of the story (REX).

272 "Here begins the Danish Chronicle, well and justly translated" (My translation).

time in the beginning of the 1530s (Jørgensen 1993).²⁷³ Unfortunately, Christiern Pedersen's main project and his life's passion—the continuation of Saxo *Gesta Danorum*—was never completed, partly because he had been assigned to the translation of the Bible, partly because his health failed him in 1544. The Saxo project came to an abrupt halt (Brandt 1882), and the saga excerpts that he consulted have been lost (Jørgensen 1993).

When Pedersen had Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* printed (in a slightly abbreviated form) as *Historia danicae* in 1514 by José Badé in Paris, he actually saved the book for posterity. The original Saxo manuscript perished when the Royal Library in Copenhagen burnt in 1729 (Bruun 1877).²⁷⁴ As a translator, Christiern Pedersen was profoundly inspired by his medieval predecessors both in style and content. He had, as many of them did, a varied intellectual appetite, although probably not a very critical mind. He never, it seems, questioned the accuracy of his sources, and was rather liberal when it came to respecting the letter of the original text. His adaptive, rather explanatory style must be seen in relation to the floating status of the vernacular and the lack of orthographic norms. He admired Saxo's elegant Latin, and tried to elevate the Danish vernacular to Saxo's perceived level

273 Or maybe through Bishop Hans Gås in Trondheim (c.1500-1578) who had undertaken to translate (or have translated) parts of the old laws and Church privileges into Danish, and who relied on Simenssøn's material (Ellingsen 1997). The original saga excerpts used by Christiern Pedersen were lost when the Royal library in Copenhagen burnt in 1728, but are partially preserved in copies made by Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616) and Stephan Hansen Stephanius. Pedersen presumably consulted translated extracts of *Kringla*, a large Icelandic codex containing the whole of *Heimskringla* and a catalogue of Norwegian and Icelandic skalds (Jørgensen 1993).

274 Very few of his other sources have been printed (Brandt 1882). Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616), a prominent Danish historian and translator, published a new Danish version of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* in 1575, leaning heavily on Pedersen's earlier translation (Brandt 1882, Skafte Jensen 1995). Vedel had studied at Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Rostock, and served as preceptor from 1561 to 1565 to the later scientist and astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), whose observations would allow his student Kepler (1571-1630) to develop the theory of planetary movement (Helk 1987). Vedel's translation of *Gesta Danorum* seems to have gone mainly unheeded by the broader reading public, yet he was well enough known to contemporary scholars (Næss 1993). He became the King's official historiographer and produced a history of the Roman popes entitled *Antichristus romanus* printed in 1571 (REX). Vedel, like Pedersen, was fascinated with the past, and edited and published the complete works of Adam of Bremen (d. c. 1076) around 1579. Adam had been one of Christiern Pedersen's main historical sources after Saxo (Brandt 1882). In addition, Vedel collected and published a series of medieval Danish ballads, *Hundredvisebogen*, in 1591 (REX).

of perfection (Brandt 1882). In this effort, he can be compared with the “belles infidèles” who were to have such great influence on the French orthography and literary standard (Zuber 1968). Set up as a professional printer in Malmö from 1531, Pedersen, like other European printers, played the multiple roles of both printer and translator. Some printers, such as William Caxton (1422-1491) and Étienne Dolet (1508-1546) also doubled as patrons (Zuber 1968, Painter 1976, Eisenstein 1979).²⁷⁵ In both style and spirit, Christiern Pedersen was indeed a true European scholar.

Notwithstanding Pedersen’s extensive translation activities, loyal support of the Lutheran doctrine, and enduring popularity into modern times, other contemporary scholars were at the forefront of the Protestant movement in Denmark. Pedersen was never an initiator of propaganda material. He was never one to excite the masses. One of the major forces behind the Danish Reformation—and consequently the Reformation of Norway—and the instigator of much of the translating activity and polemics it fostered was Hans Tausen (1494-1561), often referred to as the “Danish Luther” (Brandt 1882, *REX*, Vellev 1986). He was elected Lutheran superintendent of the Viborg Chapter in 1542. Viborg was by then established as a significant intellectual Protestant center from which Vingaard’s printing press turned out numerous evangelical essays and treatises (Nielsen 1996). In comparison, the presses in Copenhagen and Malmö continued to print predominantly Catholic material for yet some time (Vellev 1986).

Tausen had initially been a member of a Johannite monastery in Zealand. He had studied in Germany and increasingly fell in with Luther’s condemnation of the Catholic

275 The first French translators of the 16th century prepared the way for the vernacular classical style of the 17th century. Encouraged by the work of Clément Marot (1496-1544) and Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), Jacques Amyot (1513-1593) was amongst the first of the free adaptors of classical works, developing a new style in accordance with the humanist principles of literary imitation. He was a professional translator who worked on Plutarch. The printer Étienne Dolet (1509-1546) published *De la manière de bien traduire d’une langue en autre* in 1540, for the first time setting out guidelines for literary translation. Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582) translated *L’art Poétique* by Horatius in 1555, and thereby laid the ground for a reform of French poetry. The French Humanists also expressed an interest in history; Claude Fauchet (1530-1602) translated the work of Tacitus (Zuber 1968, Horguelin 1996).

Church's practice of sale and attribution of indulgencies. Because of his Lutheran sermons, he was forced to leave the Johannite congregation in 1525, and soon after entered the services of the reform-friendly Frederik I (reign 1524-1533). He became the King's protégé and personal chaplain. Seeking the cooperation of Hans Vingaard, Tausen worked relentlessly to promote the Lutheran doctrine (Nielsen 1996, Brandt 1882, Vellev 1986). He wrote extensively and published a series of smaller pamphlets in addition to a vernacular hymnbook. He also translated the five *Books of Genesis*, which were published in 1535. Christiern Pedersen relied heavily on Tausen's translation of the *Psalms* when preparing his own Danish *Hymnbook* of 1533. These vernacular hymn books generally were intended to accompany the liturgy of the Mass and make it more accessible for common parishioners (Brandt 1882).

Hans Tausen quickly realized the importance of education as a way of indoctrinating the reformed faith and was instrumental in the reopening of the University of Copenhagen in 1537 (Grane & Hørby 1993). Towards the middle of the century, he was joined in his cause by a number of people, amongst others, Jørgen Jensen Sadolin (d.1583), who in 1530 had translated Luther's treatise on the institution (and not the sacrament) of marriage (Bruun 1877).²⁷⁶ In 1531, Knud Gyldenstierne, Bishop of Fyn, summoned this Lutheran preacher and let him assist in the "church choir". In reality, Sadolin served as a *lector* for both the Catholic clergy and the students at the Chapter and expounded on both Luther's *Short catechism* and *Confessio Augustana*, showing the confusion (or maybe shrewdness) of some Protestant reformers (Ellingsen 1997). Sadolin later became the first Lutheran superintendent of the Chapter of Fyn (Helk 1987).

276 *Twende Beshlutninger met nogen Christelige Raade aff Guds Ærdt, om Egteschabff...* printed in Viborg 1530 (Bruun 1877). In Norway, marriage had traditionally been regarded as a civil matter between the concerned families, a contract signed and witnessed by civil administrators. This practice was continued well into the Reformation century, and a church ceremony was not required until 1589 (Bagge 2000). This non-sacral perception of marriage may be one of the reasons why many seemed to turn their backs on the Church in matters pertaining to matrimony (cf. Mørkhagen 1995).

Originally from Stuttgart, Hans Vingaard (d.1559),²⁷⁷ published most of Tausen's and Sadolin's polemic writings (Vellev 1986). A contemporary of Christiørn Pedersen, he re-printed Ghemen's *Rimkrønike* in Copenhagen in 1533 (Brandt 1882) where he had set up his own printing press in 1531. The first known book to have been produced on his presses was Sadolin's translation of Luther's *Short catechism* in 1532 (Nielsen 1996). Many of the Danish reformed clergy used Vingaard's printing press, notably Bishop Peder Palladius, who actively encouraged the introduction and maintenance of the evangelical Church not only in Denmark, but also in Norway (Helk 1987), where he encouraged and supported his loyal friend Geble Pederssøn at the newly Reformed Chapter of Bergen (Kolsrud 1963).²⁷⁸ As we shall see, the ties between the two were crucial for the vocation and work of Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (Nielsen 1996). Palladius became a vital direct link between Danish and Norwegian scholars and clergy, especially between the pioneer historians and Old-Norse-reading lawyers in Bergen and historians in Denmark such as Christiørn Pedersen.

All through the first half of the Reformation century, the relations between the Danish and Norwegian scholars were strong, although of an almost private nature. The vernacular work of the Norwegian humanists in Bergen, in particular, seems to have been noticed in Denmark, and Peder Palladius was able to connect people from the two countries. Although none of the first historians in Bergen had any of their work published, they still contributed to and supplemented work undertaken by Danish colleagues, especially Christiørn Pedersen's work on Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. Master Geble, through his personal friendship with Palladius, had access to a web of people in Denmark, connecting the Chapter of Bergen directly to the events and transformations of Danish society.

²⁷⁷ Hans Weingartener.

²⁷⁸ He wrote *Expositio catechismi pro parochis Norvegianis* (1547) for the benefit of the Norwegian chapters (Nielsen 1996).

The End of Catholicism in Norway

From the end of the 14th century, education in Norway became arbitrary due to the precarious situation in the wake of the Black Death. Native priests, including those who had studied abroad, on average seem to have been less educated than Continental clergy (Bagge & Mykland 1987).²⁷⁹ Medieval European schools were basically an urban phenomenon, and remained so well into the 18th century. Here again Norway stands out as different with few cities and a scattered population. In the predominantly rural Norway, only a handful of communities enjoyed the status of a town or city, and consequently schools were in practice scarce and the number of students rather small (Øverås 1952).²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, schools may have been organized sporadically, depending on the demand for people with reading and writing skills and on the availability of qualified masters (Lawson 1967).

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Norwegian literate elite consisted primarily of people with a theological background and a politically impotent national aristocracy who had received their schooling either at home by private tutors, abroad in foster homes, or in one of the few schools run by the Church. Norwegian medieval schools had been organized exclusively by the Church and were financially supported by revenues from the Church's numerous estates around the country. The Church holdings accounted for more than 40% of all land properties in medieval times (Bagge & Mykland 1987). However, the Great Plague and the accompanying agrarian crisis seriously affected the

²⁷⁹ However, even on the Continent, ignorance was omnipresent amongst men of the cloth, and the lower ranks were barely literate themselves, having been trained only in the mechanical functions of the liturgy and the performance of the sacraments (Lawson 1967), as it was not necessary for the lower clergy to hold a university degree till the end of the 16th century (Berggrav 1953).

²⁸⁰ At the time of independence in 1814, Norway had four higher Latin schools, and less than 200 students, corresponding roughly to the number of students in the 12th century (Rust 1989).

revenues.²⁸¹ Both land revenues and regular tithings diminished to such an extent that the Church started having problems financing and organizing the schools (Rust 1989). Sending students abroad for higher education became increasingly difficult as funding became scarce. In 1436, a *consilium* presided over by Archbishop Aslak Bolts nevertheless determined that the Archbishopric should keep one or two students at the University of Paris, and that the students be supported with money from the alms. The intention was honorable; however, few students actually went abroad for lack of money (Øverås 1952, Danielsen et. al. 1992).²⁸² Furthermore, the devastating toll of the pestilence on the clergy and the elite in conjunction with people's inability to pay taxes and duties lead to a rapid disintegration of the *state* that had emerged in medieval times (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

The institutionalized teaching of the late Middle Ages had focused primarily on religious instruction and recruitment to Church positions (Rust 1989). Schools were second-language institutions in most countries (Lusignan 1986). In Norway, where the Latin traditions were less entrenched than on the Continent, the literate elite and

281 The Black Death in 1349 eliminated an estimated 2/3 of the population in recurring outbreaks of the pestilence, a situation aggravated by a series of failed crops due to an agrarian crisis caused by almost a century of climatic cooling (Danielsen et. al. 1992, Bagge & Mykland 1987).

282 The rapid degeneration of the Norwegian society in the 14th and 15th centuries led to a reduction in the number of students sent abroad for higher education. Between 1367 and 1536, for example, only 219 Norwegian students were registered at the newly established German and East-European universities, in comparison with 2146 students from the more urban Denmark and 821 from Sweden (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The exile of the papacy to Avignon between 1309 to 1373, and the ensuing papal schism between 1378 and 1417 (Larrington 1995), resulted in the defection of both students and university teachers from the French-speaking territories. Consequently, by the time Christiern Pedersen (1480-1554) arrived in 1510, the University of Paris had seen better days (Brandt 1882, Le Goff 1985). Other central and northern European universities started attracting foreign students, especially those of Leuven (1426), Cologne (1388), Prague (1348), Leipzig (1409), Greifswald (1456) (Grane & Hørby 1993). The universities of Rostock (1419) and Wittenberg (1502) were to become the new "Scandinavian" centers of learning where most of the post-Reformation Norwegian students enrolled (Tormodsæter 1912, Helk 1987, Grane & Hørby 1993). Of the people who worked to introduce the reformed theology in Norway, 40 had studied at Wittenberg, amongst others Hans Gås and his son Kjell, Torbjørn Olavsson Bratt, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, Klaus Frandsen Berg, and Halvard Gunnarssøn (Tormodsæter 1912).

members of the ordinary clergy were to a greater extent than elsewhere recruited from the general population (Øverås 1952).

After the Reformation, most of the Church's properties were confiscated by the Crown, making the financing of the cathedral schools precarious (Ellingsen 1997). Indeed, some schools actually had to close for lack of financial support, such as the cathedral school at Hamar, which closed in 1602 (Rust 1989). The majority of Norwegian students now received their advanced education at the University of Copenhagen, although a few sought the reformed universities in the German-speaking territories. The ties that had bound Norway to Denmark for almost two centuries were decisive for the way in which the Reformation was introduced in Norway (Helk 1987, Grane & Hørby 1993). Some will argue that the nation's economic and political dependence upon Denmark was as real as it was necessary, and that the Reformation, as it was presented and introduced, was the inevitable outcome of Norway's dissolving autonomy.

In the first three decades of the century, Denmark had been through a deep political crisis with substantial ramifications for itself as well as for Norway. King Christian II (reign 1513-1523) had fled to the Netherlands in 1523 when the noblemen of Western Denmark turned on the King and nominated his uncle, Duke Frederik I (reign 1524-1533), to the throne (Ellingsen 1997). Frederik I had been acclaimed King of Norway in Bergen by the National Council (Skaadel 1998). Archbishop Olav Engelbrektson, who in the capacity of Archbishop was supposed to have presided over the National Council, refused to see him, so that although Frederik I technically became King of Norway at the Council's meeting in Bergen, he never obtained the Church's approval and was never *crowned King* of Norway. By his refusal to see the King, Archbishop Olav attempted to delay Frederik's access to the Norwegian kingdom. The King's Protestant beliefs were at the root of the Archbishop's unwillingness to bless what he considered an altogether undesirable monarch (Ellingsen 1997).

King Frederik I remained a staunch supporter of the Reformation, possibly because he quickly realized that a transfer of the Church's properties to the Royal Treasury would strengthen both his personal finances and political authority (Ellingsen 1997). A number of Church properties were transferred to Archbishop Olav's most virulent enemy, Vincents Lunge (c. 1485-1536), governor of Norway from 1523 to 1535, in a scheme aimed at deepening the conflict between the Archbishop and the National Council (Ellingsen 1997).²⁸³ Olav Engelbrektsson wanted a Catholic king. In principle, Norwegians and Danes still elected their monarch, as in the old days. The conflict became intolerable within the Council, and when Vincent Lunge was assassinated by the Archbishop's men just before Christmas 1536, the Archbishop was forced to surrender. He fled to Lier in the Netherlands, carrying with him much of the archdiocese's archives (Ellingsen 1997). The Norwegian National Council was dissolved.

Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson had been unsuccessful in stemming the Protestant tide. The impoverished Norwegian dioceses were not powerful enough to assist him in his dispute with the mainly Danish-born aristocracy. They had more immediate and pressing concerns. Olav's friend and contemporary, Geble Pederssøn at the Chapter of Bergen, never attempted to revise the content of the teaching dispensed at the Chapter's school and there was not much pressure upon him to do so either. He simply implemented the new directives to the best of his ability, adding the curriculum imposed by the Lutheran authorities in Denmark to what was already offered (Ellingsen 1997).

283 In 1528, Vincents Lunge had burnt the Monastery of Munkeliv to the ground, after having taken all the precious objects it contained (Beyer 1928). Lunge was a violent man, the Archbishop's only real opponent. In the conflict over royal succession, Vincents Lunge stood against the King along with a group of Danish governors: Mogens and Erik Gyldenstjerne, Eske (Bergenhuis) and Claus Bille (Akershus) (Ellingsen 1997). Vincents Lunge (Protestant) and the Bille brothers (staunch Catholics) were friends of master Geble. Vincents Lunge had studied with him at Leuven (Beyer 1928). Geble was also on friendly terms with the Archbishop. Eske Bille was a friend of Christiørn Pedersen, too. These rather complicated friendships may explain Geble's reluctance to enter the conflict.

In many ways, Geble was representative of the late medieval Norwegian clergy. He lacked monastic experience (meaning that he had gone from school to university to his clerical position directly), and, although he had obtained a degree of *magister philosophiae* from the University of Leuven (1517), he never revealed any academic ambitions or delved into the polemics raised by the reforming forces. His priorities lay elsewhere (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963, Ellingsen 1997). Geble was destined to become the last Catholic bishop of Bergen and the first Lutheran superintendent of Norway—and actually the *only* superintendent for almost four years—after the Reformation. Indicative of the close connections between the Chapter of Bergen and Danish and German reformers, it was the German theologian and reformer Johannes Bugenhagen (d.1558) who ordained master Geble as the first Norwegian superintendent in 1537 (Ellingsen 1997).

Due to the particular political and religious situation of Norway and the obvious lack of reformed teachers, the chapters and the cathedral schools they were in charge of essentially survived the Reformation unscathed, and were not properly “reformed” until the second half of the century, when a generation of Lutheran-born clergy and teachers were ready to step in and take control. The schools had been reorganized according to the new Danish educational system, based primarily on the school curriculum established by Philipp Melanchthon. In 1541, Melanchthon’s short catechism and explanation of Luther’s doctrine had been translated into Danish by Nicolaus Palladius (maybe Peter’s brother) for use in Danish and Norwegian schools (Bruun 1877). Despite the effort, it took almost thirty years before the manuals used in Norwegian schools were replaced with new, more suitable ones (Dal 1979, Grane & Hørby 1993, Bruun 1877, Ellingsen 1997). Bishop Palladius also prepared a new Latin grammar, *Grammatica latina in usum Danica* (1557), which was adopted by most schools (Bruun 1877). The main emphasis remained that of religious instruction, but subjects like Hebrew, logic, metaphysics and rhetorics were added to the common curriculum. The

Danish Church Ordinance of 1539 established that every autonomous commercial city should have at least one Latin public school, to assure recruitment of officers for the Church and encourage general Protestant instruction. This policy worked well in Denmark, where people lived clustered in small towns. It became apparent that the system had no viability in Norway where people lived decentralized on separate farm-units, where there were few free-towns and where the shortage of teachers limited the implementation of the Ordinance (Rust 1989).

The Danish administrators and Church officials generally seem to have understood the rather different Norwegian situation, and allowed for special directives when it came to the implementation of the new Church Ordinance in Norway.²⁸⁴ Although the Reformers had depended significantly upon the use of the national tongues, illustrated by the numerous vernacular pamphlets published in the first half of the 16th century, the renaming of the Norwegian Cathedral schools in reality signified the start of a new era in which Latin would gain new importance and would almost suppress the vernacular as a form of scholarly expression. Not long after the Reformation, both the ecclesiastic and secular administration was moved to Oslo, which offered easier access to the Danish administration in Copenhagen. In contrast to the humanists in Bergen during the 30s, 40s and 50s, for whom the vernacular had been a natural choice, the humanists in Oslo

284 "Wy wille med det første besørge Superattendender wdy Norge til huer stict, huilcke wy oc willw giffue befalinge, at de saa møget som mogeligt er, skulle giøre deris fliid, at huer Sogen maa haffue gode predickere oc det sande Guds ord, at der oc intet maa forsømmes, huad der hører til Guds ords predicken oc menniskens salighed, Oc skicke huad dennom tilstaar wdi andre sager, de wid denne vor Ordinantx begrebene ere, Ind til wy sielff komme wdy Norge, huilcket wy med Guds hielp snarlig forhobe, Da wille wy effter Superattendenternis raad besonderlig wdi huer sted besckice oc stadfeste huad effter denne Ordinanze der icke holdis kand, di der wil wdi mange sticter holdes en anden Ordinantze.» Ellingsen (1997) p. 90. ("We will shortly appoint superintendents to every diocese, whom we will instruct, so that they will, to the best of their ability, send good preachers and the true word of God to every parish, so that nothing be forsaken, neither God's sermons nor the salvation of people. And [we will] give what these [superintendents] need for the performance of other tasks covered by the present Ordinance, until such time as we will be able to come to Norway ourselves, which will, God willing, be soon, we hope. At such a time we will, upon the advice of the superintendents, assess what measures according to the present Ordinance cannot be implemented, since many parishes will need an alternative Ordinance." My translation).

almost exclusively wrote in and translated into Latin (Grane & Hørby 1993, Ellingsen 1997, Ekrem 1992). The move away from Bergen was a move away from the vernacular, which would take some time to recover its former status.

The introduction of the Lutheran doctrine had a significant impact on the evolution of the school system, which increasingly catered to the general public (Baune 1995). The institutional Reformation was carried out by members of the elite (Jacobson 1989) but necessarily aimed at including everyone. The Reformed church used the schools as a tool in the conversion process. From being an exclusive institution for the few, schools now opened up to the entire population, at least in principle. Despite its manifest Latin ambitions, a notion of universality was formally introduced by the School Law of 1739, which recommended that every child attend school. The new law was, of course, easier to enforce in the urban communities of Denmark from where it originated than in rural Norway (Larsen 1989). As a result, the new faith took a long time to take root. Indeed, religious instruction after the Reformation in many cases remained as superficial as in medieval times, a fact that caused some real concern amongst the higher clergy and master Geble in particular (Ellingsen 1997).

Due to the combined shortage of both reformed clergy and qualified teachers in Norway, only four people were removed by force from their clerical positions in 1537, namely the bishops of Trondheim, Hamar, Oslo and Stavanger. The Archbishop fled, but only a few clerics resigned. Indeed, the majority of the Norwegian clergy—raised and trained in the Catholic tradition—to a large extent continued in their pre-Reformation functions, and in doing so contributed to a smoother and less turbulent transition to the Protestant doctrine than in other reformed countries (Ellingsen 1997). Master Geble in Bergen was one of the most outstanding transitional figures, a Dutch-trained European humanist, relentlessly working towards the improvement of the school as well as the recruitment and education of future reformed clergy.

The smooth transition ensured continuity. The ties to Rome were abruptly severed, but there was no dramatic interruption or re-shuffling of functions at the chapters. Life in many ways continued as before. "The rather gentle conversion process explains the apparent absence of friction as the new faith was introduced." Because the common clergy and parish priests were never coerced by the new church administration, at least not in the beginning, it must have been relatively easy to accept the *fait accompli*: it was easier to continue than to put up resistance. Consequently, the Reformation never met with any concerted counter-effort from Norwegian Church officials (Ellingsen 1997).

However—despite the continuation of most of the clergy—the break with the Catholic Church led to a certain degree of uncertainty and even religious indolence amongst the common people, as well as sporadic refusals to participate in obligatory rites (Bø 1982). Master Geble often complained about the lack of religious fervor and education in the general population (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963). However, one should not forget that old habits are difficult to break, especially for the uneducated who were more steeped in tradition and rites than in learned polemics and theological debate. Catholic rites and beliefs therefore continued to exist for quite some time, often clandestinely (Garstein 1998).²⁸⁵

Within the new church the role of women changed radically. The wives of the first generation reformers, for the most part former priests and monks, were indeed instrumental in the dissemination and indoctrination of the new ideas. The pastor's wife got a role as educator. Not only did she need to be educated enough to instruct her own children, she also had to help in the instruction of the parishioners. Through the pastor's wife and her motherly role vis-à-vis the congregation, marriage as an institution was idealized, and the marriage of priests gained acceptance (Jacobson 1989).

285 Echoing the transition from pagan religion to Christianity in the early Middle Ages.

On the Continent, the counter-reformatory actors were slow in organizing and their work virtually drowned in the massive output of evangelist vernacular publications during the first three decades of the 16th century. In Norway, apart from the Archbishop's desperate attempt at obstructing the election of a Protestant king, the counter-Reformation never organized. From the middle of the century, however, the Jesuit Order took on the organization and implementation of counter-reformatory measures in central and northern Europe. The Jesuits actively recruited protestant students at their theological seminaries—notably Braunberg, Ingolstadt, Leuven, La Flèche, Praha, and Olmütz—where many promising reformed students were encouraged to study and where the Catholic Church would even finance their studies. After the Reformation, Scandinavian students who had studied at any of these institutions, would be obliged to study some time at an “acceptable” Protestant university before returning home, so as to make sure that they were not tainted with popish ideas (Helk 1987, Garstein 1998).

The Roman Church seems not to have realized the impetus and appeal of the Reform movement. In addition, there was an entrenched reluctance and even hostility in Catholic circles towards addressing the laity on religious issues, and particularly in addressing these matters in the vernacular. So, the counter-reformatory initiatives were organized too late, especially with regard to Denmark-Norway. The fact that the first treatises written in an attempt to stem the tide were composed in Latin further lessened their effect. The Catholic Church seriously underestimated the persuasiveness and attractiveness of the Lutheran message and gravely misjudged both the popular receptiveness to the vernacular message and the resolve of its disseminators (Edwards 1994). Despite relentless efforts and secret missions of Jesuit *pater* Laurentius Nielsen (c. 1540-1622)²⁸⁶ to both Norway and Sweden from the end of the century on, the cause

286 Commonly referred to as *pater Norvegicus*.

was forfeited. Laurentius had been attracted to Catholicism during his student days at the University of Leuven, and was the only Scandinavian counter-reformer.

Originally from Tønsberg, *pater* Norvegus spent most of his adult life abroad as Catholics (and especially Jesuits) soon were barred from the kingdom. Because Catholics risked the death penalty in Norway, Laurentius concentrated his efforts on Sweden, where the Polish Queen had been given permission to practice her Catholicism in the privacy of the royal chapel. His attempts to infiltrate the Swedish clergy through the theological seminary at Stockholm did not succeed, and towards the end of the century it became clear that the Catholic Church had lost its grip on the whole of Scandinavia (Garstein 1998, Ellingsen 1997, Helk 1987).

In Denmark, a few loyal Catholic oppositional voices were heard in the decades leading up to the Reformation. Resolutely trying to stave off the tidal waves of evangelical writings, Poul Helgesen (1480-1534) was the Roman Church's most adamant defender in Denmark during the critical period between 1520 and 1530. He riposted personally to many of Luther's pamphlets (Brandt 1882, Helk 1987, Vellev 1986). Despite his inflexible opposition to the reformed doctrine (and illustrative of many contemporary scholars' obvious confusion with regard to the polemic between the two religious camps) Helgesen translated and published a small Lutheran prayer book in 1526 (Nielsen 1996, Vellev 1986).²⁸⁷ In 1534, however, he reverted to less controversial material and translated Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) as well as a short treatise calling for the reconciliation and re-unification of the Catholic Church, also by Erasmus (Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988).

Poul Helgesen had been in charge of the Carmelite College at the University of Copenhagen between 1519 and 1522. Like Erasmus, he was in favor of some sort of

287 In the same way as Thomas Murner—Luther's «poisonous» friend—Franciscan jurist, theologian, and satirist, had translated Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* from Latin into German (Edwards 1994).

reform of the Church; however, he could only accept an amendment in full agreement with the Holy See (Grane & Hørby 1993). The majority of Helgesen's translations and treatises were printed by Poul Ræff, who also remained faithful to the Roman Church (Nielsen 1996).²⁸⁸ In the end, of course, Helgesen too had to give in. He withdrew from public debate and not much is known about his activities after the Reformation, other than that he seems to have turned to the more neutral field of history. *Historia compendiosa ac svccincta serenissimorum Daniae Regvm* was printed posthumously in Lyon in 1595 (REX).

The Catholic counter-measures arose from the Council of Trent (1545-63), where the Church discussed the questions of doctrine and discipline raised by the Protestant revolt (Weaver 1989). The need for some kind of reform was obvious, but the Counter-Reform brought changes to the *organization* of education in Catholic areas rather than to the school curriculum as such. Nevertheless, an increased awareness of the popular appeal of the vernacular resulted in more attention on the poorer classes, which for a long time had been neglected by the Church (Grendler 1989).

Except for the failed missions of pater Norvegus, the Counter-Reform never reached the Scandinavian countries. Catholicism was quickly banned by royal decree, and the Danish King effectively kept all Roman emissaries at bay by not allowing them into the country (Garstein 1998, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). During the second half of the century, the Lutheran doctrine had been considerably strengthened by the relentless work of a generation of clergy and teachers with an appropriate and unfaltering Protestant education (Ellingsen 1997). Catholicism in Norway had come to an end.

288 Poul Ræff (Paul Rev), although a man of the cloth, functioned primarily as a printer. He translated a treatise against the Jews: *Judæorum secreta* by Johannes Pfefferkorn (Nielsen 1996).

The First Norwegian Humanists: Bergen

Dog haver det ganske Norgis rige af nogen fremmed konge aldri verit overvundet med herreskjold, endog at Saxo Grammaticus skriver at Norge haver mange gange verit undervundet... Thi at naar nogen konge af Danmarck eller Sverrig havde feyde med nogen nese-konge, oc han besøgte hannom med nogen krig, oc vant hannom over da skriver Saxo ligervis, som den konge havde vunnit det ganske Norgis rige, endog han havde icke den 20. part...²⁸⁹

Beyer 1928, p. 118

History writing in the Middle Ages was initially an almost exclusively monastic activity of which Adam of Bremen, Hugh of Saint Victor, Theodoricus Monachus, and Saxo Grammaticus are convincing examples. The monasteries, however, were hermetic centers of learning, and the manuscripts in their libraries were not easily accessible for people outside the orders. Some monasteries had acquired quite large libraries indeed (Lawson 1967).

The universities that grew out of the various *studia generalia* in central Europe never considered including history in their formal curriculum (Grendler 1989), yet scholars from both monasteries and universities continued to record history. Just as the crusades and pilgrimages had inspired many historians and hagiographers, the years of wars between France and England in the late Middle Ages also rekindled an interest in history and the analysis of political events. Towards the second half of the 14th century, Jean Le Bel (1290-c. 1370) reported on the first half of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). Jean Froissart (1337-a.1400), in his *Chronique*, set out to cover the events of contemporary France. Towards the end of the 15th century, Philippe de Commines (c. 1447-1511) recorded the memoirs of Louis XI (1423-1483) and the reign of Charles VIII (1470-1498). His books were published posthumously in 1524 and 1528 (Paris

²⁸⁹ Norway has never been conquered by the sword of foreign kings, although Saxo Grammaticus writes that Norway has been subjected many times... If a Danish or Swedish king visited a Norwegian coastal lord engaged in battle with him and defeated him, Saxo unjustly claims that such a king won the whole of Norway, when in fact he never conquered but one twentieth of it.

1927, Brunel 1972, *Medieval Source Book*, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). The French chroniclers of the 15th century attested to a growing interest in more recent historical events (Brunel 1972) and must have been an inspiration to both Danish and Norwegian humanists (Steen 1935). At the turn of the 16th century, Gottfried of Ghemen printed the anonymous *Rimkrøniken* (1495) and later Christiern Pedersen, as we have seen, published Saxo's Chronicle as *Historia Danicae* in Paris in 1514 (Bruun 1877).

The marked interest for history in the beginning of the 16th century amongst Danish intellectuals initiated a trend in Scandinavia. Intellectuals sought inspiration and solace in the past. This began in Norway with Oluf Torkellson, Bishop of Bergen from 1523 to 1533. He was described by Absalon Beyer as a man possessing some knowledge of the old language and the sagas (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).²⁹⁰ In Bergen, a description and analysis of the past emerged as a way to find solutions to urgent contemporary issues. The political and economic situation in pre-Reformation Norway led to a first re-examination of the old saga manuscripts and law texts in search of arguments against the Hanseatic trade monopoly and abusive presence in the city. The work would continue after the Reformation, too.

The emergence of the concept of national identities in Renaissance Europe coincided with the increased use of the vernacular and the recording of the history of different nations. The subtle and oftentimes elusive redefinition of both the State and the Church in the wake of the Reformation—in conjunction with the new Protestant focus on the individual—is reflected in the Norwegian intellectuals' growing interest in the history of the nation and in the efforts put into the recovery of the nation's identity.

290 This was the only positive thing Beyer had to say about the man, who he claimed was devoid of learning and intelligence. "... der vaar ingen besyndelig Lærdom i hannem..." (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963, p. 26).

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer

In contrast to the life and work of Christiern Pedersen and the prolific Danish humanists and reformers, that of Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (1528-1575) seems quite modest in both scope and influence. However, his life and work were indicative of a new beginning. Where Geble reconciles the old and the new order, Beyer is representative of the first generation of scholars brought up in the Lutheran faith. Born at the time of the Reformation, he had not been exposed to the school curriculum that had formed the mentality of his Catholic predecessors. He became a staunch defender of the new order, working for an impoverished reformed church, stripped of its former sources of revenues (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

The particular political and economic situation of 16th-century Norway determined the orientation of the Norwegian humanists' intellectual enterprise. History preoccupied European scholars. But in contrast to the extraverted experience of European humanists who recorded current events, historians in Norway engaged in the recovery of the past, in the introverted search for a long-lost national identity. Encouraged by his adoptive father, master Geble, who was a keen botanist, Beyer developed an interest for both the history and geography of his country. The retrieval of the old laws and the saga material signified the beginning of the end of the Hanseatic domination, as present events were examined in light of the past. Largely as a result of the examination of the old laws and the saga material by legal experts, and civil and church administrators, the German merchants were obliged, by the middle of the Reformation century, to abide by Norwegian and Danish laws. From this point on, they started blending into Norwegian society (Beyer 1928, Eckblad 1998).

For a long time, members of the Norwegian clergy had had less access to education than their colleagues on the Continent. The Norwegian chapters and monasteries had not been actively involved in the major disputes and reforms which had been enforced in

medieval times (Ellingsen 1987), nor had the exegetical work on the Scriptures and the scholastic teaching been a subject of debate in Norwegian ecclesiastical circles.²⁹¹ And an intellectual critic of the scholastic values and methods was precisely what Luther's dissension was all about (Ellingsen 1997). In 1517, he had published *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologicam*, just months before he posted his 95 articles on the Church door at Wittenberg (Grane & Hørby 1993).

The Norwegian clergy, decidedly less educated than their Continental counterparts, had no means to dabble in the dispute over the scholastic heritage that agitated the scholars of the Continent in the decades leading up to the Reformation. Master Geble, the *only* superintendent for almost four years after the Reformation, seems to have been more disturbed by what he perceived as moral decay and the general lack of respect for the Church. The monastery of Munkeliv had been set on fire twice in his time, the first time in 1528 by Vincents Lunge and his acolytes who shared the loot between them, the second time in 1534 (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963, Ellingsen 1997).²⁹² The political uncertainty and the diminished authority of the Norwegian Church made master Geble accept the new order without expressing either doubt or hesitancy (Ellingsen 1997). Like Christiern Pedersen, he embraced the new teaching in a discrete manner (Brandt 1882). Geble, although not militant in his personal convictions, had to adjust enough to organize

291 The opposition between the rationalists at the University of Paris and the "mystics" at the Monastery of Saint Victor, initiated by Abélard (c.1079-1142/4) and St. Bernard (1090-1153) (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996), has not left a mark, with the exception perhaps of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarius* (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992) and *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by Hugh of Saint Victor (Harðarsson 1995). However, some of the texts must have been known to people who had studied abroad.

292 Munkeliv had originally been dedicated to St. Nicolaus, St. Benedict, and finally to St. Brigit. The monastery was in use until 1534. The relation between the monastery and the Hanseatic merchants was never smooth. In 1455, the monastery was set ablaze the first time by members of the German commercial league who refused to pay tithes to the diocese. Bishop Torleif claimed the right to collect this levy from the foreign merchants and so did his secular administrator, Oluf Nilssen. The bishop and the administrator were both killed by an angry mob of League members, greatly infuriating and humiliating the local authorities (Kolsrud 1963).

and supervise the introduction of the reformed doctrine in his diocese. This was a job which he seems to have taken on and accomplished with great care.

The Black Death had decimated the country to a far greater extent in Norway than what it had in Sweden and Denmark. Both these countries had more or less recovered financially and demographically from the crisis of the 1349 pestilence by the year 1400 (Bagge & Mykland 1987). In Norway, all the cathedral schools continued to struggle with recruitment and the lack of qualified teachers. Higher education was not available nationally. The financial situation was not much better in the 16th century, after the throne had confiscated the Catholic Church's revenue-yielding properties. Only towards the middle of the century did the situation start to improve (Beyer 1963). Hence, in order to benefit from better teachers, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer was sent at Geble's expense to study in Copenhagen in 1544, where he lodged in Peder Palladius' (1503-1560) household for four years. Bishop Palladius was a personal friend and ally of master Geble (Grane & Hørby 1993, Helk 1987), and when Beyer continued his education at the University of Wittenberg (1549-1552) it was with a personal letter of recommendation from the Danish Bishop (Ellingsen 1987, Helk 1987).

In Wittenberg, Absalon Beyer attended the lectures of Phillipp Melanchthon (1497-1560)—then professor of Greek and an associate of Luther. The years in Wittenberg would be decisive for his devotion to the students at the Latin school in Bergen (Ellingsen 1993). Melanchthon was continually concerned with the content of the schooling from his early years as a teacher at the university. He had published a treatise, *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis*, in 1518 as well as a school grammar (Grane & Hørby 1993). Beyer soon adopted Melanchthon's concern for the schools and the quality of the teaching. He remained devoted to the Latin school his whole life. The Latin school was an important institution since it also functioned as the theological seminary of the diocese, training pastors for the reformed church (Ellingsen 1997). Like in

medieval times, many members of the lower clergy, i.e. parish priests in rural communities, had received just elementary education at one of the Latin schools; only towards the end of the century did the Church require university training of its regular clergymen (Berggrav 1953).

Beyer entered the school at Bergen as *lector* in 1552 when he returned home from his studies abroad. He was by then married to a woman he had met at Palladius' household.²⁹³ His mentor and adoptive father, Bishop Geble, died in 1557 (Beyer 1928). The replacement was the Danish Jens Skjelderup (c. 1510-1582), a professor of physics and a *doctor* of medicine who had studied both at Rostock and Wittenberg (Helk 1987). In other words, quite a learned man who had gravitated around Niels Hemmingsen (1513-1600), one of Denmark's leading humanists. Melanchthon's *Loci communes* (1543 and 1555)²⁹⁴ and Hemmingsen's *De methodis et ratione conscionandi* were among Beyer's favorite books, which he frequently referred to and expounded on in his lectures (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997).

The school and the well-being of its students remained Absalon Beyer's main preoccupation. According to Luther's recommendation, he used Latin school plays in order to enliven the Latin lessons (Næss 1993, Ellingsen 1997). The Latin authors most cherished after the Reformation were Terence, Plautus, Cicero and Ovid (Berggrav 1953) as well as traditional medieval morality plays (Brøndsted 1963). Beyer supposedly often staged a play about the fall of Adam (Ellingsen 1997), perhaps an adaptation of a medieval Anglo-Norman mystery from the 12th century, a *Jeu d'Adam*, describing the fall of Adam and the story of Cain and Abel (OLIS, Favier 1999).

293 Anna Pedersdotter was burned at the stake for heresy in 1590 (Cf. Åse-Ragna Hangeland (1985) *Hekse-jakt: om trolldomsprosessene i Norge og Europa forøvrig*. Bodø: Å. Hangeland).

294 Palladius also published a *Loci communes* by a certain Albert Giøe (?) in 1549 (Nielsen 1996).

In the small humanist circle in Bergen, Beyer of course had his natural place. Yet of his work and life we only have limited information, mainly what little he reveals about himself in his diary, covering the years between 1552 and 1572. He mainly wrote about the town and its inhabitants. The diary—initially undertaken as a Latin history of the town of Bergen, *Liber capituli Bergensis*—gives a poignant picture of daily life in the city. In 1567, he finished the work *Om Norgis Rige*,²⁹⁵ the first history of Norway since the Old Norse sagas.²⁹⁶ *Om Norgis Rige* is less a biographical history of Norwegian kings in the manner of the kings' sagas than Beyer's personal *story* of the Norwegian nation, his personal commentaries on the evolution of the country. What Beyer clearly intended to be a regular history of the nation became his own subjective examination of both the present and the past, a highly personal interpretation of the status of the nation. His interest in the past was spurred largely by the growing exasperation vis-à-vis the Hanseatic merchants' monopolistic trade practices. The Hanseatic merchants were extremely unpopular, referred contemptuously to as “en hob grove nesevise kompaner, som komme hid i riget, laste Norge oc sige at her haver hverken verit konger eller adel” (Beyer 1963).²⁹⁷

The Hanseatic merchants had controlled trade and commerce in Bergen since the middle of the 14th century. In the 16th century, lawyers returned to the saga manuscripts and the old law collections primarily to demonstrate and reclaim the native population's

295 It was printed only in 1780.

296 In addition, Beyer wrote a speech for his students about master Geble, *Oration om mester Geble*, fourteen years after Geble's death. This text constitutes the sole source to knowledge about Geble's life. The original text has been lost, but it has been reconstructed from Edvard Edvardsen's (d.1695) book about Bergen published in 1674 (Kolsrud 1963)—*Dend viitberømte i viide Verden Navnkundige, fordum Kongelige residentz- kiøb- og handel-Stad Bergen udi Norge hendes fuldkommelige Beskrivelses eller Histories første Part* (Bruun 1877)—in essence a transcript of *Oration* (Kolsrud 1963). Absalon Beyer's manuscripts circulated among his humanist colleagues and friends and they became popular reading (Beyer 1928). Edvardsen's book was published in 1674, but the printed edition has not survived. The text has been preserved via manuscript copies from the 1750s (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

297 A “hoard of coarse and ill-mannered companions who settled here declaring that Norway had never had neither King nor nobility” (Beyer 1928, p. 40).

right to commerce and trade (Beyer 1963). Many clergymen and administrators, such as Beyer, strongly disapproved of the presence of the Hanseatic merchants and maintained that the Germans' trading privileges had been obtained in a fraudulent and dishonest manner. The Hanseatic trading rights had been defended by King Christopher of Bavaria (r. 1442-1448),²⁹⁸ who needed the support of the German merchants when the Kalmar Union fell apart and Erik of Pomerania (r. 1389-1442) was forced to resign.²⁹⁹ Under Christopher's rule, the Hanseatic merchants consolidated their monopolistic position, sustained by the systematic and often violent suppression of local competitors. By the 16th century, Denmark-Norway had seen a succession of Danish monarchs with strong ties to Germany, in general favorable to the foreign trade guilds. In Bergen, the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants represented a constant source of discontent and conflict (Albrechtsen 1997). In light of the political and economic situation, the nation's history and the old law collections were seen by 16th century administrators as containing the keys to a solution to the many problems (Beyer 1928).

Mattis Størssøn (d.1569)

A lawyer in Agder from 1533, Mattis Størssøn (d.1569) was assigned to Bergen in 1540 and started the retrospective examination of the political situation. He produced a

298 He was married to Erik's sister Katarina of Pommerania, and became King of Denmark in 1440, of Sweden in 1441, and Norway in 1442 (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

299 After twenty years of unsuccessful warfare over Holstein and growing discontent amongst the Swedish aristocracy over heavy taxation and the fact that they were increasingly by-passed in the decision-making process, the union signed at Kalmar was crumbling. When in addition King Erik insisted upon his right to appoint bishops and higher clergy, the Church was also drawn into the conflict. The archdiocese in Uppsala elected a new archbishop, Olof Laurentsson, in 1432 without Erik's participation. Erik riposted by appointing Arend Klementsén, bishop in Bergen, to the position. The Holy See sided with the Chapter of Uppsala. The conflict had thus been taken one step further, and the Swedish prelates declared the King enemy of the State in 1434. As the Archbishop normally presided the National Council (in Denmark and Sweden as in Norway) the situation became intolerable. The revolt developed into a general uprising against the King. The discontent spread to Norway, too, where the heavy taxes were condemned in particular. Erik was forced to resign in 1442 (Albrechtsen 1997).

small history of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen from the reign of Erik Magnusson (r. 1280-1299) to Christopher of Bavaria (r. 1442-1448): *Om de Tydske Købmænd i Bergen* (c. 1560-1569) (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997). Størssøn's critique of the Hanseatic League was based on Old Norse law texts, punitive records, and diplomas (Beyer 1963). How and where he got his education is uncertain, but he must have been able to read and write Latin and of course was familiar with Old Norse, the language of the old law texts.

The intolerable presence of the Germans was one of the motivating forces behind the first re-examination of the past. This initial scrutiny of the old legal documents spawned a renewed interest in the nation's history and political past (Sørli 1962). Størssøn studied not only the legal texts but the sagas as well, and is supposed to have translated *Sverres saga* (Jørgensen 1993). In addition to his description of the German merchants, he also composed a chronicle, *Den norske kronike* (c. 1560), an abridged history of the Norwegian kings, a summary based mainly on *Heimskringla* and *Bergsbok*. Størssøn's Norwegian history was published posthumously in Copenhagen in 1594 (Sørli 1962, Ellingsen 1997, Jørgensen 1993, BIBSYS). The original manuscript has been lost, but the text has survived in copies (Ekrem 1992). The history was read in both Norway and Denmark. One of the preserved manuscripts, AM 97 fol., may have been brought to Copenhagen as early as 1569 (Sørli 1962). This meant that Absalon Beyer and Mattis Størssøn for some years worked almost simultaneously, Beyer commenting on the Norwegian history, Størssøn translating and contracting the main saga texts.

Jon Simenssøn (1512-1575)

Norwegian lawyers, the only people familiar with the Old Norse language of the law collections, provided valuable assistance to the reformed humanists at the various

dioceses. Jon Simenssøn had been working on *Bergsbok*³⁰⁰ and *Fagrskinna*.³⁰¹ These manuscripts were kept at the diocese of Bergen in the 1530s (Jørgensen 1993), and Beyer must also have had access to them since he was *notarius* for the Chapter (Ellingsen 1997). Simonssøn had come as the Archbishop's deputy administrator from Nidaros in 1532. He probably translated parts of *Bergsbok* and *Fagrskinna*; however, it is not established who translated the excerpts which Christiørn Pedersen asked for some time between 1540 and 1544. The existence of the translated excerpts may have been suggested to Pedersen by Erik Valkendorf who had befriended Pedersen when he was a cleric at Roskilde and Pedersen a canon at Lund (Jørgensen 1993). Valkendorf, the civil administrator, must have followed Simonssøn's and Størssøn's translation work with interest as did superintendent Geble.

Laurents Hanssøn

Towards the middle of the century, Laurents Hanssøn translated Snorri's *Heimskringla*. He worked in Bergen about the same time as Jon Simenssøn and Mattis Størssøn, i.e. in the 1540s. In the preface to his translation of the sagas, Hanssøn tells the reader that the work was commissioned by Hans Svaning and Christiørn Morsing, another influential friend of master Geble (Jørgensen 1993), professor and *rector* at the University of Copenhagen,³⁰² and as such colleague of the prominent Peder Palladius

300 Containing the stories of Olav Tryggvason and Saint Olav (Schreiner 1972).

301 Dealing with the history of Norway from Halvdan Svarte (9th century) to c.1177. In the Middle Ages, this book was wrongfully referred to as *Noregs konungatal* (Schreiner 1972). It has been established that the *Noregs Konungatal* by Sæmundur Sigfússon has been lost. *Fagrskinna*—the work of an anonymous Icelandic scribe in Norway—is believed to contain material from several source texts: *Morkinskinna*, *Ágrip*, *Hlaðajarla Saga* (lost), and a lost version of the *Jomsvikingasaga* (Anderson 1985). Simenssøn also taught Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614) Old Norse, enabling him to make an extensive translation of the old sagas, *Norske Kongers Kronika*, published and printed posthumously in 1633 (Næss 1993, Jørgensen 1993).

302 The first reformed rector (Grane & Hørby 1993)

(Grane & Hørby 1993), Beyer's mentor and landlord during his student days at the University of Copenhagen (Beyer 1928). Hanssøn worked on various saga manuscripts between 1548 and 1551, mainly the *Codex Frisianus*—a manuscript collection containing Snorri's Prologue to and large parts of *Heimskringla*, in addition to the *Saga of Håkon Håkonsson*. Hanssøn claims that he got hold of yet another manuscript that he used as a control document, maybe *Jofraskinna* (Jørgensen 1993), a *Heimskringla*-related manuscript which Jens Nilssøn (1538-1600) had found and copied during his exile to Telemark at the time of the war with Sweden (Berggrav 1953, Ellingsen 1997). Hanssøn was amongst the first to positively attribute *Heimskringla* to Snorri Sturlason. However, the information about the initial compiler of the Old Norse history remained obscured until it was discovered that he had composed the introduction to Hanssøn's history of the Norwegian kings, which was published together with his own *Norske Kongers Kronika* in 1633 of the Norwegian kings together with his own *Norske Kongers kronika* in 1633 (Jørgensen 1993, Andersson 1985).

Both Geble Pederssøn and Absalon Beyer knew about Laurents Hanssøn's Old Norse skills. Hanssøn had been in Bergen in the 1540s and worked a few years with Jon Simenssøn. Master Geble had Hanssøn examine and translate parts of the Christian principles in the Old Norse law collections (Jørgensen 1993).³⁰³ The study of the legal framework of the past and the translation of the law texts and saga material served two purposes. On the one hand, they could be used by the theology students at the Latin school, on the other they provided the necessary arguments against the Crown's confiscation of Church's property in the wake of the Reformation. Later in the century, Bishop Hans Gås (r. 1549-1578) of Trondheim ordered the old laws and Church

303 The Christian principles date back to Bishop Grimkjell and Olav Haraldson (Saint) (995-1030), who incorporated the new Christian ideals and Church privileges into the existing *Gulatingslov* (Kværness 1995).

privileges as they appeared in *Grágás* retranslated for similar purposes (Ellingsen 1997). The translation was carried out by *lector* Anders of Trondenes (Øverås 1952).³⁰⁴

Thus, there were a handful of people in Bergen during the first two decades of the Reformation (i.e. 1530-1550) with the appropriate legal and linguistic skills necessary to assist Beyer in his historical research for *Om Norgis Rige*, and whose annotations of Old Norse manuscripts he could have consulted.³⁰⁵ In addition to the newly discovered Old Norse sources, Beyer consulted a number of foreign chroniclers, to which he often refers directly or indirectly in the text, such as John Maior, Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), Albert Crantzius (d. 1517) and Guillaume Paradin (d.1590), as well as medieval historians such as Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1128-1204) and Flavius Blondus (1392-1464) (Beyer 1928).³⁰⁶

Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614)

Another Norwegian humanist, Peder Claussøn Friis from Agder, a minister and self-taught humanist who never left the country, was also interested in both history and geography (Bø 1982). In 1599, he wrote a history of the country including a

304 The Christian privileges recorded in *Grágás* have been preserved in two vellum manuscripts from c.1250 (Øverås 1952, Kværness 1995, Arnamagnæan Institute). Trondenes was Bishop Gås' personal parish, and was important as both a commercial point and as one of the Church's most northern seats. Bishop Gås acquired the manuscript during a *visitas* of Trondenes in 1560 (Ellingsen 1997).

305 I have not been able to establish whether or not Beyer himself was able to read Old Norse or if he, like Christiern Pedersen, used the excerpts translated by the chapter's legal experts.

306 Possible sources for Beyers historical analysis: John Maior (1469-1550) *Historia maioris Britanniae, tam Anglia quam Scotiae* (1521); Curtius Rufus Quintus (d.1545) *De gestis Alexandri Magni Macedonis libri*; Sebastian Münster (1489-1552) *Cosmologia universalis* (posthumously printed in 1554); Albert Crantzius (d.1517) *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. Regnorum Aquilinarum. Danicae, Sueciae, Noruagiae chronica: Quibus gentium origo vetustissima & Ostrogothorum* (1548); Guillaume Paradin (d.1590) *Continuation de l'histoire de nostre temps iusque à l'an mille cinq-cent cinquante-six*; Saxo Grammaticus (c.1128-1204) *Gesta Danorum*; Flavius Blondus (1392-1464) *De Roma instaurata* (1444-46); *De Roma triumphante* (1459); *Italia illustrata* (1448-49); *Historia ad inclinatrione Romanorum imperii decades* (1439-53); Olaus Magnus (1490-1558) *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum ad mirabilium rerum* (1539); and *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) (Beyer 1928, OLIS).

geographical description of Norway and its surrounding islands, *Norriges oc omliggende øers sandfærdige Bescriffuelse*. The book was published only after his death in 1633 (Næss 1994). Friis had learnt the Old Norse language from Jon Simenssøn, who after his assignment in Bergen was appointed judge in Agder, Friis' county, from 1546 (Bø 1982, Jørgensen 1993). Friis had read *Konungs skuggsjá* in the original and may also have been familiar with and inspired by Olaus Magnus' (1490-1558) geography book of the northern regions, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* of 1555 (Bø 1982, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Friis' *Norske Kongers Kronika* (1633) had been commissioned by the Danish governor in Norway, Axel Gyldenstjerne (Næss 1993), and is predominantly a translation of Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Anderson 1985, Bø 1982, Næss 1993). When writing the Norwegian history, Friis probably had access to Simenssøn's many notes and saga copies, but seems to have been unaware of Laurents Hanssøn's work (Jørgensen 1993). At least, he makes no reference to Hanssøn in his saga translations.

The Second Generation of Humanists: Oslo

Hactenus Assyreios cecini Persasque Monarchos, Græcos, Romanos Teutonicosque simul, at nunc fert animus præconia dicere regum, Norwagiam valida qui tenere manu.

Ekrem 1992, p. 118

In Oslo, too, the humanist circle centered around the Latin school. The old cathedral school had been the diocese's educational institution from the early Middle Ages. In medieval times, most of the students had been boarders and in theory the financial responsibility of the Chapter. After the Reformation, the school in Oslo, in contrast to the schools in other dioceses, retained many of its land properties and consequently continued to collect revenues from these. The last Catholic bishop of Oslo, Hans Ræff (c. 1490-1545),³⁰⁷ donated his land properties to the monarch at the time of the Reformation. Martin Luther promptly intervened and urged the King to separate church properties from the rest of the assets transferred in order to ensure a certain financial security for the school. Nevertheless, the revenues from the school's properties were not enough to provide adequate support of the students, who—mainly from poor families—were often reduced to begging for both fees and subsistence (Berggrav 1953).

In Oslo, like at the other chapters, most of the Catholic clergy remained in their positions, and the school curriculum and pedagogical methods were slow to change during the first decades of the Reformation. But as the century passed and the reformed faith gained ground in the general population, the Reformed Church—initially an anti-

³⁰⁷ Originally Danish, and known in Norway as Hans Rev. Like Geble he was bishop both before and after the Reformation. His brother Poul (d.c.1533) was one of Denmark's first printers. Poul was appointed rector at the University of Copenhagen in 1508 and bought Mattheus Brandiss' printing press when the printer retired. Poul remained a staunch Catholic and withdrew from public debate after the Reformation (Nielsen 1996). Hans Ræff was on friendly terms with the last archbishop, Olav Engelbriktsson, and had been Erik Valkendorf's secretary for some years (Ellingsen 1997, Bull et.al. 1923-1983).

authoritarian movement—developed into an public institution with a firm hold on most aspects of both secular and ecclesiastic life, including education. The now married clergy formed an elite apart from the others and became a mostly self-recruiting class, wielding power not only in clerical circles but in secular life as well. The Oslo humanists' perception of German culture differed from that of the Chapter in Bergen (Berggrav 1953). Bergen had been subjected to the control of Lübeck and the Hanseatic League, whereas Oslo had entertained somewhat different relations with Rostock (Ellingsen 1997). The translation activities undertaken in Oslo were therefore of another scope, and more often into Latin than into the vernacular. The status of Latin was heightened and Latin would dominate the cultural and intellectual production of Norwegian authors for centuries. In comparison, literature in the vernacular had become the norm on the continent.

Jacob Jacobsen Wolf (1554-1635)

In Oslo, in the second half of the 16th century, as the town became the seat of the Governor—the King's representative in Norway—a vital humanistic milieu of reformed schoolmen and clerics born and raised in the Lutheran doctrine emerged in the milieu around the Latin school. Jacob Jacobsen Wolf, a Danish humanist scholar who had studied in Copenhagen as well as at the University of Leiden, was appointed rector of the school in 1584 and worked there until 1594. He married Jens Nilsson's daughter,³⁰⁸ and was, like his father-in-law, interested in Latin poetry. He composed two tragedies for his students based on the Greek and Roman legends of *Dido* and *Turnus*, and produced an abridged version of Virgil's *Aeneid*, from which the theme of his two

308 In 1585, he married Anna Jensdatter (1566-1600). After her death he remarried three more times (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

tragedies had derived (Berggrav 1953).³⁰⁹ Like other Norwegian humanists before him, Wolf used drama to enliven the teaching. The two pieces drawn from *Ænide* helped him teach passages from Virgil (Ekrem 1992, Bull et. al. 1923-1983). In 1594, Wolf returned to his native Denmark, and the University of Copenhagen, where he obtained a master's degree. Between 1616 and 1623, he worked as professor of theology and Hebrew language at Odense *gymnasium*, and published a history of the Jews in verse³¹⁰—*Jødekrønike, tilsammenskreffuen aff den Hellige Scrifft oc Josepho oc udi Rim kortligen befattit* in 1603 (Bull et. al. 1923-1983)—based on the Scriptures and the historical works of Josephus Flavius (c. 37/8-100),³¹¹ especially the seven-book *Bellum Judaicum* and the voluminous *Antiquitates Judaicae*.³¹² Wolf's epic *Jødekrønike* was composed in much the same way as the anonymous *Danish Chronicle* of 1495. In the Chronicle Wolf lets each important biblical persona tell his own story. The chronicle on the Jewish people is the oldest epic poetry in the Danish vernacular by an identified translator (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

309 Like Latin poetry, school drama was regularly used in the teaching. Works by classical authors such as Terence (190-159 BC) and Plautus (254-184 BC) were popular (Berggrav 1953). Cicero's (106-43 av. J.C.) *Epistolae* and *De Officii*; Virgil's (70-19 BC) *Bucolicorum*, *Aeneid*; and Ovid's (43 BC—J.C.-17 AD) *Ars amandi* and *Metamorphosis* were on the curriculum.

310 Verse histories and epic poems seem to have been in vogue in Norway in the second half of the century, in translation and original creation, as illustrated by Gunnarssøn's *Chronicon regum Norwegiae* and Jens Nilssøn's *Elegidion* and *Idyllion*.

311 The Old Norse *Gyðinga saga* also contained material from *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Wolf 1995). In 1742, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) published, in Copenhagen, a Jewish history entitled *Jødisk historie fra verdens begyngelse fortsatt til disse tider* in 2 volumes (Bruun 1877).

312 A Jewish priest, scholar and historian, Josephus Flavius wrote extensively about the Jewish revolt in 66-70 AD when the Jews of Judea ousted the Roman procurator and formed a revolutionary government in Jerusalem. Josephus had been drawn into the conflict and was imprisoned. The Romans, under the command of Vespasian, the future emperor, vanquished the rebels. Josephus was released and joined the Roman cause. Other than *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (20 volumes), he wrote *Contra Apion* (Britannica 2000, OLIS).

Jens Nilssøn (1538-1600)

Jens Nilssøn was one of Norway's most prominent members of the 16th century clergy. He was *rector* of the Latin school from 1563, when Denmark engaged in war with Sweden, and later bishop of the diocese (1580), and remained deeply involved in the daily activities and supervision of the students in years marked by disorder and instability. Half Danish and half Norwegian, he had been to school in both Roskilde and Copenhagen as a small child and acquired valuable personal connections in both countries. Jens Nilssøn was a man of many interests who dabbled in botany, physics, geology, medicine, astronomy, history and theology. He had studied under Rasmus Hjort (d. c. 1602), the Latin school's first reformed *rector* and one of the first humanists in Oslo. Jens Nilssøn functioned as *auditor* at the school during the years 1558 to 1562. For the benefit of his students he wrote a commentary on the first book of Genesis and translated Luther's catechism into Danish (Berggrav 1953).³¹³ He obtained a master's degree from the University of Copenhagen in 1571. Soon after, he was ordained priest in the Norwegian Lutheran Church (Ellingsen 1997, Berggrav 1953).³¹⁴ While in Copenhagen, he met Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) and developed a life-long friendship with the distinguished astronomer (Ellingsen 1997).

Jens Nilssøn's diocese was indeed a large one, as the diocese of Hamar had been amalgamated with that of Oslo after the Reformation. It comprised large parts of central Norway (Ellingsen 1997). During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570) the town of Oslo was set ablaze. Life at the school seems to have been disrupted for a certain period, and Jens Nilssøn, like many others, took refuge from the war in remoter

313 Printed in 1605 (Bruun 1877).

314 A certain Jens Nielsen was immatriculated at the Catholic University of Leuven in 1552, and proceeded to study at Wittenberg in 1554 and Rostock in 1556. This may have been Jens Nilssøn (Helk 1987).

regions. During the winter of 1567-68, he withdrew to the district of Telemark—part of his diocese—and there came across and copied a medieval collection of texts entitled *Jofraskinna*, a supplement to the Old Norse sagas (Ellingsen 1997) containing mainly material from the *Heimskringla* (Jørgensen 1993). His personal copy is the only extant manuscript of this source text. The original was sent to the Royal Library in Copenhagen and perished in the 1728 fire. Bishop Jens appears to have nurtured a especial interest in books and old manuscripts and acquired quite a respectable private collection during his lifetime. His love of books prompted him to open Norway's first bookstore (Berggrav 1953). In addition to writing didactical manuals for the school and sermons for his services, Jens Nilssøn enjoyed composing Latin poetry, using themes from classical mythology.³¹⁵ The first—*Elegidion in obitum filiulae suae Catharinae*—was composed in 1581 when he lost his three-year old daughter, and *Idyllion de cordis humani pressura et anxietate* in 1586 when he was about to re-marry three years after the death of his first wife (Ellingsen 1997).³¹⁶

From the very beginning, Norwegian schools emphasized the importance of Latin rhetoric and poetic expression. The linguistic exercises imitated the classical Latin poets (Kvalbein 1970), and Latin poetry was fashionable. For the benefit of the students at the school, Nilssøn translated Luther's expanded catechism into Danish (Næss 1993, Bruun 1877) and produced *Historia regum Norvegiae*, published posthumously in 1606 (Bruun 1877). These two works, the vernacular catechism and the Latin verse history of Norway are his only known translations. His work is clearly indicative of the somewhat different humanism expressed by the schoolmen in Oslo. His translations reveal the evolution of humanism in Norway, from an initial vernacular undertaking in Bergen in

315 His visitation records and sermons were first printed in 1885 (Ellingsen 1997)

316 Both poems have been translated into modern Norwegian in 1929 by Charles Kent (new edition in 1959).

the first half of the century to a Latin scholarly enterprise in Oslo towards the end of the Reformation century.

Halvard Gunnarssøn (1545-1608)

Lector at the Latin school in Oslo, Halvard Gunnarssøn became one of Norway's most prolific Latin writers, the author of no less than thirteen didactical manuals, scientific treatises, religious books and Latin poems. Most of his works were written for the students at the school, explaining the constant use of the Latin. Only a short question and answer book, *En liden Aandelig Spørgsmaalsbog* (Rostock 1602), was composed in the Danish vernacular. Gunnarssøn was continually preoccupied with the school's curriculum, and worked incessantly for the improvement of the students' welfare and motivation (Berggrav 1953). His Latin books were probably meant to remedy the insufficiencies of the school library. Both the school and the chapter were short on books (Ekrem 1992).

Life at the Latin school determined Halvard Gunnarssøn's mission and authorship. He had himself been a student there in the 1560s and knew the strengths and weaknesses of the institution well. He married *rector* Rasmus Hjort's daughter (Berggrav 1953). Rasmus Hjort (d. c. 1602), first *auctor* then *rector* of the school, and by many considered the first humanist in Oslo, and Jens Nilssøn were brothers-in-law (Ekrem 1992). Halvard Gunnarssøn had studied at Rostock (1566) at the same time as Tycho Brahe—Kepler's Danish teacher and Nilssøn's friend from the days in Copenhagen—and had spent time at the University of Copenhagen (1560) as well as in Wittenberg (1576) (Helk 1987). The friendship with Tycho Brahe was maintained throughout Gunnarssøn's life, and towards the end of his life he even published a treatise about the natural and physical sciences entitled *Physica* (Ekrem 1992).

Like many of his contemporaries, Gunnarssøn developed an interest in the nation's past and composed *Chronicon regum Norwegiae*, published in 1606. This chronicle was

in essence an Latin abridgement of Mattis Størssøn's *Den Norske Kronike* from the 1560s, itself a summary of original Old Norse sources (Ekrem 1992), mainly *Heimskringla* and *Bergsbok* (Jørgensen 1993).³¹⁷ Gunnarssøn's Latin history of the Norwegian kings—by its verse expression and classical style—differs considerably from the colloquial vernacular prose of the Old Norse sagas (Ekrem 1992).

In Oslo, the emphasis on Latin seems to have been omnipresent, indeed, and the saga material was translated into Latin rather than Danish, maybe with a broader dissemination in mind. This was perhaps the underlying motivation for Halvard Gunnarssøn, who had all his works printed in Rostock. What the humanists in Oslo had in common with the first generation of humanists in Bergen was the preoccupation with and awareness of the historical past. By the end of the century the conditions under which the schoolmen worked had changed radically. Their expression was different. In Bergen, the national language had been at the fore as the texts were prepared for the civil administration of the Chapter at a time of great political and religious uncertainty, whereas in Oslo the medieval saga texts were translated primarily for the benefit of the students at the Latin school at a time when the Reformation was generally accepted and enforced in the entire country.

³¹⁷ He also published John Carion's world history in 1596 (Ekrem 1993).

The Return to European Authors: Trondheim

...Thi det er os alt for vitterligt, at (...) det Danske spraak efter Reformationen oc hen imod halfandet hundred Aars tiid, er meget blefvet forsømt, ja af mange foract.³¹⁸

Christen Andersen Aarebo in Aarebo 1965, p. 6.

The school in Trondheim was Norway's oldest, established at the time of the creation of the archdiocese itself. As long as the royal court and the archdiocese both had their seats in the town in the 12th century, the town had been a busy religious and cultural center, the hub of the country. The cathedral housed the diocese's main educational institution, and this is where the best teachers worked. Many of the smaller churches in town did, however, dispense schooling from very early on, some as early as the middle of the 11th century. According to the legend, Olav Tryggvason (968-1000) built the first church in Trondheim. In medieval times, the town was Norway's richest and remained a vibrant center of cultural and religious life and commerce until the royal court settled in Bergen in the 13th century. The cathedral school dispensed teaching in the *Trivium* and probably parts of the *Quadrivium*, too (Øverås 1952).

The school in Trondheim, like most schools, managed to survive the reformation of the religious order in 1536 as well as the revision of the new school law in 1539, although the cathedral had been ravaged by fire in 1531 and was partly in ruins as was the Bishop's residence. However, the Chapter was allowed to exist as in Catholic times, and the canons were granted the revenues of their altars as had been the practice earlier (Müller 1997).³¹⁹ The school did not have a separate building and up until 1500, the

318 The author's son who re-published the *Hexameron* in 1661: "It is rather obvious that (...) the Danish language has been neglected, even held in contempt, during the one and a half century that has past since the Reformation" (My translation).

319 In this arrangement, the Chapter of Trondheim differed from that of Oslo, where the *Chapter* and not its clergy was granted the revenues of the former church properties.

school was held in the church itself for lack of adequate accommodations. Nonetheless, the cathedral school in Trondheim was important as it had been the school not only of the Chapter but of the archdiocese itself. The Chapter of Nidaros survived but was not unscathed. The Archbishop had fled to the Netherlands and the bishop had been removed. However, most of the teachers remained and a certain magister Bernard was still in his old position in 1540. In Catholic times he had been *lector* at both the school and a nearby monastery (Østerås 1952).

The reformers in Denmark apparently understood the importance of maintaining the existing educational institutions and of disturbing the activities at the Norwegian schools as little as possible. As a result, until the middle of the 16th century, the number of students remained higher in the former archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondheim) than in Oslo. As in the other schools, Latin remained the principal language of teaching in the lower classes, and the only language allowed from the second *lectio*. As a sign of improving conditions, the cathedral school in Trondheim got its first *lector theologiae* in 1552 (Øverås 1952).

When a new Lutheran superintendent was appointed in 1546, Trondheim had been without an ecclesiastical principal for almost a decade. This of, course, must have affected the school, as the bishop functioned as the main supervisor of the school (Øverås 1952). Torbjørn Olavsson Bratt (d. 1548), the first Lutheran superintendent, came from the Northern regions, but was a learned man who had studied in Copenhagen, Cologne and Wittenberg, and held a master's degree from the latter (Helk 1987). The newly appointed superintendent traveled to Copenhagen in 1547 in order to obtain the necessary funds for the reconstruction of the cathedral and for the construction of a separate school building. His mission was only partially successful (Øverås 1952).

Although documentation is incomplete—much of the archives were destroyed in the wake of the Reformation—it is commonly believed that the school in Trondheim had five

permanent teachers, a *rector*, one *lector* and three *auditores*, i.e. 5 levels of teaching in five classes or *lecties*. Magister Anders of Trondenes had been rector of the school in the 1520s. He probably assisted Hans Gås (c. 1500-1578) in the translation of the old Church privileges in the 1540s. Kjell Gås (d. c. 1564/67), the Bishop's son, became rector of the school in 1560. He had been to both the universities of Copenhagen and Wittenberg. During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570), many of the young people in the district were forced into the Swedish occupation army and the activities at the school decreased. A royal decree of 1573 ordered the King's administrator, Ludvig Munk, to build a school house, implying that a separate building still had not been constructed. The county was to finance half the costs of the project (Øverås 1952).

Most students were poor and recruited from the peasant population. From 1568, twelve children received their meals at the King's residence. The duty to provide for a certain number of poor students was later transferred to the county administration, so that the county administrator became responsible for the general upkeep of twelve students. The intentions were good, but not really realistic as the revenues from church properties were insufficient and people's ability to pay tithes, taxes and duties was inadequate. Many students were reduced to begging during their time of leisure, known as "sognegang." The plight of poverty marked the school days of students in Oslo and Bergen as well, where begging was common, too. Nevertheless, a small number of Trondheim families were able to send their promising sons to study in Copenhagen. Peder Palladius mentions a Niels Mikkelsøn who was in his custody in 1558. By then, Niels had lodged with the Danish bishop for almost two years, showing Palladius' concern for the Norwegian students and the importance of supporting the recruitment and training of Lutheran clergy for service in Norway (Øverås 1952).

Little is known about the school and its masters during the Reformation century. However, there are indications that some of the people involved worked hard to improve

the standard of the physical facilities and the qualification of teachers. Bishop Hans Gås wanted to support poor but talented students and recruit future clergy for the diocese (Øverås 1952). Like master Geble in Bergen, Bishop Gås continued to work towards the recovery of the Church properties that had been confiscated by the Crown in 1536 in an effort to raise the necessary funds to support the school and its students (Bull et. al. 1923-1983). Probably inspired by Geble's initiative, Gås had the old Christian privileges from early medieval times translated by *lector* Anders, looking for legal arguments for the return of revenue-yielding estates in the diocese (Ellingsen 1997).

The school struggled not only with poor finances but also with a general lack of qualified teachers, as did most Norwegian schools. Many parishes had to make do with clergy trained at the local Latin school, people with only rudimentary Latin skills and theological understanding. The first Lutheran *lector* at the cathedral school in Trondheim was Kornelius Klaussøn (d.1566), hired some time around 1552-53 (Øverås 1952). Absalon Pederssøn Beyer was offered the same position, but declined as he was emotionally attached to the school in Bergen, and by then had been appointed the King's personal pastor (Beyer 1928). In 1595, the Danish Peder Olufssøn Richter from Haderslev became the school's new *lector*. He had studied in Rostock and Wittenberg and was acquainted with Tycho Brahe, whom he had visited on the Island of Hveen in 1586-87. His appointment to the school signified a substantial improvement of its teaching capacity (Øverås 1952).

The schools in Bergen and Oslo boasted the greatest names of the Reformation-century Norwegian humanists. Nevertheless, the school in Trondheim gained significantly in quality as the century came to a close. Although not a humanistic center of the same scope and proportions as Bergen and Oslo, Trondheim still fostered people with the necessary education and intellectual curiosity to produce work in the spirit of the European humanist movement (Øverås 1952). In Bergen, the first humanists had

concentrated entirely on the translation of the old legal texts and the sagas. Both the Old Norse and the Danish vernacular had enjoyed a strong position. In Oslo, as we have seen, Latin dominated literary production and the humanists associated with the school produced quite a number of works of poetry and treatises in Latin, as well as Latin translations and adaptations of various Old Norse saga material.

In Trondheim, humanists such as Anders Christensen Aarebo and Hans Mogensen returned to inter-vernacular translation and looked for inspiration abroad in the writings of French intellectuals. Despite their scope and interest in foreign literature, the diocese of Trondheim and the humanists associated with it never acquired the same status and recognition as their colleagues in Bergen and later Oslo. The Chapter nevertheless hosted two remarkable men with a special interest in European culture and religious trends. The Danish clergy in Trondheim worked in the vernacular and had their work printed in Denmark. Little is known of the dissemination of their translations at the time.

Hans Mogensen (1525-1596)

Hans Mogensen had become interested in authors on the Continent, especially the French historians. He had studied in both Germany and France and developed an interest in the literary and religious trends of these territories. Before being appointed Bishop of Trondheim in 1578, he had been professor of Greek and pedagogy at the University of Copenhagen and also worked as a parish priest in Denmark. His pastoral life was marked by his translations (Bull et. al. 1923-1983). His first translation, Philippe de Commyne's *Mémoires*, was completed in 1574. The translation was not published then; it circulated in manuscript copies during the translator's time and was only published posthumously in 1605 by Arild Huitfeldt.³²⁰ Four years later, Mogensen

320 The reconstructed edition presented in the Anthology Section builds on three manuscripts, none of which are Mogensen's original, which has been lost (Nørlund 1913).

published *Den christelige trois Hoffuet Artickle*, a treatise on the main articles of the faith according to Luther (Bruun 1877, Helk 1987).

Philippe de Commynes' history was cherished reading in the 16th century, witnessed by its many reprints: more than thirty French editions have been identified. The first part of the history, containing the life of Louis XI, was published posthumously in 1524. The second part, about the deeds of Charles VIII, was released in 1528 (Nørlund 1913). The *Mémoires* were translated twice into Danish. The second translation was produced towards the end of the 17th century with Johannes Sleidanus' Latin translation as intermediary text. Sleidanus (1506-1556) had been one of Germany's leading reformed historians (Nørlund 1913).³²¹ Mogensen's translation of the *Mémoires*, the first Danish translation, was undertaken on the encouragement of a certain Bjørn Andersen (Nørlund 1913, Bull et. al. 1923-1983), and derived from an early French edition published by Jean de Selve.³²² Arild Huitfeldt (1546-1609)—royal chancellor, historian and occasional translator—wrote the preface to Mogensen's translation of Commynes that he published in 1605 (Nørlund 1913, Helk 1987, Bull et. al. 1923-1983).³²³

Mogensen, maybe as a result of his friendship with the widely traveled and knowledgeable Arild Huitfeldt, became truly attracted to the work and philosophy of the major medieval scholars and translated the *Testament of the twelve patriarchs* by Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) in 1579 and had it printed in 1580 (*BIBSYS*, Bruun

321 The Swedish translation in 1624 and the German version from 1551 by Caspar Haedio were both based on Sleidanus' Latin translation (Nørlund 1913).

322 An improved edition, revised by Denis Sauvage was published in 1551 and again in 1559 (Nørlund 1913).

323 Huitfeldt had translated, from Old Norse, in 1594, *Den Norske Hird-Skraa, eller Gaards Ræt, huor aff forfaris, huorledis Rigit vdi fordums Dage vaar Skickit, oc huorledis Kongerne vdi de Dage haffue huldit Hoff, etc.*, i.e. the Old Norse law pertaining to property and ownership (Nielsen 1996). Huitfeldt (1546-1609) was a learned man with a good knowledge of European culture. He had studied at several foreign universities and traveled extensively with his brother Jacob and preceptor Hans Mikkelsen: Strasbourg 1562, Tübingen 1564, Strasbourg 1565, Orleans 1566, Bourges 1566, Copenhagen 1568, Strasbourg 1568, Antvorskov 1585, Copenhagen 1595 (Helk 1987).

1877).³²⁴ The *Testament* was extracted from Richard's third book of the six-volume *De trinitate* which had been printed in Nüremberg in 1518 (Bull et. al 1923-1983, OLIS). Richard of Saint Victor was one of the first truly "humanist" theologians of the 12th century, and was William of Auxerre's (c. 1150-1231) teacher in Paris. He had studied under Hugh of Saint Victor, whom he succeeded at the abbey school. Throughout his life, he maintained close relations to people of the Goliard movement.³²⁵

Mogensen's work also includes *Assenaths (Josephs) historia*, a story of biblical origin. His translation of Philippe de Commines' history acquired quite a readership once it was published (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

Anders Christensen Aarebo (1587-1637)

Apart from some of the historians, the intellectuals were predominantly writing in Latin as the 16th century came to a close. Anders Christensen Aarebo (or Arrebo), Danish Bishop of Trondheim, returned to the vernacular, greatly inspired by contemporaneous European literature, and introduced vernacular verse to Norway (Næss 1993). He translated the Biblical epic *La première semaine ou La création du monde*³²⁶ written in 1578 by Guillaume du Bartas (1544-1590). The *Semaine* was a

324 *De Tollf Patriarchers Jacobs Sønners Testamenter: huorledis de før deris Endeligt haffue lært, huer sine Børn Guds fryct, oc formanet dennem til it Gudeligt Leffnet* (BIBSYS).

325 Informal movement of young intellectuals, clerics and students, of which Pierre Abélard (1079-1142/3) and later Rutebeuf (c.1230-c.1280) were part (Favier 1999). A part from these well-known intellectuals, the Goliards were quite a substantial group of anonymous thinkers connected with the University of Paris. They were the precursors of the Humanists of the Renaissance, and professed a secular, almost laic disposition, and were staunchly opposed to the abuses of the Church hierarchy, especially to the many transgressions of the monastic orders (Le Goff 1985). Richard developed a new speculative theory of the nature of divine love and the concept of free will, and saw no reason to avoid a rational examination of the Christian revelation, nor any reason to ban Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics*. He expounded on his philosophy in *Summa super quattuor libros sententiarum*, as well as on *De quattuor gradibus charitatis* and *De Trinitate* (BIB.SYS, OLIS, Britannica 2000, Chavy 1988b).

326 This poem had also been amongst the Dutch translator Vondel's first translations shortly after 1610 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

commentary on the Book of Genesis. Aarebo's translation was completed but published only posthumously as *Hexaëmeron ou Les six jours de la création* in 1661. The text circulated widely in manuscript form and influenced significantly the poetic language of the 17th century (Næss 1993).³²⁷ Du Bartas, a lawyer by profession, was a staunch Calvinist in the service of Henry of Navarre (1553-1610) and believed in a revision of the religious doctrine. *La première semaine ou La création* was composed in 1578. No manuscript of the original text has survived, but a series of printed editions are available.³²⁸ The sequel—*La seconde semaine ou Les enfances du monde*, pertaining to the adventures of the descendants of Adam—was composed in 1584 (Bellenger 1981, Brunel 1972, Næss 1993).

Du Bartas was associated with the Protestant court of Nérac, where Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549), herself interested in literature and translation, protector of humanists and translators, held court (Bellenger 1981, Prescott 1985).³²⁹ The work of Du Bartas was well received by his contemporaries,³³⁰ and for a while, after the publication of *La Seconde Semaine ou Les enfances du monde*, he enjoyed even more attention than Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585). His didactical epic poem, marked by his religious conviction, was appreciated as an encyclopedic *summa*. His work was both

327 He also translated the *Psalms of David* into Danish (Ekrem 1992).

328 In 1581, Du Bartas published in Geneva a re-edited version of *La Première Semaine* including Simon Goulart's commentaries. 1578: Michel Gadoulleau (Paris), 1578: Jean Février (Paris), 1584: L'Angelier (Paris), 1584: D. Cotinet (Paris), 1581: Jacques Chouet (Genève) (Arsenal 8° BL 8898), 1611: Claude Rigaud (Paris) (Bellenger 1981).

329 Marguerite de Navarre wrote *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, a pious Erasmian meditation, in 1533 (Prescott 1985). In 1544, Elizabeth I (1558-1603) gave her stepmother, Catherine Parr, her own translation of Marguerite de Navarre's mirror—The glasse of the synneful soule (King 1985). Elizabeth I read and spoke several languages and translated Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a young girl. It is generally agreed that although she was fairly polyglot, she was not a great translator (Stevenson 1985). The 16th century was a century in which quite a number of (mainly noble) women with a humanist education gained access to the pen. Marguerite de Navarre, for example, wrote *Heptameron*, an imitation of Boccaccio's work (Brunel 1972).

330 His work was printed in more than 42 editions (Bellenger 1981)

instructional and scholarly and greatly influenced contemporary European writers such as Milton (1608-1674) in England and Vondel (1587-1679) in the Low Countries.

Contemporary French writers and philosophers also seem to have appreciated the value of his authorship. Diderot, for example, considered him one of the creators of modern French poetry,³³¹ almost on the same footing as Ronsard and Théophile (1590-1626) (Bellenger 1981).³³² Ronsard had undertaken *La Franciade* in 1572, an epic history of the French nation, four books written in deca-syllables, essentially a vernacular imitation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Brunel 1972). Ronsard dreamed of creating a national epic in the spirit of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* of 1516, which had earned a considerable reputation in France during the 16th century. The project was, however, never completed, and Ronsard pursued other themes after the death of Charles IX (*Britannica* 2000, Bellenger 1981).

By choosing Du Bartas' epic poem, Aarebo signaled a change of literary and religious focus, away from the hitherto purely Lutheran devotional literature, and onto the poetic pursuits of contemporaneous European poets and writers. The 16th century saw a flourishing of vernacular literature in both France and England, and Aarebo by his choice of author, showed a will to belong to a distinct European tradition. Through Du Bartas, Aarebo was instrumental in introducing not only vernacular poetry but also an exegetical tradition which had received little attention, if any, in medieval Norway. Exegetical works on Genesis had accompanied Christianity from the early days of the Church Fathers. The works on the creation most consulted by medieval exegetes were

331 Diderot (1971) *Oeuvres Complètes*, Édition Club Français du livre, Vol. VIII, p. 555.

332 Other works by Du Bartas: *Judith*, *l'Uranie*, *Le triomphe de la foy*, *Poème pour la reine de Navarre* (Bellenger 1981).

the Bible and the writings of the Venerable Bede.³³³ Du Bartas revived the hexameral tradition and turned it into a vehicle for Calvinist cosmology. Religion was the focus of his exercise, and the choice of genre reflects Du Bartas's didactic intentions. Mixing the hexameron and the epic gave a voice to both the author and to the heroic characters. The vision of the universe and its creation reflects the commonly accepted geocentric view of the world, still valid 35 years after Copernicus (1473-1543).

The Protestant theologians in particular came to cherish the hexameral theme and developed it according to prevailing humanist ideas (Bellenger 1981). In Du Bartas, Aarebo saw the successor to an older *heroic* tradition in the manner of Homer and Virgil.³³⁴ Aarebo has been considered by some one of the predecessors to the first truly great Danish-Norwegian author, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), by turning to French contemporary literature after almost a century period of relatively exclusively religious influence from the German Protestant territories (Rossel 1994, Brandt 1882, Kvalbein 1970, Bruun 1877). The fact that this new literary and vernacular orientation occurred in the by then delapidated and culturally peripheral town of Trondheim, far away from the close-knit humanist circles of Oslo, is indeed remarkable, but highly illustrative of how intellectual life and production in Norway to a large extent depended upon the Danish-educated intellectual elite, almost a century after the Reformation.

333 From the time of Saint Ambroise (339-397) and Saint Basil (c.329-379), who elucidated the Book of Genesis (Giet 1950, Way 1963), a series of exegetical poems entitled "Hexaëmeron" had been written. In fact, Saint Ambroise was one of the first Church scholars to expound on the six days of creation (Grane & Hørby 1993). In England, both the Venerable Bede (c.672-735) and later King Ælfric (c.995-1020) delved into the subject-matter, as did the well-known Chancellor of Oxford, Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253) (Crawford 1968, Martin 1996, Dales 1982). In Scandinavia, the Danish Archbishop and medieval scholar, Anders Sunesen (c.1180-1223), a contemporary of both Robert Grosseteste and Hugh of Saint Victor, had studied at all the three most important universities, Paris, Bologna, and Oxford, and composed a handbook of Christian dogma in verse poetry with the same title (Grane & Hørby 1993). The oldest extant manuscript dealing with the hexameral theme dates from the 6th century (BNF).

334 "Dedicatio" in Bellenger 1981, pp. 7-8.

Conclusion: Translation as a Quest for the Self

The Norwegian court moved to Sweden in 1319 when Magnus VII Eriksson, still a child, was acclaimed King of both countries. The two National Councils were to rule their respective countries until the King came of age. This union was the first in a series of alliances which would weaken the authority of the Norwegian National Council. The signing of the Kalmar Treaty in 1397 marked the *de facto* beginning of the end of national sovereignty, formally concluded in 1536.

The intellectual elite and the nobility had been decimated by the Black Death, which kept breaking out intermittently well into the 15th century, to a point where the country's leaders were no longer able to resist the political pressure from the neighboring countries. The Church was unable to ensure adequate schooling outside the main chapters. The cathedral schools lacked qualified teachers and tithes were hard to collect now that many farms were abandoned. The clergy, and what was left of the aristocracy, struggled to cope with degenerating social structures. Hence, the prescriptive and normative influence of schools in matters of orthography and correct language was significantly diminished, causing the rapid mutation of the national vernacular, which essentially was left on its own. The country lacked both people and money to continue literary projects. Original Norwegian productions and translation came to a halt, and by the 16th century, the national vernacular had roughly developed into the modern Norwegian dialects that we know today.

Whereas the channels to the continent had been *direct* in medieval times on both a political and religious level, the dependence upon Denmark increased in the 14th and 15th centuries. By the end of the 15th century, Denmark had become the gateway to the rest of Europe. Most Norwegian students passed through the University of Copenhagen—established in 1479—before enrolling at other European universities. The majority of

Norwegian students studied theology, as there were few career options available for returning graduates. Most were destined for service in the Church and schools.

The inability to act independently made the country extremely vulnerable when the political climate in Denmark deteriorated during the decades leading up to the Reformation. The power struggle between the heirs to the Danish throne divided the Norwegian National Council. Archbishop Olav Engelbriktsson wanted a Catholic king, but met fierce opposition from mainly Danish-born civil administrators, such as the powerful Vincents Lunge who supported the Protestant faction.

The impoverished Norwegian dioceses lacked the means to effectively assist the Archbishop in his efforts. In Denmark, extensive translations of German Protestant literature had contributed substantially to broad popular support for the reformed message. In Norway, the situation was very different, and official reaction to the religious and theological questions that polarized Christianity in Europe was indeed scant. Many may have shared the Archbishops concerns, but few actually joined him in the struggle. In Norway, the clergy clearly had other, more immediate preoccupations.

The process that transformed medieval Norwegian society into the Lutheran construction of the early 17th century was the result of a series of smaller disruptions that continually weakened the authority of the National Council, culminating in two final events: the Reformation on the one hand and the formal annexation of the country by Denmark on the other. The National Council was dissolved. Both the Reformation and the subordination of the country were imposed upon the people and its leaders. It had not been prepared locally, but was the natural and inevitable outcome of the growing politico-theological conflict in Denmark. The introduction of the reformed doctrine necessitated a revision of the school curriculum and a gradual replacement of the old clergy by priests trained in the new doctrine. Yet again, Norwegian mentality had to be remolded. A re-charting of the course was called for.

In Denmark, the Protestant and Catholic factions each had their advocates, and theological pamphlets were written, translated, published and distributed. Massive translation of religious pamphlets into the vernacular from both Latin and German played a key role. The originally *theological* questions debated by Danish scholars grew into a conflict about *royal* succession, with three contenders fighting for access to the throne. The ancient principle of royal *election* still valid in Denmark made the process delicate and the decades leading up to the official introduction of the Reformation were particularly tumultuous. The University of Copenhagen closed in 1531 not to reopen until the New Church Ordinance had been adopted and firmly ratified in 1537. Consequently, a growing number of Danish (and a few Norwegian) students sought higher education at universities in the northern German regions, especially those of Rostock and Wittenberg where Melanchthon and Luther were the dominant authorities. This of course, further encouraged the reforming trends.

European humanism must be understood as a scholarly Latin phenomenon. Nevertheless, it engendered a parallel vernacular movement, and many texts, both philosophical and theological, were now being translated into national languages. The humanist movement was a truly international movement, bringing scholars together across the continent. For instance, there was direct contact between Danish scholars and Erasmus. Erasmus wanted a liberal yet Catholic reform in which faith and reason could be reconciled. He was to mark his times profoundly and both Geble Pederssøn and Christiørn Pedersen were influenced by his work. Master Geble in Bergen was strongly inspired by Dutch humanism from his years in Leuven and Alckmar. Christiørn Pedersen in Denmark was indirectly involved through his friendship with José Badé in Paris, who was a great friend of both Guillaume Budé and Thomas More, leading humanists and close friends of Erasmus. In Catholic times, Badé had been Pedersen's entry to the European intellectuals who most marked their time.

After the Reformation, the bonds to the Western centers of learning were severed as Catholics were barred from the country and Danish scholars turned collectively to the universities of the German territories. The indirect link between master Geble and Christiern Pedersen was the Danish reformer and first Lutheran superintendent, Peder Palladius, who assisted Pedersen in his historical research, procuring for him not only a manuscript copy of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, but also excerpts of saga translations performed in Bergen. Knowledge and cultural influence operated in a true web of acquaintances on a number of levels.

The Reformation led to radical changes of Norwegian society. After the dismantling of the Archdiocese of Nidaros, the ecclesiastical administration and the National Council moved to Bergen, where shortly after, it was dissolved. Many pressing issues had to be addressed. All the dioceses were in dire financial straits. Revenues were inadequate as the King had profited from the turmoil surrounding the Reformation to confiscate most of the church's properties, further reducing tithes and taxes. Another issue was the abusive presence of the Hanseatic merchants who controlled trade and commerce along the coast. The Hanseatic League had set up a permanent *comptoir* in Bergen in the middle of the 14th century. German merchants dominated commercial life in Bergen, often by violent means, beatings and killings. It was widely believed that they were responsible for the general moral decay. The major concern therefore was to find ways to increase church revenues first of all in order to strengthen the religious and moral education of parishioners, and subsequently limit the humiliating privileges of the Hanse. In a context of growing frustration with the *status quo*, a handful of persons started reexamining the past in search of solutions to the most pressing social, political and economic problems.

A thorough examination of the ancient laws was undertaken by legal experts in Bergen's civil administration, by then the only people with the skills required to read and interpret the Old Norse texts. Their study of *Grágás* and other legal documents led

to an astute awareness of the sovereign past and the inherited rights and privileges of the church. The rediscovery of the past was tinged with a certain amount of sadness and nostalgia, and fostered an interest in and a yearning for a national identity.

The translation of the legal texts led to a renewed interest in the Old Norse historical material and was the first enterprise of a budding humanist network. The translation activity in Bergen did not go unheeded by Danish historians. Through the city administration in Bergen, the Old Norse material in vernacular translation was made available to Danish historians, such as Christiern Pedersen and Anders Sørensen Vedel. Pedersen worked on the revision and continuation of Saxo's Danish history until he fell ill in 1544. He consulted excerpts from *Bergsbok*, *Fagrskinna* and *Heimskringla* when working on his supplements to *Gesta Danorum*. The saga texts must have been provided by either master Geble or Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (r. 1510-1522) whom Christiern Pedersen knew personally. When Christiern Morsing, professor at the University of Copenhagen, heard about the work performed in Bergen—probably from Christiern Pedersen or from Geble's friend, superintendent Peder Palladius—he became interested and commissioned Laurents Hanssøn to translate the Kings' sagas, a task he performed between 1548 and 1551.

Essentially a product of Dutch Catholic humanism, truly more inspired by Erasmus than by Luther, master Geble in Bergen represented both the old and the new order. He stands out as a transitional figure bridging the gap between the past and the future. He fostered a greater intellectual awareness in his students and worked relentlessly to improve the quality of the Latin school. He sent many of his students to the University of Copenhagen or elsewhere, often paying himself for their upkeep and tuition, and arranging for their lodging with friends and acquaintances. Geble's personal involvement and financial support was indeed necessary, as the dispossessed diocese could not afford the expense of keeping students abroad.

Master Geble was a pragmatic man who worked to reconcile the ecclesiastic and secular authorities. He accepted the Reformation as a *fait accompli* and embraced it insofar as it promoted increased education of all classes. He was resilient and flexible and able to appreciate the real needs of his parishioners. Bergen was the only church administration that survived the Reformation reasonably unscathed. As head of the Chapter, Geble—for a while the only working superintendent in the country—sought the help of legal experts in an effort to establish and clarify the rights and obligations of the diocese in relation to the civil authorities. Jon Simenssøn, Mattis Størssøn, and Laurents Hanssøn worked in Bergen during the 1540s and 50s as *lagmenn*. They were professional lawyers, skilled in the old vernacular, and with a marked interest in Old Norse manuscripts. Geble had them translate the laws in search of arguments against the commercial rights of the Hanse first of all, but also of ways to recover some of the properties that had been expropriated by the Crown in 1536. He tried to find ways to finance, maintain, and improve the teaching dispensed at the Latin school.

Jon Simenssøn was the first to systematically study the Old Norse manuscript material. Oluf Torkellson, head of the diocese between 1523-1533, had also been familiar with certain Old Norse manuscripts, especially the historical sagas, but he had never attempted to translate any of the material in his possession. Simenssøn's work, on the other hand, helped those who wanted to study the nation's history and those who wished to find a solution to the monopoly of the Hanseatic merchants.

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, master Geble's devoted stepson and protégé, the first reformed Norwegian humanist, never translated any saga material himself—in fact it has not been established whether or not he was able to read the old vernacular. He must, however, have read the material that was translated at the Chapter and used it as source material in his historical survey of the state of affairs in Norway, probably along with various Latin sources. In *Om Norgis Rige*, Beyer comments on contemporary political

and economical issues. More than giving a chronological survey of historical events he tried to explain why things had evolved as they had. *Om Norgis Rige* is above all a very personal interpretation of the history of Norway, reflecting the mentality of educated people in the middle of the 16th century Norway. Beyer was certainly not the only one to feel nostalgic, although not of the old religious order as Christiern Pedersen seems to have been—he was always a staunch defender of the reformed faith. He was however the first Norwegian to put his feelings into writing, and in doing so he roused other people's interest in the past.

The fact that Beyer, a man of the cloth, wrote in the vernacular makes him stand out as almost “modern” compared to later Norwegian historians. He probably allowed himself to use the Danish vernacular as he had no plans to publish his writing, and may also have been influenced by the vernacular work of the translators. *Om Norgis Rige* was never printed but circulated amongst colleagues and friends in manuscript form. The history of the diocese, *Liber capituli Bergensis*, presumably intended for use in the school, was his only Latin work. However, Beyer never finished the book and soon transformed it into his personal vernacular diary, recording daily events in Bergen. The diary is a precious source for understanding 16th-century Norwegian mentality.

Absalon Beyer's work was indeed modest in scope, but its personal, almost colloquial style nevertheless roused the curiosity of his readers and led to increased awareness of the past. The preoccupation with the past reflected the times and was not an exclusive Norwegian phenomenon. Many European scholars returned to the sources not only in order to re-establish “clean” authoritative Latin texts, but also to document and record the history of their respective countries. In Scandinavia, interest in the past had been kindled at the beginning of the century, when Gottfried of Ghemen published *Rimkrøniken* (1495) and Christiern Pedersen edited *Gesta Danorum* (1514). National history was once again brought to light.

Beyer was indeed the first to write a short history of Norway since the saga writers, and Bergen may have emerged as a new cultural center had the civil and church administrations remained in town. However, as things developed, no one seems to have been able to continue the work initiated there. Jon Simenssøn, like Beyer, died in 1575, and Mattis Størssøn had died previously, in 1569. As for Laurents Hanssøn, not much is known, but he seems to have been most active between 1548 and 1552.

Towards the middle of the century the Norwegian civil and ecclesiastical administration was moved to Oslo in order to be closer to Denmark and the king's administration in Copenhagen. This is where the Danish governor resided, and where the reformed humanism grew to maturity in all its Latin apparel. A humanist circle emerged around the Latin school, a small tightly knit circle of people with similar social background and scholarly training.

The intellectual milieu in Oslo had more people and was more productive than the one in Bergen from the middle of the century. The most prominent of the Oslo humanists was Jens Nilssøn, bishop of the diocese and *rector* of the Latin school in Oslo, a man of many interests: botany, physics, geology, medicine, astronomy, history and theology. Nilssøn wrote a *Historia regum Norvegiae* based on his manuscript collection. Luther's catechism and *Historia regum Norvegiae*, the first from Latin to the vernacular, the other from the vernacular to Latin, are his only known translations.

From the very beginning, Norwegian schools emphasized and trained students in poetic Latin and built their linguistic exercises on imitation of classical poets. During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570) the town of Oslo was set ablaze. Life at the school was disrupted and many fled to safer regions.

Halvard Gunnarssøn, *lector* at the school from 1577, was the school's most prolific Latin writer who published all his work in Rostock. He, too, translated the kings' sagas into Latin as *Chronicon regum Norvegiae*. His use of Latin *verse* makes it

hard to identify the prose source material of the *Chronicon*, but possible sources are plentiful.

The convergence of Norwegian humanists on the historical past in the Reformation century left little room for foreign literary material of any genre. The study of history and the translation of Old Norse texts can be seen as a relatively safe intellectual activity in a time marked by theological and political uncertainty. The clergy had to convert, liturgical rites had to be adjusted, and the parishioners indoctrinated in the new faith. As most of the Roman Catholic clergy remained in their positions, the process of conversion was understandably slow. But because most of the clergy were allowed to continue in their pre-Reformation positions, the process was indeed a smooth one, with very few counter-reformatory efforts. Little resistance to the new doctrine has been recorded, and the opposition encountered seems to have been the initiative of individual clerics operating in isolation rather than as members of a strong united organization.

Almost the entire Reformation century had been dedicated to exploring the nation's not so distant yet sovereign and glorious past. Only towards the end of the century do we see a change of direction and a more extraverted attention. The Renaissance term of *ad fontes* found its own expression in the North. European humanism was rooted in a need to re-establish the authoritative texts of Christianity which had been corrupted by generations of commentaries, glossing and compilation. The concern was for the *auctoritas*, the quest was still universal *truth*.

Translation in Denmark had been a concerted intellectual effort which paved the way for the reformed faith in both countries: It embraced and assimilated the *other*. It signified the intentional reconciliation with the *other*. The situation was quite different in Norway where the historical texts dominated the scene. The sources were re-examined to restore ancestral civil and ecclesiastical rights. Translation in the first half

of the 16th-century Norway must, to a large extent, be seen as a *reaction* to the privileges of the German merchants and the negative consequences of Danish rule.

Translating the old texts led to an awareness of past autonomy and a wish to reconstruct the national identity. As it were, Danish rule was accepted because it was needed. It was, in many ways, inevitable. However, the Norwegian national identity did not disappear in the union with Denmark. Instead, it was considerably strengthened during the Reformation century. Norwegian humanism examined the *present self* in view of the *former self*. *Translatio studii* in the first Norwegian Renaissance in Bergen, became an *intra-lingual* transfer of knowledge between different stages of *self* in an effort to limit the negative consequences of the presence of *other*. And to some extent the scheme worked. By the middle of the century, the Hanseatic merchants were obliged to respect Norwegian law, and clergy and administrators—a new class of people of mixed Norwegian and Danish descent—had started building a nation based on new doctrinal rules, in short staking out a common course in unmarked territory.

Towards the end of the century, the Lutheran doctrine had been effectively implemented in the whole of Scandinavia. The counter-reformation had failed and time was ripe for new influences from abroad. The Danish-born Hans Mogensen, Bishop of Trondheim towards the end of the century, translated Philippe de Commynes' *Mémoires*. This rather subjective history of Louis XI and Charles VIII represents the only foreign vernacular history translated into the vernacular during the Reformation century.

At the beginning of the next century, Mogensen's successor, Anders Christensen Aarebo, turned to contemporary reformed authors from the French territories, translating *La sepmaine* by Guillaume du Bartas. This translation marked the beginning of a new era for literature in the vernacular in Norway. It was the first timid incursion into French territory before Ludvig Holberg started composing satirical comedies in the spirit of Molière.

General Conclusion

Translation is the result of cross-cultural interrelation, and has existed for as long as people have sought trade partners or territory outside their own communities. Along ancient commercial and medieval pilgrim routes, people of different origins and linguistic groups met and interacted. Translation in the Middle Ages and Renaissance must be understood as knowledge transfer in a broad sense, with translators as cultural intermediaries at the interstice of linguistic and cultural borders.

Translators work between languages and cultures, they are intermediary cultural actors, the physical carriers of discursive knowledge and cultural traditions. Languages and cultures are static in the sense that they cannot move from one community to another on their own. *People* bring language, culture, and written texts when they move across cultural and linguistic borders. Translators make *translatio studii* happen. In medieval times, knowledge migrated with wandering scholars and students. In Norway, the first Christian texts were brought in by missionary bishops from the British Isles. The earliest Christian translations must have been parts of the liturgy and the main articles of faith.

Translation presupposes linguistic and cultural borders and the interaction of at least two cultures. Theoretically, translation presupposes boundaries that can be defined. However, linguistic borders are not always easy to establish. Boundaries between cultures can be unclear and shifting. Sometimes cultural and linguistic borders are clear-cut lines that physically and geographically separate communities, sometimes they exist within a given community. National borders have fluctuated as wars have moved frontiers back and forth, and many cities have been and still are home to more than one ethnic group. Moreover, linguistic borders may exist as social boundaries within a community.

Translation requires people who are able to move between different cultural groups, people who are able to understand other communities and communicate across linguistic

borders. In many instances, models for interpersonal uni-lingual communication can be applied to the translation process.³³⁵ The problem of inter-lingual communication lies in the existence of multiple realities, in the opposition between latent and manifest expression, between external and internal realities, not within one conceptual framework, but across conceptual borders. Translation defined as knowledge transfer across linguistic and cultural borders presumes a dissociation between language and knowledge. In medieval times, a dissociation between Latin and knowledge was a revolutionary (and dangerous) thought, an acknowledgement of linguistic evolution and historical change, a thought which challenged the established perception of the universe as an unchangeable and completed creation. The notion of *translatio studii* eventually opened up for the vernacular as a scholarly expression.

Some people move between languages and cultures on a daily basis. Like all medieval clergy, that of Norway shifted between their native vernacular and the Latin expression of their occupation for which they had been trained and conditioned. The ecclesiastic orders were exclusive societies within popular society. They occupied an inter-lingual but intra-cultural *space*, and, in many ways, can be considered representatives of the *other* within the *self*.

Historically, translators have been people from a variety of professions. Very few indeed were full-time translators. However, their professional training as clerics (brother Robert), mathematicians, economists, physicists and philosophers (Nicolas Oresme) tradesmen (William Caxton), teachers (Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples) or diplomats (John Hookham Frere) made them move between cultures. Translation and interpretation was a natural part of their daily activities. They were bilingual or polyglot conveyors of culture.

335 "En communiquant par le langage, on associe toujours une formulation à une idée: en traduisant on fait de même. C'est pourquoi la langue étrangère est plus un obstacle à surmonter qu'un objet à traduire" (Marianne Lederer in Delisle 1980, p.95).

To look at translation in a historical perspective allows us to go beyond the individual translator to examine how different cultures interrelate and how new ideas and paradigms are imported, accepted, and assimilated by the target audience and readership. In a medieval context, the degree of cultural interrelation and assimilation depended to a great extent on the level of education of the main actors. It is probably correct to assume that the educated elite absorbed imported abstract notions to a greater degree than the lower classes. People connected with the Norwegian medieval royal court or the Church were more influenced by the cultural and social models introduced in literature imported from the French-speaking territories than the general population, because they had more opportunity to hear it read, or could read it themselves, and because they wished to emulate the courteous ideals conveyed by the texts.

Medieval translators have frequently been eclipsed from the process of knowledge transfer and are often impossible to identify. The conviction in medieval times that the *inherent truth* was what really mattered—not the text in itself or the human author—often obscured the people who wrote, compiled, translated, or conveyed texts. The *purpose* of a given text/story mattered more than its actual degree of factual veracity. Once a story had been written down or translated, it could (and usually did) start a life of its own: it was copied and recopied, and disseminated as an original piece of writing. The translator was often lost in the process. As the translator disappeared, the subjective element of the translation was lost, too. Without information about the translator, we will never know for certain what moved him to translate in the first place. We can only see the translated text and its influence and status in a defined context, and speculate. Was the translator given the task, did he take the initiative himself, was he a man of the cloth or a secular person? The unanswered questions are many; nevertheless, anonymous translators leave their mark, and their anonymity does not diminish the importance of their work.

Translation in medieval Norway marked and supported societal changes. Knowledge transfer occurred on different levels, at different intervals, and with varying speed. Change means disruption and discontinuity, not necessarily simultaneous at all levels. Some segments of the population assimilated the new ideas faster than others. The introduction of Christianity was a major disruption, a break with the past, radically altering the organization of religious life and civil order. A new mentality was called for, and translation of texts from Christian European traditions was undertaken in order to achieve the change of direction. The importation of foreign court literature and devotional texts influenced Norwegian literary production, style, and language in an unprecedented way, and produced a unique literary style, the Old Norse courteous style that reached maturity in the 13th century. The translations produced under Håkon Håkonsson and his grandson Magnus were performed with determination and skill by people who had a good knowledge of the major European *auctores*, both secular and ecclesiastic. These people, for the most part associated with the ecclesiastical orders, operated at the interstice of three cultures, working hard to inform and manipulate a target audience and readership of non Latin- and non-French-speaking lay people.

The demographic devastation of the Black Death meant the disappearance of a whole class of intercultural people who had been able to reduce and bridge the cultural gap between Norway and other European countries. The pestilence reduced the population to a degree that was unequalled in a European context, and put an effective stop to whatever intellectual life had survived the royal court's move to Sweden. Increasingly, the country became dependent upon the political, economic and intellectual events of Denmark, and the translation activity there.

Sustained contact with foreign social and literary models in medieval times had greatly influenced the national vernacular and native literary production. The subsequent lack thereof in the 14th and 15th centuries had as much influence on the evolution of the

national language. A growing number of Danish administrators became the concrete link between Norway and European culture. In the 16th century, the enforcement of the Lutheran doctrine signified the final break with the old order and formalized the economic and political dependence upon Denmark. Norway ceased to exist as a sovereign state and became part of the Danish kingdom. Certainly on an official level, the two cultures were being brought together. The Norwegian upper classes emulated the Danish upper classes and frequently married into them. The degree of assimilation depended, however, on social adherence and status. The language of the upper classes increasingly distanced itself from the vernacular of the general population.

In the Reformation century, two cultural borders needed negotiation. In Denmark, the focus was on the writings of the neighboring reformed German territories. In Norway, the attention was first and foremost on the Old Norse heritage. In both cases, cultures met, either coexistent expressions, or expressions of the same society but at two different stages of evolution. The intra-lingual translation performed in Norway in the first half of the Reformation century shared many characteristics with inter-lingual translation, inasmuch as the old language no longer was understood by the general population and conveyed values, notions, and knowledge that had been lost. The phenomenon can be compared with the translation from Latin into the vernacular that took part in Italy, Spain, and France in the Renaissance.

Both inter-lingual and intra-lingual translation mean the systematic encounter with *other*. The encounter with the foreign in Norwegian medieval times helped create a new mentality, a new perception of *self*, it helped forge a national identity. As part of the Christian world, medieval Norway had wanted to assimilate the *other*. In the Reformation century, on the other hand, the introduction of *other* made people think of how things had been before. The rediscovery and translation of Old Norse material, especially the historical sagas and law collections, resulted from a concerted effort to

resist and protect *self* from *other*. This introverted focus of attention was to mark the century. The imposition of *other*, the formal annexation of Norway by Denmark in 1536 and the abolition of the Norwegian National Council, marked the beginning of a new political era and renewed interest in the preservation of *self*.

Translation in Denmark in the 16th century served a clear religious and political purpose; the introduction and implementation of the reformed doctrine and the settling of the dispute over royal succession. In Norway, translation was primarily initiated in response to political events in the decades leading up to and immediately following the Reformation, the events over which the Norwegian clergy had little control. The abusive presence of the Hanseatic League in Bergen and the problems caused by Danish administrators who sided in the ongoing political conflict in Denmark influenced the translation activities initiated at the Chapter. An initial examination of Old Norse legal and historical texts was performed not at the request of a patron or a readership, but because the civil and ecclesiastical administrators sought solutions to a number of social and economic problems disturbing daily life in the city.

By the end of the 16th century, translation no longer served a political or religious agenda, and the interest in Old Norse decreased somewhat. History was still a popular subject, but the urgency had disappeared now that most of the material existed in modern vernacular. The Lutheran doctrine had been successfully implemented throughout the country, the counter-reform had failed, and translation as an activity had mutated into an intellectual exercise and tool used in the acquisition of good Latin. It had become an almost exclusively academic occupation, defined and performed by people associated with the Latin schools, whose ideals were the eloquence and refinement of the Classical authors.

In the beginning of the 17th century, time had finally come to resume contact with the literary production of linguistic and cultural territories beyond the Protestant sphere.

Once again, the experience of *other* came into focus; the attention turned outwards.

Aarebo's adaptation of Du Bartas' *Sepmaine* represents a first incursion into French contemporary literature, an emulation of the French author's epic *Hexaëmeron*.

Literature from the French-speaking territories increasingly influenced the (scant) native literary production in the coming centuries. In the 18th century, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) produced a series of comedies in the spirit of Molière (1622-1673), caricaturizing and castigating contemporary society, playing on the ambitions and aspirations of a growing middle class.

Originally from Bergen, Holberg spent most of his adult life in Copenhagen. As a Norwegian post-Reformation author he stands alone, a solitary creator of witty comedy in the spirit of the best French playwrights, unequalled in Denmark as well as in Norway. Only in the 19th century does Norwegian literature emerge with renewed energy, echoing and emulating European Romanticism, yet developing its own brand in which the national once again competes with the universal, a romantic literature in which *other* is measured in terms of *self* rather than the opposite.

Part IV: Appendices

Appendix I: Norse-Icelandic Historical Sagas

The texts marked with an (*) have been lost.

Priest **Sæmundr** Sigfússon (1056-1133): **Noregs Konungstál*

Priest **Ari** Þorgilsson (c.1067-1148): *Íslendingabók* (c.1122-32) and **Konunga ævi*

Eiríkr Oddsson: **Hryggjarstykki* (c.1160). This text is referred to and adapted in both *Morkinskinna* and *Heimskringla*.

Abbot **Karl** Jónsson: *Sverris saga* and **Skjoldunga saga*, the earliest parts of *Orkneyinga saga*.

Oddr Snorrason: *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* (between 1190-1220)

Gunnlaugr Leifsson: *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* (between 1190-1220)

Styrmir Kárason: **Óláfs saga helga* in *Flateyrbók* (c.1210-25)

Snorri Sturlason (c.1178/9-1241): *Heimskringla* and *Olafs saga helga* (1225-35)

Sturla Þórðarson (Snorri's nephew): **Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*

Theodoricus Monachus: *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c.1170)

Sagas by unidentified or presumed authors:

Ágrip (af *Noregs konunga sögum*) (c.1190)

Historie Norwegie (maybe 1152/3), possibly by Eysteinn Erlendsson (d.1177) who came to Nidaros in 1150 as King Inge's personal chaplain, bishop 1161-1188

(*Diplomataroum Norvegicum XVII b*)

**Catalogus regum norwagiensium*

**Middle saga* (c.1200)

**Hlaðajarla saga*

Morkinskinna (c.1220)

Orkneyinga saga

Færeyinga saga

Jónsvíkinga saga

Fóstbræðra saga

Fagrskinna

The list is based on:

Andersson 1985, Arnamagnæan Institute's website, Benediktsson 1968, Driscoll 1995, Einarsson 1985, Ekrem 1999, Foote 1998, Holtsmark 1978, Indrebø 1936, Jonsson 1932, Koht 1950, Kolsrud 1913, Steinnes 1965, Unger 1847 & 1867.

Appendix 2: Medieval Latin and Vernacular Histories about Norway – Table of Contents Compared

Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*

- 1 Earl Hákon
- 2 Óláfr Tryggvasson
- 3 Óláfr Haraldsson
- 4 Magnus Ólafsson (the Good)
- 5 Haraldr Hárðraði
- 6 The Baltic Sea
- 7 Norway and Sweden
- 8 The Norsemen
- 9 The Finns
- 10 The Christian Church in Norway
- 11 The Orkneys
- 12 Iceland
- 13 Greenland
- 14 Hálogaland
- 15 Vinland
- 16 The Great Ocean
- 17 The End

Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c.1190)

- 1 On Harald Fair-Hair
- 2 On his son Eiríkr
- 3 On the discoveries of Iceland

- 4 On Hákon and Haraldr gráfeldr
- 5 On Hákon the Evil
- 6 On the murder of Gunnhildr through the treachery of Hákon
- 7 On the same man's scheming against Óláfr Tryggvasson
- 8 How on returning to his native land, Óláfr brought with him a certain bishop and other churchmen to preach the word of God to the Norwegians
- 9 How at his instance the earl of Orkney became a Christian along with his people
- 10 How the plots and deceptions of Hákon were revealed to Óláfr
- 11 On his steadfastness in the word of God
- 12 How Iceland received the Christian faith through his instigation
- 13 What some people say about the baptism of the blessed Óláfr
- 14 On the death of Óláfr Tryggvasson
- 15 On the return of the blessed Óláfr from England to Norway
- 16 On the flight of the blessed Óláfr to Russia
- 17 On the nature of Charybdis and concerning the Langobards and the Huns
- 18 How the blessed Óláfr returned to his country; and on the decrease in size of the bodies of men
- 19 How the blessed Óláfr dies a martyr in battle
- 20 On the lack of agreement in calculating the number of years from the beginning of the world
- 21 On Magnus the son of the blessed Óláfr
- 22 On the peace treaty between Magnus and the King of Denmark
- 23 On the pact which was made between Charles the Great and his brother
- 24 How the same Magnus, made King of the Danes, waged war against the Wends
- 25 On the return of Harald Harðráði from Greece
- 26 The author's diatribe against the ambitious, and how Chosroes ended his life

- 27 How King Magnus shared the throne of Norway with his paternal uncle; on Magnus+ death
- 28 How King Haraldr led an expedition against England, was defeated in battle and died
- 29 On his son Óláfr
- 30 On Magnus Berfættr, and the brief account of the portents which preceded the death oof Charles
- 31 On the deeds of Magnus Berfættr
- 32 On the death of the same Magnus, and on his sons
- 33 On Sigurðr and his deeds
- 34 On Haraldr of Ireland

Ágrip c.1190

- 1 Haraldr fair-hair. Joli (Odin). Halvdan Svarte dies
- 2 Harald conquers Norway. His sons.
- 3 The Finn girl Snofrið forgives Haraldr
- 4 Torleiv Spake plays King. Haraldr dies.
- 5 Eirik the Blood-Ax. Hákon the Good
- 6 The battle of Storð
- 7 Eirik the Blood-Ax after he left Norway
- 8 Gunnhild's sons become kings
- 9 The reign of the sons of Gunnhild
- 10 Haraldr Gráfell dies
- 11 Earl Hákon. The demise of Gunnhild
- 12 The reign of earl Hákon
- 13 Earl Hákon is killed

- 14 Why earl Hákon became ruler
- 15 King Herse
- 16 The lineage of Ólafr Tryggvason
- 17 Óláfr Tryggvason sold as slave
- 18 Olav in Holmgard (Novgorod)
- 19 Olav the Viking. His arrival in Norway
- 20 Óláfr and þyri. The battle of Svolder
- 21 The earls Eirik, Svein and Hákon
- 22 The Christian faith under the earls
- 23 Óláfr Haralðsson's lineage. His arrival in Norway
- 24 Óláfr becomes King. The battle of Nesjar
- 25 Óláfr marries
- 26 Óláfr's quarrel with King Knút. Erlingr Skjalgsson dies. Óláfr travels to Russia
- 27 Knút conquers Norway
- 28 Tough laws under Alfiva
- 29 At Christmas, the plight of the people
- 30 The plight of the people (cont')
- 31 Óláfr returns. The battle of Stiklestað
- 32 The oppression under Sveinn and Alfiva
- 33 Fixing the year of the battle of Stiklestað
- 34 Saint Óláfr. Sending for Magnús
- 35 Magnús comes to Norway. His brutal reign.
- 36 Magnús obtains Denmark
- 37 The revolt of Sveinn Ulvsson
- 38 The battle of Hlýrskógsheiðr
- 39 Haraldr Sigursson comes to Norway and acquires half the kingdom

- 40 Magnús dies. Svein acquires Denmark
- 41 Haraldr Harðráði
- 42 Haraldr goes to England and is killed
- 43 Óláfr Bonde
- 44 Haraldr Harðráði builds a church at Niðróss over the saint Óláfr's grave
- 45 Óláfr dies
- 46 Magnús bare-foot and Hákon þorifostre
- 47 Hákon dies
- 48 Steigar-Þori revolts
- 49 Magnús attacks Gotland
- 50 Magnús' first travel across the Western Sea
- 51 The second travel across the West Sea. Magnús dies
- 52 The sons of Magnús
- 53 Sigurðr travel to Jerusalem
- 54 The Holy Cross
- 55 Sigurðr returns
- 56 King Eysteinn
- 57 The sea battle at Kalmar
- 58 Haraldr Gille comes to Norway. Sigurðr dies
- 59 Magnús and Haraldr
- 60 Eysteinn, Sigurðr, and Ingi. Geirsteinn and Gyða *Historia Norwegie c.1170-80*

Historia Norwegie

- 1 Prologue
- 2 Country and surroundings
- 3 The coastal regions

- 4 The highlands
- 5 The Finns
- 6 The Orkneys
- 7 The Faroes Islands
- 8 Iceland
- 9 The Ynglinge Kings in Russia
- 10 The Ynglinge Kings in eastern Norway
- 11 Haraldr Harðraði
- 12 Eirik the Blood-Axe
- 13 Hákon Athalsteinsfostre
- 14 Gunnhild's sons
- 15 The kings of Oppland
- 16 Óláfr Tryggvasson
- 17 Óláfr Haraldsson

Information extracted from:

Adam of Bremen 1862, Storm 1880b, Kirchmann 1684, Faulkes & Perkins 1998.

Appendix 3: Latin and French Chivalric and Romance Literature in Old Norse Translation

Translations Of Various Latin Source Texts, including *Matière de Rome*:

Alexanders saga – About Alexander the Great. Translated after the death of Håkon from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th), the style is “Latinized.” Translated under Magnus the Law Mender (1263-1280). The text was included in the Norse version of *Vitae Patrum* (Halvorsen 1959, Tveitane 1968, Togeby 1975).

Amicus saga ok Amilius. Translated from a Latin text after the reign of Håkon (Togeby 1975).

Breta sögur – A translation of Monmouth’s *Historia regum britanniae* (Venås 1962, Gravier 1972, Barnes 1987).

Clarú saga – Translated into Old Norse by the Icelandic bishop Jon Halldorsson (d.1339) in Bergen around 1300 (Venås 1962, Kalinke 1985, Tveitane 1968).

Pamphilius ok Galathea – 2nd half of the 13th century. A translation of the Latin *Pamphilius de amore*, narrating the seduction of Galathea by Pamphilius. The story is written as a dialogue and was included in the Norse manuscript containing *Strengleikar* along with *Elis saga*. Marks a return to Latin sources after almost 30 years of translating French texts (Togeby 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Samsons saga fagra (The Story of “Fair” Samson).

Trójumanna saga (The History of Troy). Translated from a Latin manuscript (Togeby 1975).

Arthurian:

Erex Saga (Erec et Eneide). Written by Chrétien de Troyes around 1170. One of four romances by Chrétien that were translated into Old Norse. An emphasis on the

mirror aspects of Chrétien's poem, it conveys a concern with regal and chivalric propriety. In Old Norse it became almost a *prince's mirror*. A rather voluminous poem (Zinc 1975, Barnes 1987, Kalinke 1981 & 1991).

Geitarlauf (Chèvrefeuille). Part of *Strengleikar*. One of the only two *lais* that are, strictly speaking, of the Arthurian tradition, the other being the *Januals saga (Lanval)* (Kalinke 1981).

Ívens saga (Yvain, ou le chevalier au lion). The original French text was composed by Chrétien de Troyes between 1170 and 1180 and was translated at the request of Hákon Hákonson sometime around 1250-57 (Halvorsen 1959, Togeby 1975, Zinc 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Janual (Lanval). Part of *Strengleikar*. Quite a risqué tale about a queen who attempts to seduce one of Arthur's knights (Kalinke 1981).

Möttuls saga (Le mantel mautailé). The tale of the disconcerting consequences of a chastity test at the not so "courteous" court of King Arthur. This anonymous story, by some attributed to Marie de France, belongs in part to the tradition commonly referred to as the *matière de Bretagne*. The text was translated for amusement and laughter and was the only Old French *fabliau* to be translated (Halvorsen 1959, Zinc 1975, Kalinke 1981 & 1991).

Parcevals saga (the Story of Perceval). Translated from Chrétien de Troyes' romance.

Tristrams saga ok Ísönder – Translated by Brother Robert in 1226 (Kalinke 1985a, Marchello-Nizia 1995).

Valvens þattr (The Story of Gawain). This saga derives from Chrétien de Troyes' romance, and was probably translated during the reign of Hákon Hákonsson (*þattr* means part of book").

Matière de Bretagne:

Möttuls saga. (*Le mantel mautailé*). A *fabliau* of Breton origin. See above.

Strengleikar (*Les Lais français de Marie de France*) composed between 1160 and 1170 (Laurion 1997). The sequence of the Old Norse *lais* differs somewhat from that of Marie's collection in the Harley manuscript. *Strengleikar* contains 21 stories with a Prologue:

Forræða (Prologue) The translator's intention to use the work as a *mirror* is quite explicit (Barnes 1987).

Guïamar (*Guigamar*). In 1979, a new manuscript of the *Guïamars saga* came to light, older than the manuscript preserved in the De la Gardie collection. This new text reveals a more faithful translation of the original French *lai* and helps clarify hitherto problematic passages in the extant Norwegian text (Kalinke 1991).

Eskia (*Fresne*). The text has survived in two French manuscripts.

Equitan. This *lai* has an explicit exemplary function. The rather lengthy epilogue condemns the vices of cupidity and injustice. Latin quotes and reference to biblical stories echo the style of the *King's Mirror*, promoting the virtues of fidelity and humility (Barnes 1987). This *Lai* presents many features of the *fabliau* (Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Bisclaret. The story known as *Tiodels saga* is believed to be a variation on the same theme (Kalinke 1991). The word "Bisclaret" is a Celtic loanword, one of the few in *Strengleikar*, and means "werewolf." "Laüstic" is another loanword and means "nightinggale" (Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Laüstik. "Laüstic" is a loanword which means "nightinggale."

Desire.

Tiodel. An Icelandic adaptation of *Bisclaret* (Kalinke 1991).

Chevotel (*Chaitivel*).

Doun (Doon). Preserved only in the Paris manuscript (Cook & Tveitane 1979)

Tveggia elskande lioð (Deus amanz).

*Gurun*³³⁶

Milun (Melion).

Geitarlauf (Chèvrefeuille). One of the only two *lais* that are, strictly speaking, of the

Arthurian tradition, the other being the *Januals saga (Lanval)* (Kalinke 1981).

*Strandar strengleikar**

Leikara lioð (Le lai du Lecheor). Old French sources tell of Norwegian jongleurs

(leikarar) who performed *lais* to musical accompaniment. The French manuscript of Marie's *lais* depicts on the first page a jongleur with a *vielle*—or a “fele=violin” called *gigja* in Old Norse—playing before a king (Cook & Tveitane 1979). The Old French word *iugleur* is translated *Leikarar*, showing that the jongleur or jester was a known figure in the North. Saint Pantelion was the jongleurs' patron saint (Venås 1962, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Janual (Lanval). Quite a risqué tale about a queen who attempts to seduce one of

Arthur's knights (Kalinke 1981).

Jonet (Yonec).

Naboreis

*Ricar hinn gamli** (King Richard the Old = Richard II)

Tveggia elskande strengleikar-*

Grelent (Graelent).

336 Four of the 21 *lais* in the Old Norse *Strengleikar* have no known French originals: *Gurun*; *Stranda strengleikr*; *Ricar hinn gamli*, and the second *Tveggia elskande strengleikr* (Cook & Tveitane 1979, Kalinke 1985).

The Cycle of Charlemagne and *Chansons de Geste*

Karlamagnús saga. Translated around 1250. In this Old Norse *saga* the *Chanson de Roland* and *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne* were combined in one story. The story of Charlemagne was translated in several stages. The first stages are prior to Håkon Håkonsson, i.e. early in the 13th century. There are several parallels between the earliest Norse Charlemagne tradition and the first *Konungesögur*. The book contains 10 *chansons de geste*, of which the *Chanson de Roland* became the more popular (Venås 1962, Togeby 1975, Lönnroth 1975, Kalinke 1981).

Runzivals þattr –Translated just before 1100, this *saga* is the earliest Old Norse *Chanson de geste*. A prose translation of the verse original, it recounts the most famous story of the adventures of Charlemagne (Halvorsen 1959, Lönnroth 1975).

Elis saga ok Rósamunde (The story of Elie de Saint-Gille). *Chanson de geste* of another origin than the Arthurian cycle. An example of the true Old Norse “court style” (Halvorsen 1959). The preserved manuscript dates from c.1270. Translated from Old French (Togeby 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Kalinke 1981 & 1991).

Flóvent saga – Translated around 1250 – *Chanson de Geste* from the Anglo-Norman English court literature (Togeby 1975).

Others:

Bevis saga – *Beuve de Hantone*. A later style (Togeby 1975).

Dínus saga drambláta (Dínus the overly confident).

Þiðreks saga. Translated c.1259. A compilation of the legendary tales about Dietrich von Bern. One of the few inputs from German literature (Togeby 1975, Kalinke 1981).

Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr (*Flores et Blanchefleur*). Of the later romances, and consequently not deriving from the Arthurian cycle. The Old Norse text dates from the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. The story was

published in 1509 by Gottfried of Ghemen. One of the two last Old French texts (the other is *Partalopa*) to be translated at the Norwegian court in Bergen (Bruun 1877, Halvorsen 1959, Togeby 1975, Kalinke 1981, Barnes 1987).

Jóns saga leikara (John the jongleur's saga).

Olíf ok Landres. Translated after Håkon, i.e. 1263, from an Anglo-Norman text (Togeby 1975).

Partalopa saga – Translated c.1250 (Togeby 1975).

Valdimars saga – Epic poem about the Danish King Valdemar Sejer (1131-1182).

Information extracted from:

Barnes 1987, Bruun 1877, Cooke & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1981, 1985a & 1985b, 1991, Laurion 1997, Lönnroth 1975, Marchello-Nizia 1995, Togeby 1975, Tveitane 1968, Venås 1962, Zinc 1975, and Koldsrud 1913.

Appendix 4: Biblical, Religious and Devotional Texts in Old Norse Translation: The Main Texts

The selection presented is not exhaustive, but illustrates the scope of translation of religious and devotional texts in medieval Norway. Parts of the liturgical texts used during Mass, especially the *Credo* and *Pater noster*, must have existed in Old Norse from quite early on, probably as early as the 11th century, as they were amongst the first to be translated by the missionary bishops. When identified, the translator is given.

Barlaams saga ok Josaphats (first half of 13th century). Preserved in Manuscript No. 6 Fol. in the Royal Library, Stockholm (Rindal 1980, Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1990a).

Book of Psalms. Quotations in Old Norse from the *Book of Psalms* are found in the Vienna Psalter, Cod. Viund. 2713, AM 241a fol. (Uecker 1980).

Elucidarius (c.1200). This text has survived in four more or less complete manuscripts: AM 674a 4^o is the oldest; AM 675 4^o, originally part of *Hauksbók* (AM 675, 4^o) by Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334); AM 544; and AM 238 fol. xviii. Honorius' work was popular medieval reading along with the Vincent of Beauvais *Speculum maior* (Firchow 1992).

Gyðinga saga (c.1257-63) by Brandr Jónsson (c.1200-1263). Preserved in five more or less complete manuscripts: AM 226 fol., the more complete manuscript from the middle of the 14th century; AM 225 fol.; AM 655, 4^o, xxv; AM 238 fol. xvii, and AM 229 fol. iv (Wolf 1995). The original titles used were *Historia Judaica* in AM 435a, 4^o, and *Historia Macchabeorum* in AM 654, 4^o. As these titles outline, the Old Norse story of the Jews was based on the Books of Machabees (Kirby 1986, Wolf 1995).

Heilagra manna sögur (c. 1250-1300) based on *Vitae patrum*: AM 225 fol. (Unger 1877, Tveitane 1968).

Humiliúbók (c.1200) AM 619, 4°. This manuscript is a copy of an earlier collection (maybe even a copy of a copy), and some of the mistakes and omissions are the result of the copyists' oversight or misunderstandings. It is interesting to note that the translator has kept the original Latin titles for most of the entries, and that only two chapters have Old Norse titles (27 og 31) (See Indrebø 1931, Seip 1952, Salvesen 1971).

- Cveðiu-sending Alconi diaconi (Greetings from Alcuin (735-804))
- De nativitate domini sermo (Sermon on the Birth of the Lord)
- Sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people)
- In nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi sermo. Omelia Gregorij (Sermon on the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ)
- Sermo de sancto Stephano martire (Sermon on Saint Stephen, the first martyr)
- Sermo de euuangelistis. In die sanct Johannis (Sermon on the evangelists. On Saint John the Baptist's Day)
- In die sanctorum innocentium secundum Matheum. Omilia (On the Innocent Children's Day According to Matthew) (28th december)
- In circumcissione domini nostri Jesu Christi sermo (Sermon on the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ)
- In epiphania domini sermo necessaria (Indispensable Sermon on the Epiphany of the Lord)
- Secundum Matheum. In epiphania. Omilia (According to Matthew. On the Epiphany. Homily)
- De ammonitione bona (On good advice)
- Purificatio sancta Mari(a)e sermo (Sermon on the Purification of Saint Mary)
- Euuangelium (About the Sow-Man)
- Sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people)

- In capite ieiunij sermo (Sermon on the Beginning of Lent, i.e. Ash Wednesday)
- Dominica palmarum sermo (Sermon on Palm Sunday)
- De die sancto pasce sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people on Holy Easter)
- Sermo necessaria (Indispensable Sermon)
- In ascensione domini nostri Jesu Christi. Sermo ualde necessaria (Very important Sermon on the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ)
- In die pentecostén sermo (Sermon on Pentecostal Day)
- In dedicatione tempeli sermo (Sermon on the Consecration of the Temple)
- In dedicatione ecclesie sermo ad populum (Sermon to the people on the Consecration of the Church)
- Admonitio ualde necessaria (Very important advice)
- In inventione sancte crucis sermo (Sermon on the Discovery of the Holy Cross)
- In die sancti Johannis baptiste (On the Day of Saint John the Baptist)
- In die sancti Olavi Regis et martiris (On the Day of Saint Olaf the Martyr)
- Her segir fra Jartæinum hins hælga Olafs konungs (On the Miracles of the King and Saint Olaf)
- Sermo de sancta Maria (Sermon on Saint Mary)
- In exaltatione sancte crucis (On the Glorification of the Holy Cross (14th September))
- Admonitio ualde necessaria. Sanctorum Angelorum. In die sancti Michaelis (Very important advice. The Holy Angel. On the Day of Saint Michael, First Part)
- Inserted leaves: Messuskýringar (Explanations of the Mass). Setningr um prefator (Sentences about the smallest assistance admitted to Mass). Sermo ad populum ualde necessaria. (Very important Sermon for the people)

- Admonitio ualde necessaria. Sanctorum Angelorum. In die Michaelis (Very important advice. On The Angel Saints. On the Day of Saint Michael, Second Part)
- In die omnium sanctorum sermo (Sermon on the All Saints' Day)
- Sermo de decimis (Sermon on the Tithes)
- Visio Sancto Pauli apostoli (The Vision of Saint Paul the Apostle)
- Oratio dominica (The Lord's Prayer)

Mariu saga (the life of the Blessed Virgin) c. 1250 or earlier. There existed many different Mary legends, also in Old Norse, amongst others *Transitus Mariae* (Unger 1871, Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963).

Placitusdrápa (early 14th century). One of the more popular medieval legends. Old Norse translations are preserved in AM 655, 4^o and AM 644, 4^o as well as in the fragmentary AM 673b, 4^o from around 1200 (Tucker 1998, Astås 1970).

Soliloquium de arrha animae (translated sometime in the second half of 13th century). The Old Norse text has been preserved in AM 544, 4^o, as part of *Hauksbók* (AM 675, 4^o), and in two fragmentary texts: the AM 696 xxxii, 4^o and AM 696 xxxiii, 4^o. The large composite *Hauksbók* has survived in two parts, the first containing *Landnamabók* (about the settling of Iceland) and *Kristnissaga* (about the Christianisation of Iceland). The second part, in which *Soliloquium de arrha animae* figures as *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* in ff. 60-68 also comprises *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögu*, *Merlínuspá*, *Fóstbræðrasaga*, *Eriks saga rauða* and *Voluspá* as well as a mathematical treatise called *Algoritmus* (Harðarson 1995).

Stjórn (c. 1300) contains historical passages of the Old Testament and the Proverbs used mainly as *exempla*. The texts were probably translated sometime in the beginning of the 14th century and have been handed down in the following manuscripts: AM 226 fol. and AM 227 fol. (Astås 1983, 1985a & 1985b, Kirby 1986, Wolf 1990).

Much of the historical material in the Bible was translated into Old Norse (especially *Stjórn*) during the 13th century, in company with *Vitae Patrum* (*Heilage manna sǫgur* c.1250-1300), as well as many Latin church songs, and *Elucidarium* by Honorius Augustodunensis (Kirby 1986, Tveitane 1968, Firchow 1992). *Stjórn* contains translations from the following books of the Old Testament (heavily interspersed with interlinea commentaries): Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Book of Joshua, Book of Judgment, Book of Ruth, Book of Samuel (I), Book of Samuel (II), The Kings (I), The Kings (II) (until Nebuchodonosor in Chapter 24). C. R. Unger (1862) *Stjórn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra verden skabelse til det Babylonske fangenskab*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag.

Visio sancti Pauli.. Two distinct Old Norse versions have been preserved—one in the Old Norse *Humliúbók*, AM 619, 4^o and the other in AM 624, 4^o. The first version deviates considerable from the Latin standardized text, and in fact resembles more Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, meaning that it is more a debate between the body and the soul, than a traditional *Visio*. However, both texts belong to the same medieval visionary tradition (Tveitane 1968, Seip 1952).

Information extracted from

Astås 1970, 1983, 1985a & 1985b, 1990a, Firchow 1992, Halvorsen 1959, Harðarsson 1995, Hope 1972, Indrebø 1931, Kirby 1986, Rindal 1980, Seip 1952b, Tucker 1998, Tveitane 1968, Uecker 1980, Unger 1862, 1864, 1871, 1877, Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963 and Wolf 1995.

Appendix 5: Sixteenth-Century Danish Translators and Translations

The translators have been listed in alphabetic order. Orthography as in the sources and not according to standardized modern Danish. Only translations by known translators are included. The original author is not always given, and often the printer remains anonymous.

BARSBYL, Anders (..) – 1554: Jo Spangenberg's "En kort Vnderuisning om en

Christen Ridder, med huilke Fiender hand skal stride," printed in Wittenberg.

BORGSMED, Peder – 1530: "En liiden Indgangh vdi Schriffthen som førsth bleeff

udsadt aff Tydesk paa Swensk wedt mester Oluff," From German (Johan Toltz).

FLEMLOSIUM, Pet. Jac. (...) – 1575: Simon Musæus' "Nyttig Vnderuisning oc goode

Raad, aff Guds Ord imot den melancholiske Dieffel," printed in Copenhagen.

FØERD, Claus (...) 1570: "Kannst Christelig oc vel at døe. Disputatio imellom et siugt

Menniske oc Fristeren (Juone Barschampe)," printed in Copenhagen.

GRYDERUP, And. R. (...) – 1577: *Argumentum indubium* (Hemmingius) as "Et vist oc

fast Tegen, huorpaa huer kand kiende sig selff, huad heller hand er Guds Barn eller ey."

HANSSØN, Rasmus (Reravius) – 1572: "Trøst oc Husualse aff Guds Ord for siugelige

Dannequinder oc Berselquinder vdi deris Bedrøffuelse oc Fødselsnød. Vdtagen af C.

Spangenbergi Brud Predicken oc vdsæt paa Danske ved Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus

(Cyriac Spangenberg). 1572: "Postilla eller Hustavle," printed in Copenhagen. 1574:

Passional (Luther) as "Formaning til vor Herris Jhesu Christi Pines oc Døds

Historie," printed in Copenhagen. Reprinted in 1575. 1581: "Nogle Vdvalgte

Sententzer oc Trøstesprock aff Scriften huilke D. Mart. Lutherus brugte, oc derhos

Forklaring paa en Text aff s.Povels Epist. Til de Thessal. Skreven hr. Peder Skram til Trøst (Luther),” printed in Copenhagen. 1585: “Postilla eller Forklaring offuer Euangelia, som almindelige om Søndage oc andre hellige Dage predickis i den Christne Kirke. Vdsæt aff Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus (Niels Hemmingssøn),” printed in Copenhagen. 1597: “Sorgfulle oc bedrøffuede Hierders Vrtegaard etc... Vdsat paa Danske aff Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus,” printed in Copenhagen.

HELIE, Paul (Povl HELGESEN) (...) – 1526: Een Christelig Vnderuisning paa the thy Gudz Budord” by Luther, printed in Rostock. 1534: (1) “Een kortt Vnderuisning til een Christelig Foreening oc Forligilse amod huess wchristelig Twyst oc Twedrackt, som nw haffuer i wor Tiid skiørdet then menige Christen Kirckis eendrektige Samfwnd (Erasmus),” printed in Roskilde. (2) “En Christelig oc nyttelig Bog om Kongens, Furstens, Riigis, Landtz oc Stænders Regemente, kaldett en Christelig Furstis Wnderuisning oc Lære (Erasmus),” printed in Roskilde. 1530: “Brev imod Præsters Ægteskab,” translated from Latin? Or German? Unknown author. Maybe himself.

HEMMINGSSØN, Niels (1513-1600) Danish theologian. Wrote in Latin, but was extensively translated by his contemporaries into Danish. See Niels Lauritzen and Jacob Ulfeldt.

H.J.W. (?) – 1529: “Forkortninger om de Begæringer, som staa i Pater Noster (Luther).”

HUITFELDT, Arild (..) – “Den norske Hird-Skraa, eller Gaards Ræt, huor aff forfaris, huorledis Rigit vdi fordums Dage vaar Skickit, oc huorledis Kongerne vdi de Dage haffue huldit Hoff, etc. Vdsat af gammel Norske paa Danske [af Arild Hvidtfeldt] (from Old Norse).” Printed in Copenhagen.

JØRGENSEN, Niels (15..) – 1581: Excerpts of *Lærde Mænds Scriffter*: “En nyttelig, kaart oc enfaaldig Trøstescriff, med huilken Guds Børn kunde trøste sig, naar deris gode Venner dør fra dem.” 1585: *Antidotum*: “Lægedom, Trøst oc gode Raad imot

atskillige Fristelser. Scriffuet paa Latine; nu forbedret oc udset paa Danske ved Niels Jørgenssøn (Hieron Vellenus).” 1587: Translated an explanation of Luther’s Catechism written in German by Jørgen Walter. 1597: “En vis oc ret Affregning oc Bescriffuelse om alle haande Mynt og Maade i den Hellige Scrift,” by Henrik Bynting.

LANGE, Margrete (...) – 1608: “En meget skøn Tractat om et Christeligt Liff oc Leffnet. Nu fordansket av franszöske ved f. Marg. L.”

LAURENTSEN, Peder – 1536: *Profeti* by unknown author

LAURITZEN, Niels (15..) – 1595: “Den Lærdom om Guds Naade... (Niels Hemmingssøn) from Latin. An explanation of Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Romans (Chs. 9-11). 1586: “Jesus Syriach’s aandelige oc naturlige Lægedom oc Raad, huorledis it Christet Menniske skal skicke sig udi sin siugdom oc all annen Nød oc Modgang.”

MATTZSØN, Jacob (...) – 1592: “Et rigtig Christelig Leffnitz Begyndelse, fordansket aff Jacob Mattzøn (Jo. Börner).” Printed in Copenhagen.

MIKKELSEN, HANS, 1524: *New Testament* based on Luther’s translation of 1522.

MICHELSØN, Niels (Aalborg) (...) – 1519: “En Christelig Betænkning om Mænd maa flye for Døden (Luther).” Translated from German.

MOGENSSØN, Hans (...) – Bishop: 1578: Translated Luther’s “den Christelige Trois Hoffuet Artickle.” 1574: Philippe de Commynes’ histories of Louis XI (1423-1483) and Charles VIII (1470-1498).

NILSSØN, Jens (1538-1600): *Catechismus* (Luther). Published posthumously in 1605.

NIELSSØN, Lauritz (c.1540-1622). 1602: “Det Bref som Studenter af Dannemarkis oc Norigis Riger, werende Vdenlands, haffuer till de Professorer i København skreffuet a.o. 1602, 1 oct. paa dansk udsat...” from latin, by himself (Pater Laurentius Norvegus). Printed in Brunsberg.

PALLADIUS, Niels – 1541: “En liden Bog, som indeholder den rette Skelsmyste

mellom den rene Christelige Euangeliske Lerdom oc den vgudelige papisteske

Lerdom (Melanchthon).” Printed in Wittenberg. 1546: “En almindelig Form som

bruges i Wittembergs kircke effter alle Predicken.” Printed in Wittenberg.

PALLADIUS, Peder (1503-1560): 1537: “Dend Lidle Danske Catechismus (Luther).”

1538: Luther’s “Enchiridion”.³³⁷ 1539: “En Ordinantz hworledis Kirketienesten

skal holdes udi Danmark oc Norges Riger.” Printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth, and

in Copenhagen by Vingaard in 1542. 1541/1542/1544: “Bedebug” av Luther. 1550:

“Nogne deylige Sprock aff den Hellige Scriftt,” by Vitus Theodorus.³³⁸ Printed in

Copenhagen. 1555: Melanchthon’s “En merchelig Tractat, om de dødes

Oppstandelse.” 1557: Prefaced a publication of the Psalms of David. Printed in

Wittenberg.

PARVUS, Petrus Rosæfontanus (...) ³³⁹ – 1539: “Postilla offuer de Søndagis Euangelia,

som falde om alt Aaret. Vdsæt paa Danske aff Petro Parvo Rosæfontano (Ant.

Corvinus).” Printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth. 1543: “Tractat om det ypperligste i

den hellige Scriftt” (A summary of biblical texts by Robert Estienne).³⁴⁰

PARVUM, Matthiam Rosæfontanum – 1535: “Huorledis Loven oc Euangelium skulle

adskilles.” Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1544: “Siælens Lægedom for de

Karske oc Sywge i disse farlige Tider oc i dødz Nød.” Printed in Copenhagen.

337 Means “handbook”. Also the title of one of St. Augustine’s texts.

338 Lutheran Pastor in Nuremberg c.1538 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

339 I have not been able to find the Danish name for the 2 Parvums (-or Parvus), Peder and Mathias, from Roskilde in the lists, but from their activity and parallel time spans (c.1530-1550) I believe that they may be brothers or otherwise related.

340 Extracts from a “Summarium” by Robert Estienne (1503-1559), the imperial printer under François I (1494-1547) and Henri II (1519-1559). A staunch Protestant, Estienne had to take refuge in Geneva in 1551 (Grane 1979, Chavy 1988).

Reprinted in 1641. 1543: "Denne Bog eller Tractat kortelig i een Sum befatter alt som det ypperligste oc, mæst besynderlige, som den Hellige Scrifftis Bøger indeholde." Translated from French Unknown author. Printed in Copenhagen.

1544: "Siælens Lægedom for de karske (Urbanus Rhegius 1489-1541).³⁴¹ Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1546: "En kort Cathecismi Wdleggelse screffuen aff doctore Petro Palladio for Norske Sogneprester." 1550: "Nogne deylige Sprock aff den Hellige Scrifft for en bedrøffuit Samwittighed beskickedede alle Christne til Trøst (Vitus Theodorus)."

PEDERSEN, Christiern (1480-1554) – 1510: *Vocabularium ad usum Danorum*," printed in Paris. 1514: "Historica Danica" by Saxo Grammaticus; "Vor froe Tider... Corrigeret af mester Christiern Pedersen;" 1515: Peder Laale's *Parabolæ*: "Peder Laales ordsprog." 1515: "Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lessis alle Søndage om Aaret, sammeledis Juledag, Paaskedagh, Pingetzdag, meth deris Vdtydning oc Glose oc eth Jertegn til huer dag (*Jærtegnpostillen*)." Printed in Paris. 1517: "I denne Bog leris at høre Messe." Printed in Paris. 1529: *The New Testament*, reprinted in 1531. 1531: "Om Børn ath holde til Scole (Luther)." 1531: "Davids Psalmer." Printed in Antwerpen. 1531: "Huurledis et huert Christet Menniske skal bere sit Kaars met Jhesu Christo vaar Herre och Frelsere. Vdset paa Danske af Christiern Pedersen og prentet i Andorp (Luther)." Printed in Antwerpen. 1531: "Om vaar Herris Død oc Pine, oc om Billede." Printed in Antwerpen and "corrected" by C.P. 1531: "Den rette Vey til Himmerigs Rige (Luther & Urbanus 1523)."³⁴² 1531: Luther's "Huurledis huert Menniske skal betencke vor Herris Død

³⁴¹ German reformer and evangelical publicist. His "De 12 Artickle af vor christelige Troe med Forklaring" was translated and printed in Rostock in 1528.

³⁴² This text was translated into English by the Scottish John Gau (1493-c.1553) as «The richt way to the kingdom of heuine». The text was probably one of the first Protestant writings in Scotland (Brandt 1882)

oc Pine, oc hennis Kraft oc Mact, Fruct oc Godhed,” printed in Antwerpen. 1531:

“Om Ecteskaff oc Børn ath opføde Gud til Loff och Ere.” 1533: “Hundrede och halvfierde Sindz Tiwe merkelige och ret Christelige Spørssmaall met deris Swar (Johann von Agricola’s (1492-1566);” “En nøttelig legebog faar fattige oc rige Vnge oc Gamle om atskillige Siwgdomme...”³⁴³; “170 Spørgsmaal med Svar (Malmø).” 1534: “Karl Magnus Krønike.” 1534: “Olger Danskes Krønike.”

1534/1535: “Om den gamle Gud oc om den nye Gud, om den gamle Tro oc om den nye Tro, om den gamle Lerdom oc om den nye Lerdom, och huorledis alt Affguderi er først opkommet.” Printed in Malmø by Jo Hoochstraten.

PEDERSSØN, Jo (..) – 1595: “Vaag op: om denne vor siste Tids syndige Leffnit oc Vilkaar, sampt nogle Vnderlige Ting oc Tegen, som sig her vdi Landet paa en kort Tid tildragit.” Unknown author. Printed in Copenhagen.

PEERSEN, Jens (...) – 1531: “Disputats om Christelig Vnderuisning”. Unknown author. Printed in Viborg by Hans Vingaard.

POVELSEN, Hans RESEN (1561-1638) – 1610: “Den gyldene Griff paa Bibelen, oc den gyldene Fader vor etc (Hieronimus de Ferraria (1452-1498).” Printed in Copenhagen.

SADOLIN, Jørgen (d.1583) – 1529; “Then Christelig Troes bekendelse (Luther).” 1529: “Summa paa al vor Saligheds Lærdom (Joh. Bugenhagen).” Printed in Viborg. 1530: “Twende Beslutninge met nogle Christelige Raade aff Gudz Ærdt, om Egteskabff...(Luther).” Printed in Viborg by H. Vingaard. 1532: “Lille Katekismus (Luther).” Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1533: “Then Christelige Troes oc Lærdoms Bekiendelsse som bleff indførd føre høybornste Stoermechtig Keyser Karl (The Augsburgian Confession).” Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard.

343 A translation of the Danish physician Henrik Harpestreng’s (d. 1244) *Liber herbarium* (Brandt 1882).

SCHRIEK, Chr. (Chr. Skrok) – 1538: “En Sermon huorledis man skal berede sin Hw til Døden. Fordansket aff Chr. S. (Luther).” Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard.

SIUNESSEN, Hans (15..) – 1552: *Tobiæ Bog (Book of Toby)*.

SKRIVER, Niels – 1530: “Aandelig Almanak” (not preserved)

SMALTING, Georg (...) 1533: *The Psalms of David*. Printed in Magdeburg by Hans Walther.

SMITH, Henrik (15..) – Translated all of Luther’s prefaces to the *Old* and *New Testament*

TAUSEN, Hans (1494-1561) – 1528: “Her haffue wij bodhae edt onkelight Klawaemooll... huorledes then Herre Jesus Christus beclawer... (Luther).” 1535/1536/1537: *The Old Testament* into Danish. 1538: “Oeconomia christiana... d.e. En Christelig Hwsholdning, hworledis hwer maa met Guds Frycht tage waare paa det hannem tilhør, effter sith Kaldt (Justus Menius).” Printet in Rostock. 1539: “Wor Herre Jesu Christi hellige Passies oc Pinsel.” Printed in Magdeburg. 1552: “Pater Noster.. kortelig forklaret.” Printed in Wittenberg.

TIDEMAND, Peder (15..) –1539: “Jerusalems Forstyrrelse.” Printed in Magdeburg.³⁴⁴ 1539: “Dommernes Bog” (*Book of Judgments*). 1541: “Salomonis Wiished till Tiranner” and “Jesus Sirach.” 1543: “En liden Bog der det gantske Christelige Leffnet er kortelig befattet wdi nyttelig at haffue altid for Øyen at betracte (Melanchthon).” 1543: “Om Guds grumme Straf oc Vrede (Caspar Huberinus).” New edition in 1548. 1552: *Pater Noster* with explanations. Also translated *Hortulus animæ* [by some attributed to Nicolas de Leuze (d.1589) of Leuven (Chavy 1988)] as “Siælens Vrtegaard, med deylige, lystige Figurer, oc Kalendario.”

344 Inspired by Torquato Tasso (1544-c.1595), Italian poet and author of *La Gerusalemme liberata* (c. 1575). Tasso’s poem was widely translated throughout Europe (Chavy 1988) and derived from the story of Godfrey Bulloigne (1060-1100)—5 cantos— one of the first rulers of Jerusalem following the First Crusades in 1099 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

- 1556: "Børneprædiken om de besyndeligste Høytider (Vitus Theodorus). Reprinted in Magdeburg in 1569. 1560: "Vdleggelse paa Søndagis Epistler, som læsis fra Aduente indtil Paaske (Jo. Spangenberg)." 1564: "Huspostille offuer alle Søndagers oc de besyndeligste Høytiders Euangelium det gantske Aar igiennem, met xiiij Predicken offuer Christi Pines Historie (Luther)." 1569: "Postilla. Vdleggelse paa Søndagis oc hellige Dagis Epistler oc Euangelier, som læris det gantske Aar igennem i den Christne Forsambling (Jo Spangenberg)." Printed in Lübeck.
- TRUELSØN, Jens (...) – 1593: "Om de hellige Engle, om Dieffuelen, oc om Menniskens Siæl. Tre skjøne Predicken, med Ph. Melanchthonis Definition oc Forklaring. Fordansket af Jens Truelsøn Hæmnense." Printed in Copenhagen.
- TURZON, Joen (d.1577) – 1577: "En Aandelig Recept, Præservativa oc Lægedom, huorledis it Christet Menniske skal skicke sig imot Døden. Vddragen af den Hellige Scrifft, oc nu fordansket af Joen Turzøn. Met en Kaart Vnderuisning af D. Luthero, om mand maa fly for Døden (Hieronimus Veller)." Printed in Copenhagen.
- ULFELDT, Jacob (1535-1593) – 1573: "Mange deylige Sententzer og Sprock aff den Hellige Scriffts Udlæggelse, huilke den værdige D. Martin Luther haffuer screffuet i sin Bibel... (Niels Hemmingssøn)." Printed in Copenhagen.
- VENUSIUS, Jonas Jacobus (15..) – 1599: "Om Christi Effterfølgelse, oc huorledis wi skulle forsage all Verdens Forfengelighed (*De imitatio Christi* by Thomas of Kempis)." Printed in Copenhagen.
- VINTER, CHRISTIERN. 1524: *New Testament* based on Erasmus' 1516 version.
- WORMORDI, Francisco (Frands Vormordsen) (...) – 1528: "Davids Psalmer" printed in Rostock. 1534: "En oc Tiue de alder skøniste oc hugsualeligste Artickle... aff den hellige Scrifft." 1537: "Lille Danske Catechismus, Huilken aff alle Sogneprester effter Predicken for Almuffwen fortellis scall (Luther)." 1537: "Aarsager, for huilke

Protestanterne ikke vilde møde paa Konciliet i Mantova,” unknown author, maybe himself. Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard. 1537: “Lille Cathecismus (Luther).” 1552: “En skøn liden Bog, Vddragen aff den hellige Scrifft oc aff nogre Vdkorne Davids Psalmer (A prayer book).” Printed in Lübeck.

Information extracted from:

Bruun (1877), Nielsen (1996) and Brandt (1850).

Appendix 6: Norwegian students abroad in the 15th and 16th centuries

The survey includes Norwegian students abroad and Danish student who later worked in Norway. Many students never took any degrees, yet received some tutoring at the universities visited.

- 1419 Johannes Hallvardsson. Rostock
- 1420 Gunnar Eiriksson – bishop in Stavanger. Rostock 1420
- 1420 Engerburtus Nortmann (Egelbert Normann). Rostock 1420
- 1423 Torgarus de Nidrosia (Torgeir of Trondheim). Rostock 1423
- 1430 Olavus Trunderi (Olav of Trøndelag). Rostock 1430, *Baccalaureat* in 1433, later *magister* in 1438 at Greifswald
- 1458 Augustinius de Nidrosia. *Baccalaureat* from Rostock in 1458
- 1458 Alverus Teist. Rostock 1458, *Magister* 1468
- 1460 Laurentius Johannis de Nidrosia (Lars Johansson from Trondheim)
- 1462 Gaute Ivarsson.. Rostock 1462, *Baccalaureat* 1463
- 1462 Augustinus Jacobi. Rostock 1462, *Baccalaureat* 1463, *Magister* 1471
- 1462 Alvarus Krogher
- 1465 Harnichinus de Nidrosia
- 1466 Gherardus Andreae (Gerhard Andreassen). Rostock 1466
- 1466 Aslacus Wernerer (Aslak Wernerssen). Rostock 1466
- 1466 Frater Johannes Nicolai. Rostock 1466
- 1467 Franciscus Wulf. Rostock 1467
- 1467 Nicolaus Cristoferi (Nils Christoffersen). Rostock 1467
- 1468 Harnichinus Henrici (Harnekin Henriksen)

- 1468 Johannes Petri (Johannes Pedersen)
- 1468 Petrus Michaelis (Peder Michaelsen)
- 1469 Aslacus Torfinni (Aslak Torfinnsen). Rostock 1469, *Baccalaureat* 1469, *magister* 1471
- 1473 Bersvennus Torkelli (Bersvenn Torkildsen)
- 1473 Olaus Kane
- 1473 Benedictus Botolfi (Benedikt Botolfsen)
- 1469 Eskildus de Nidrosia (Eskil of Trondheim). Rostock, *magister* in 1469. He may have studied earlier at Greifswald.
- 1471 Olavus Olavi (Olav Olafsen)
- 1471 Petrus Olavi (Peder Olafsen)
- 1471 Alverus Gunnari (Alf Gunnarssen)
- 1472 Ericus Nicolai (Erik Nicolaysen)
- 1473 Olavus Henrichi (Olav Henriksson Gyldenløve). Rostock 1473, Canon at Nidaros in 1485
- 1473 Aslacus Erlendi (Aslak Erlendsen)
- 1473 Tronderus Torkylli (Trond Torkildsen). Rostock 1473, *Baccalaureat* 1475
- 1473 Augustinus Arneri. Rostock 1473
- 1473 Gauto Test (Teiste). Rostock
- 1476 Svenno Hagivini (Håkonson), *Baccalaureat* 1478;
- 1477 Gunnarus Nicolai (Gunnar Nikolaysen)
- 1477 Andenus Teest (Teiste)
- 1478 Olavus Kuse. Rostock 1478, *Baccalaureat* 1480
- 1479 Jacobus Benedicti (Jakob Bendiksen)
- 1480 Johannes Solle. Rostock 1480, *Baccalaureat* 1485
- 1480 Anders Benchestock. Rostock 1480, *Baccalaureat* 1492

- 1481 David Johannis 1488 "Iwari" (maybe Henrik Ivarsson). Rostock 1488.
Baccalaureat 1493;
- 1492 Johannes og Christiernus Johannis (brothers: Johannes & Christiern Johansen).
Rostock 1492
- 1493 Andreas Nicolai (Andras Nikolaysen)
- 1493 Iwarus Andreae (Ivar Andreassen)
- 1493 Olavus Johannis (Olav Johansen)
- 1494 Ivarus Petri (Ivar Pedersen)
- 1494 Henricus Martini (Henrik Martinsen)
- 1495 Barderus Solle (Bård Solli) 1496 Andorus Olavi. Rostock 1496
- 1496 Johannes Olavi. Rostock 1496, *Baccalaureat* 1498 (maybe brother of above)
- 1499 Olavus Teest (Teiste). Rostock 1499, *Baccalaureat* 1502, *magister* 1505
- 1521 **Gås, Hans** (d. 1578), Bishop of Trondheim 1549-1578. Wittenberg 1521
- 1527 **Bratt, Thorbjørn Olufsen** (d. 1548) from Andenes. Bishop of **Trondheim**. First
immatriculated in Köln 1527/8 – Copenhagen 1542 *Magister*
- 1536 Nielsen, Henrik (d. 1567?) from **Trondhjem**. Illegitimate son of Niels Henriksen
(Gyldenløve) of Østråt. Leuven 1536
- 1542 Pedersen, Jens from **Oslo**. Rostock 1542
- 1543 Skjelderup, Jens (c.1510-1582) Bishop of **Bergen**. Copenhagen 1543
Baccalaureat, 1544: *Baccalaureat med.*— Rostock 1556: *dr. med.*, also spent
some time in Wittenberg.
- 1544 **Beyer, Absalon Pedersen** (1528-1575, priest in **Bergen**. Copenhagen 1544 –
Wittenberg 1549/51 – Copenhagen 1556, *magister*
- 1544 Strangius, Jacob. Royal bursary. Wittenberg 1544
- 1544 Olufsen, Mogens (d.e.1589) from **Trondheim**, minister in Salten. Member of the
Chapter from 1544. Wittenberg 1544

- 1549 Henriksen, Christopher from **Trondheim**. Minister Alstahaug. Rostock 1549
Baccalaureat & Magister 1552, was at Jena in 1553.
- 1549 Nielsen, Peder from **Oslo**? Rostock 1549 1549 Simonsen, Niels (d.1588) from
Skåne. Came to Bergen with his parents. This is also where he received his
elementary education. Is supposed to have studied in Wittenberg. Minister of
Korskirken (the Church of the Holy Cross) from 1586.
- 1549 Thomsen, Laurids from **Oslo**? Rostock 1549
- 1550 Hansen, Rasmus from **Norway**, minister in Fet (near Oslo). Rostock 1550
- 1550 Hansen, Anders from **Bergen** (?). Wittenberg 1550
- 1551 Simonsen, Sivert (d.c.1566) from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1551
- 1552 Andersen, Oluf from **Trondheim**. (d.1611). Minister in Bronnø. Rostock 1552 –
Wittenberg from 1560, magister in 1561.
- 1552 Jensen, Jens from **Bergen**?. **Rostock** 1552
- 1552 Sivertsen (Holck), Mikkel (d.c.1578) from **Norway**, minister in Skogn.. **Rostock**
1522
- 1553 Halvorsen, Jens from **Bergen**. **Rostock** 1553
- 1553 Mikkelsen, Gert (d.e.1563) from **Stavanger**. Rostock 1553
- 1553 Sivertsen, Christopher (d.1605) from **Stavanger**, minister at Avaldnæs. Rostock
1553
- 1553 Sivertsen, Torkild (d.1577) from **Tromsø**, minister at Hevne (near Trondheim).
Rostock 1553
- 1553 Tossanus (Tostanus), Jens (d.1557), Norwegian. Leuven 1553, magister 1556
- 1553 Venstermand, Johan of Stadager (d.1587), sheriff and chancellor. Traveled with
his brothers and preceptor Hans Thomesen to Wittenberg in 1553
- 1554 Hansen, Rasmus from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1554
- 1554 Halman, Conrad from Borde (**Norway**?). Rostock 1554

- 1554 Andersen, Jens from **Trondheim**. (d.c. 1599). Rostock 1554
- 1554 Hummer, Laurids Olufsen (d.c.1567) from Norway, canon in Oslo. Rostock 1554
- 1554 Madsen, Steen from **Bergen**. Rostock 1554
- 1554 Nielsen, Christopher (c.1536-f.1594) from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1554
- 1554 Stenrot, Rudolph (**Norsk?**). Rostock 1554
- 1556 Hummer, Thure Olufsen (d.1584) from **Hamar**. Rector in Hamar. Laurids Olufsen Hummer's brother. Rostock 1557, Hamar from 1580
- 1556 Olufsen, Henrik from **Norway**, canon in Bergen. Rostock 1556
- 1556 Olufsen, Jonas from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1556
- 1556/7 Ømechen, Jens from **Bergen**. Erfurt 1556/7 (non iuravit ob inscitiam latinae lingua)
- 1559 Enersen, Esbern from **Norway**. Rostock 1559
- 1559 Gås, Kjell (d.1564/7) from Fyn, Denmark. Rector at the school in **Trondheim**. Wittenberg 1559, Magister 1562
- 1559 Mogensen, Erik from **Norway**, Minister somewhere in Jämtland (Sweden)?. Wittenberg 1559
- 1559 Nielsen, Laurids (Pater Norvegus) (d.1622). Norwegian Jesuit Priest.. Leuven 1559, Praha 1587: dr. theol.
- 1559 Olufsen, Niels (d.1599) from **Tønsberg**, minister of Oslo Domkirke. Rostock 1559
- 1560 Gunnarsøn, Halvard (1545-1608) from **Sarpsborg**. Lector at the Latin School in Oslo. Copenhagen 1560 – Rostock 1566 – Wittenberg 1576 Magister
- 1560 Foss, Peder Nielsen (1538-1615) minister at **Bergen**. Wittenberg c.1560, i Bergen from 1610
- 1560 Melchiorson, Vincens from **Norway**. Rostock 1560
- 1560 Sørensen, Hans (d. 1599) from Ribe, maybe royal chaplain and canon in **Oslo**. Rostock 1560

- 1561 Haraldsen, Torkel from **Norway**, minister. Rostock 1561
- 1561 Iversen, Peder (Baden) (1551-1616). Elementary education in **Oslo**, studied at Rostock around 1561
- 1561 Sivertsen, Christopher (d.c.1588) from **Trondheim**, minister at Skogn. Rostock 1561
- 1563 Foss, Anders Mikkelsen (1543-1607) Bishop of **Bergen**. Wittenberg 1563, also traveled to Rostock, Leipzig, and France. Copenhagen in 1567: magister.
- 1563 Olufsen, Jørgen from **Trondheim**, minister at Kvernes. Rostock 1563
- 1563 Vemundsen, Peder (d.1622) from **Bergen**, minister in Sandherred. Rostock 1563 – Wittenberg 1576
- 1564 Vasteri, Vasterus from **Norway**. Leuven 1564 Magister 1566
- 1565 Mattias Skytte. Wittenberg 1565
- 1565 Christensen, Jens from **Norway**. Rostock 1565
- 1565 Mikkelsen, Christiern (d.1616) from **Norway**, minister at Trondheim?. Rostock 1565 – Wittenberg 1571
- 1565 Sørensen, Christen from **Norway**. Rostock 1565
- 1565 Tønnesen, Mikkel from **Oslo**. Rostock 1565
- 1566 Gram, Mads Nielsen (d.1601) minister at **Fron**, Norway. Traveled to Denmark and Germany. May have been enrolled at Rostock in 1566. Abroad unidentified in 1587
- 1566 Olufsen, Didrik from **Norway**. Rostock 1566, Wittenberg 1570 (gratis)
- 1566 Pedersen, Richard (d.c.1570) from **Norway**, Jesuit novice in Leuven 1566
- 1567 Eriksen, Oluf from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1567
- 1567 Anfindsen, Zacharias Soop from **Trondheim** (d. c. 1578). Canon there. Rostock 1567 – Wittenberg 1572 – Jena 1574 1567 Soop, Zacharias Andfinsen (d.c.1578) from **Trondheim**. Canon there. Rostock 1567 – Wittenberg 1572 – Jena 1574

- 1567 Torgersen, Kjeld (d.1620) from **Norway**, minister at Romedal. Otter's brother..
Rostock 1567
- 1568 Jørgen Erikssøn from Haderslev. Bishop of Stavanger 1571-1604. Wittenberg
1568-70
- 1568 Grubbe, Corfitz of Høgested (d.1592). Canon i **Oslo**. Pforta 1568 – Leipzig 1572
– Tübingen 1580 – Basel 1580 – Frankfurt a.Main 1580 – Strasbourg 1580 –
Orleans 1581 – Jena 1583 – Siena 1584 – Padova 1584
- 1568 Knardorph, Morten Knudsen (b.c. 1550), canon at **Hamar**. Strasbourg 1568 –
Home – Copenhagen 1570 – Rostock 1571 – Home – Frankfurt aM 1580 –
Strasbourg 1580 – Tübingen 1581 – Heidelberg 1581 – Frankfurt aM 1581 –
Lich 1581 – Marburg 1581 – Giessen 1581 – Lich 1582 – Marburg 1582 – Basel
1583 – Geneve 1583 – Basel 1584 – Geneve 1584 – Frankfurt aM 1584 – Kassel
1587
- 1570 Kolding, Peder Pedersen (1550-1591) minister of Korskirken in **Bergen**.
Wittenberg c.1570-75
- 1570 Lauridsen, Børge from **Norway**. Rostock 1570
- 1570 Torgersen, Otter (d.1602) from **Norway**, minister at Rødnes, Hobøl. Rostock
1570
- 1571 Haagensen, Jens from **Oslo**. Rostock 1571 – Greifswald 1573
- 1571 Mule, Søren of Trosvik (d.a. 1600) **Norwegian** captain, son of Christen Mule,
mayor of Oslo, and Thomas Mule' brother. Rostock 1571
- 1571 Mule, Thomas (lived after 1585) from **Norway**, brother of Søren (above).
Rostock 1571
- 1571 Taredi, Simon from **Norway**. Rostock 1571
- 1571 Frandsen, Klaus Berg, son of Bishop Frands Berg. Canon in Hamar 1574, cantor
in Oslo 1581. Wittenberg 1571

- 1572 Hansen, Søren from **Oslo**. Rostock 1572
- 1572 Hansen, Jacob from **Norway**. Rostock 1572
- 1572 Hellesen, Bent from **Norway**, minister at Hvaløerne (Hvaler). Rostock 1572 – Greifswald 1574 – Wittenberg 1578
- 1572 Pedersen, Hans (d.c.1609) from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1572
- 1573 Nielsen, Christopher from **Oslo**. Rostock 1573
- 1573 Thomsen, Gunnar (d.c.1593) from **Oslo**, minister at Sigdal. Rostock 1573 – Greifswald 1574
- 1576 Hansen, Christen from **Oslo**. Rostock 1576 – Wittenberg 1580
- 1576 Gulacius, Jørgen from **Norway**. Rostock 1576
- 1576 Frandsen, Laurids (d.1614) from **Norway**. Minister at Nannestad. Rostock 1576 – Heidelberg 1584
- 1576 Bang, Jonas from Tune **Norway**. Rostock 1576 – Copenhagen 1578
- 1576 Kruse, Enevold (1554-1621), governor of **Norway**
Primary education at Herlufsholm – Helmstedt 1576 – Jena 1576 – Copenhagen 1591 – Came to Akershus in 1609
- 1576 Skjelderup, Daniel (son of Bishop Jens Skjelderup, d.1582). Bergen 1576 – Wittenberg 1578
- 1577 Dallin, Anders Bentsen (d.1607) Bishop of **Oslo**. Copenhagen 1577 – Wittenberg 1580 – Copenhagen 1591 Magister.
- 1577 Dallin, Anders Bentsen (d.1607) Bishop of **Oslo**. Copenhagen 1577 – Wittenberg 1580 – Copenhagen 1591
- 1578 Arctander, Niels Lauridsen (1561-1616). **Trondheim** 1578 – Marburg 1584 – Copenhagen 1593 – Kolding 1614
- 1578 Lauridsen, Samuel (d.1607) from **Norway**, minister at Stjørdalen. Copenhagen Baccalaureat (year ?) – Wittenberg 1578

- 1578 Torbensen, Frederik from **Norway?**. Rostock 1578
- 1578 Tronderus, Christopher from **Norway**. Wittenberg 1578
- 1579 Lauridsen, Niels from **Norway**. Braunberg 1579
- 1579 Olufsen, Sivert from **Norway**. Braunberg 1579-83 where he became student
prefect
- 1580 Christensen, Christen (d.1594) from **Oslo** (minister at Stange). Wittenberg 1580
- 1580 Jonsen, Mikkel from **Oslo**. Rostock 1580
- 1581 Albert from **Norway**. Olmütz seminary c. 1581
- 1581 Svendsen, Troels from **Norway**. Rostock 1581
- 1582 Olufsen, Christopher (d.1613) from **Tønsberg** rector Helsingør, senere minister
Andenæs
Copenhagen 1582 – Rostock 1583 – Wittenberg 1590, Magister 1591
- 1582 Urup, Axel of Vapnø (1564-1601) state administrator in **Norway** (His father was
governor of Stavanger county). Basel 1582
- 1583 Bildt, Vincens from **Norway**. Jena 1583
- 1583 Hess, Hans Nielsen (d.1619/21) from **Bergen**, minister at Lindås. Rostock 1583
- 1583 Truelsen, Laurids from **Norway**, maybe Bergen. Rostock 1583
- 1584 Hansen, Oluf from **Norway**. Rostock 1584
- 1584 Clemensen, Niels from **Norway**. Rostock 1584
- 1584 Christophersen, Oluf from **Norway**. Greifswald 1584
- 1584 Jensen, Christopher (f.1572) from **Oslo**, minister at Stange. Son of Bishop Jens
Nilsson (1538-1600). Copenhagen 1584-85 – Rostock 1588 – Edinburg 1590 –
home in 1591
- 1584 Kolding, Anders Mikkelsen (1560-1615) Bishop of **Bergen**. Rostock 1584 –
Wittenberg 1585 – Copenhagen Magister & Baccalaureat Theol. 1608

- 1585 Scavenius, Laurids Clausen (1562-1626) from Copenhagen. Bishop of **Stavanger**. Wittenber 1585 – Magister 1586 – Royal bursary in 1587 – Wittenberg 1588 – Zerbst 1589 – Copenhagen 1592, 1597 – Stavanger 1607
- 1585 Adamsen, Villads Nielsen (1564-1616) medical doctor in **Bergen**. Rostock 1585 – Heidelberg 1592 – Padova 1592 – Siena 1593 – Helmstedt 1594 – Copenhagen dr. med. 1603
- 1585 Hjort, Jacob Rasmussen left **Norway** around 1611. Convicted in Gjerpen 1613 (probably for incurred debts, which was not at all unusual). Wittenberg 1585 – Braunberg 1601
- 1585 Scavenius, Laurids Clausen (1562-1626) from Copenhagen, Bishop of **Stavanger**
Wittenberg 1585, Magister 1586 – Royal Bursary in Rostock 1587 – Wittenberg 1588 – Zerbst 1589 – Copenhagen 1592 – Stavanger 1607
- 1586 Christophersen from **Oslo**. Rostock 1585
- 1586 Henriksen, Jacob from **Norway**. Rostock 1586 – Helmstedt 1588 – Wittenberg 1590
- 1586 Lange, Gunde of Søfde (d.1647). Rostock 1586 – Wittenberg 1587 – unknown destination abroad 1593 – **Oslo** 1608
- 1586 Lo(e), Mads Hansen (1564-1623/25) from **Norway**, minister Vinje. Olmütz seminary 1586 – Rostock 1588
- 1586 Lætus, Hans from **Oslo**. Rostock 1586
- 1586 Nielsen, Oluf (d.1602) from **Oslo**, minister at Oslo Cathedral. Rostock 1586
- 1586 Oluf from **Norway**. Olmütz seminary 1586
- 1586 Pedersen, Hans from **Bergen**. Rostock 1586
- 1586 Pedersen, Hans from **Bergen**. Rostock 1586
- 1586 Torkildsen, Søren from **Norway**. Rostock 1586

- 1587 Lo(e), Mads Hansen from **Norway**, minister at Vinje. Olmütz seminary 1587 – Rostock 1588
- 1587 Brock, Peder (1571-1632) from **Bergen**. Copenhagen 1587 – Wittenberg 1595
- 1587 Jensen, Marcus from **Norway**, minister at Sandsvær. Olmütz seminary 1587
- 1588 Coltzov, Hans from **Oslo**? Rostock 1588
- 1588 Landgrav, Niels Jensen from **Bergen**, Mads Jensen Landgrav's brother.. Greifswald 1588 – Rostock 1589
- 1588 Sørensen, Hans from **Bergen** (Norway?). Rostock 1588
- 1589 Basse, Hans from **Norway**. Rostock 1589
- 1589 Borch, Peder Iversen (1563-1627) lector in **Trondheim**. Wittenberg 1589 – Copenhagen 1590 – magister 1594
- 1589 Poulsen, Christopher from **Sande**. Rostock 1589 – Franeker 1594
- 1590 Due (Columbanus), Mikkel (c.1568-1610) from **Norway**. Chaplain in Sogndal. Rostock 1590
- 1590 Didriksen, Didrik from **Oslo**. Wittenberg 1590
- 1590 Schjelderup, Peder Jensen (1571-1646) Bishop of **Bergen** Sorø 1590 – Copenhagen 1593 – Frankfurt am Oder 1597 – Zerbst 1597 – Copenhagen magister 1608
- 1590 Jørgensen, Hans from **Stavanger**. Sorø 1590 – Wittenberg 1595-99 magister – Rostock 1599
- 1590 Niels from **Norway**. Braunberg 1590 – First Catholic, he later converted to the Lutheran faith
- 1590 Olufsen, Erhard (Iver) from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1593
- 1590 Skanke, Jon Mogensen (d.1618) from **Norway**, minister at Innviken. Helmstedt 1590 – Rostock 1593, Magister – Came to Loen in 1611

- 1590 Skjelderup, Peder Jensen (1571-1646) from **Bergen**, Bishop. Sorø 1590 –
Copenhagen 1593 – Wittenberg 1595 – Frankfurt am Oder 1597 – Zerbst 1597 –
Copenhagen 1608 Magister
- 1591 Graff, Albert Albertsen from **Bergen**, minister at Manger 1611-25. Rostock 1591
- 1591 Graff, Henrik Albertsen from **Bergen**, minister at Hafslø. Albert's brother.
Rostock 1591
- 1591 Graff, Henrik Albertsen from **Bergen**. Minister Hafslø c.1596. Rostock 1591
- 1591 Jonsen, Eskild from **Bergen?**. Rostock 1591
- 1591 Olufsen, Howard from **Bergen**. Rostock 1591
- 1592 Blix, Mogens Lauridsen (c.1567-1629) from Jämtland. Minister at **Trondheim**.
Rostock 1592 – Geifswald 1592/3 – Copenhagen 1597 – Oslo 1610 –
Copenhagen 1621 magister
- 1592 Hjort, Christopher (1561-1616) from **Tønsberg**, minister at Aker
Wittenberg 1592 – Olmütz 1593, Baccalaureat 1594 – Wittenberg 1595 Magister
– Næs 1614
- 1592 Holck, Peder Mikkelsen from **Trondheim**, canon and notary 1598. Wittenberg
1592
- 1592 Santorius, Hans Jonsen from **Bergen**. Rostock 1592 – Wittenberg 1595 –
Helmstedt 1597
- 1592 Ovesen, Torsten from **Norway**. Rostock 1592
- 1592 Pedersen, Daniel from **Trondheim**, minister. Copenhagen 1592 – Wittenberg
1592-93
- 1592 Pedersen, Hans (d.c.1609) from **Trondheim**, minister. Rostock 1572
- 1592 Pedersen, Henning (**Norsk?**). Rostock 1592
- 1592 Pedersen, Jonas from **Norway** eller **Sverige**. Rostock 1592
- 1592 Rhode, Hans Poulsen from **Skjeberg**. Rostock 1592

- 1592 Santorius, Hans Jonsen from **Bergen**. Rostock 1592 – Wittenberg 1595 – Helmstedt 1597
- 1593 Guldbrandsen, Hans from **Norway**. Rostock 1593. Killed a fellow Norwegian student in 1594. Olmütz seminary 1597
- 1593 Fracker, Niels Pedersen from **Norway**, minister at Stavanger. Rostock 1593
- 1593 Henriksen, Jørgen from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1593 – Wittenberg 1595 – Oxford 1599
- 1593 Jacob from **Norway**. Rostock 1593
- 1593 Jørgensen, Daniel (1583-1635) from **Stavanger**, minister. Sorø 1593 – Copenhagen 1601 – Wittenberg 1601 – Rostock 1603
- 1593 Kruse, Hans (c.1573-1625) from **Bergen**, minister at Lekanger later Helsingør. Rostock 1593 – Copenhagen 1617 Magister – Helsingør 1621
- 1593 Passerinus, Anders Christophersen from **Norway**. Rostock 1593
- 1593 Torkildsen, Harald from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1593
- 1593 Turovius, Christian from **Bergen** (?). Rostock 1593
- 1594 Ruus, Thomas Hansen (d.1613) from **Bergen**. Lector there.. Rostock 1594 – Leiden 1597 – Theology at Padova 1599 – Geneve 1600 – Basel 1600 – Heidelberg 1600 – Leiden 1600, Magister 1601 – Bergen 1610
- 1594 Haldorsen, Erland from **Norway**. Catholic priest in Gemlitz near Danzig. Son of Haldor Samsonsens, merchant in **Bergen**. Rostock 1594 – Wittenberg 1595 – Braunberg 1601 – Wilna 1601
- 1594 Ruus, Thomas Hansen (d.1613) from **Bergen**, lector. Rostock 1594 – Leiden 1597, Theology – Padova 1599 – Geneve 1600, Basel 1600 – Heidelberg 1600 – Leiden 1600, Magister 1601 – Bergen 1610
- 1594 Sivertsen, Find (1567-1627) from **Oslo**, minister at Tønsberg
Traveled as preceptor for Gude and Mourids Galde while studying at various

universities: Leiden 1594 – Franeker 1595 Theology – Copenhagen 1599. Then traveled as preceptor for Jens Bielke: Rostock 1600 Magister – Leipzig – alone to Praha. Home in 1602

- 1594 Soop, Niels from **Norway**. Rostock 1594
- 1595 Jonsen, Anders from **Bergen**. Rostock 1595
- 1595 Kock, Oluf Jensen (1577-1619) from **Bergen**, minister in Copenhagen.
Copenhagen 1595 – Rostock 1596 – Copenhagen Baccalaureat 1597, Magister 1602 – Leiden 1614
- 1595 Bielke, Jens of Østråt (1580-1659). **Norwegian councillor**. Wittenberg 1595 – Rostock 1600 – Leiden 1601 – Died in Saumur
- 1595 Hommeus, Erland from **Norway**. Wittenberg 1595
- 1595 Kock, Oluf Jensen (1577-1619) from **Bergen**, minister in Copenhagen.
Copenhagen 1595 – Rostock 1596 – Copenhagen Baccalaureat 1597, Magister 1602 – Leiden 1614 Theology
- 1595 Nielsen, Oluf from **Bergen**. Rostock 1595
- 1595 Sinning, Niels Clausen (d.1617) from Helsingør, Bishop of **Oslo**. Franeker 1595 – Preceptor for Christopher Ulfeldt and Laxmand Gyldenstierne:
Herborn 1598 – Heidelberg 1598 – Basel 1599 – Geneve 1600 Theology – Orleans 1602 – Copenhagen 1602 Magister – Oslo 1613
- 1595 Sørensen, Jonas (1585-1651) from Copenhagen, lector at **Bergen**. Sorø 1595 – Lauingen 1602 – Herborn 1604 – St Andrew 1606-08 – Wittenberg 1611 – Copenhagen 1616 Baccalaureat, 1619 Magister
- 1596 Pedersen, Claus from **Norway**. Rostock 1596
- 1586 Pedersen, Niels from **Norway**. Rostock 1596
- 1597 Engelbretsen, Abraham (c.1573-1628) from **Norway**. Minister at Avaldnæs.
Greifswald 1597

- 1597 Jørgensen, Erik from **Bergen** (Norway?). Rostock 1597
- 1597 Pedersen, Jens (1552-1605) from **Stavanger?** Wittenberg 1597
- 1597 Pedersen, Oluf from **Trondheim**. Rostock 1597
- 1597 Torstensen, Amandus from **Norway**. Rostock 1597 – Copenhagen 1599
- 1598 Hansen, Adrian from **Buskerud**, Norway. Minister at Hobøl. Rostock 1598
- 1598 Hansen, Haagen from **Norway?** Franeker 1598, Copenhagen 1599
- 1598 Gudmundsen, Peder from **Norway**. Wittenberg 1598 – then to Graz
- 1598 Eriksen, Halvard from **Oslo**. Minister at Norderhaug 1603-1609. Franeker 1598 – Copenhagen 1599?
- 1598 Lauridsen, Hans from **Norway**. Altdorp 1598 “gratis” 1598 Lauridsen, Niels from **Norway**. Rostock 1598
- 1598 Nielsen, Erik from **Oslo**. Franeker 1598
- 1598 Wou, Jasper from **Bergen**. Leiden 1598
- 1599 Cardes, Abraham de (d.1617) lector at **Oslo**. Oxford 1599 – Cambridge 1599 – Royal bursary in 1603-08 – Wittenberg 1603 – Copenhagen 1607 Oslo 1609
- 1599 Andersen, Daniel from **Norway**. Rostock 1599
- 1599 Andersen, Henrik from Norway. Rostock 1599 – Greifswald 1600 – Wittenberg 1602 – Copenhagen 1602
- 1599 Eriksen, Roland from **Norway**. Rostock 1599
- 1599 Olufsen, Thøger from **Norway** (T.O Trane?) minister at Øls in 1610. Rostock 1599
- 1599 Pedersen, Jørgen (a. 1622) from **Norway**
Olmütz seminary
- 1600 Christophersen, Roer (d.16018) from **Norway**. Sheriff in Lærdal. Rostock 1600
- 1600 Huitfeldt, Hartvig of Skjelbred, Mine Supervisor in **Norway**. Traveled abroad with Peder Hundermark and preceptor Hans Malachius: Wittenberg 1600 – Olmütz 1601

1600 Jensen, Evert (f.1581), son of Bishop Jens Nilssøn in **Oslo**. Copenhagen 1600 –
Rostock 1601 – Copenhagen 1603

1600 Olufsen, Oluf from **Norway**. Greifswald 1600/1 – Rostock 1601

1600 Pedersen, Niels from **Norway**. Greifswald 1600

Information extracted from:

Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953, Thormodsæter 1912, Helk 1987

Appendix 7: Texts in Illustrations

Letters in brackets do not appear in the manuscript text and indicate space-saving abbreviations. Medieval writing and copying comprised a number of more or less standardized shorthand techniques used to save costly parchment or vellum. These space-saving techniques—which were quite elaborate when it came to the Latin—were transferred to the Old Norse, however in a much smaller scale.

Figure 2: From the *Lai of Desiré*, preserved in the De la Gardie Collection in Stockholm (DG 4-7 fol. 30r.), from capital N to capital þ. The text has been extracted from Cook & Tveitane 1979, pp. 114-116. The *Lai of Desiré* does not figure in the Harley manuscript, and therefore cannot be positively attributed to Marie de France. Quotation marks have been added for clarity.

Nu sem herra desire heyrðe þessi orð hen(n)ar. Þa let h(ann) hana vera kyrra. En mæren ran(n) þingat sem frv hen(n)ar var i liosvm loftskala & halladezc hon at ein(n)i fagre reckiv. Hvitillin(n) er a la reckiv(n)ni. var gorr af tveim dyrvm pellvm. & iaðraren(n) umhv(er)ius laufv(m) saumaðr. En fir(ir) he(n)ni sat su hi(n)n friða mæ. er desire hafðe þangat leit(t). Sem han(n) stoð fiarre. þ(a) kallaðe mæren a h(ann) & mællte: “Þu maðr, kvað hon, lit hingat & se þ(at) sem ec hét þér. Tac her un(n)dir lauvo(m) þessum. Þa frov er þu satt alldre friðare an(n)lit. alldre sva fagrrar hen(n)dr ne sva vel vaxne armleg(g)i ne sva friðan licam. í klæðom lagðan . ne friðare hár . ne hœgre at han(n)dla . ne betr saman(n)di kvenman(n)z hofði . með sva fogrvm harfletto(m) . alldre var on(n)vr istra frið alen ne fœdd. Nv hevi ec leyst mik, kvað hon, af þui sem ec hét þér. Gac nu fram & óttazc ecki. ei skortir þec reysti ne drengskap.” Sem h(ann) hafðe heyrð orð hen(n)ar þa gec h(ann)þangat. & festi þan(n) goða hest sin(n). Þegar sem hin(n) rica mæ. leit h(ann) . þa flyðe hon brot(t) or laufskala sinv(m)

& komz vn(n)dan þangat sem skogrin(n) var þiuckaztr. En herra desire oflugr & diarfr & hin (n) skiotasti a foeti . gat þegar tekit hana i hœgre hond hen(n)ar . & mællti til hen(n)ar bliðvm orðvm & hogværo(m). “Þu hin friða, kvað h(ann), rœð við mec. hui flyr þu un(n)dan mér með sva mikilli ras. Ec em ein(n) riddare fœddr í þesso fylki ec skal þin(n) vera un(n)aste. Ek skal astsamlega þiona þér at eignazc astar þocca þin(n). Eftir ollum mætti minv(m).” Mæren þegar hin kurteisasta laut h(onu)m & þaccaðe . & sagðe at ho(n) hafnaðe honu(m) ecki ne nitti þui er h(ann) hana bæðe. & iattaðe h(onu)m með goðvilia & staðfestv astar sin(n)ar . & leco þau sem þeim licaðe. & var h(ann) þar mioc lengi með hen(n)l & fór nauðigr ifrá hen(n)i. En hon gaf honu(m) þa um siðir leyui. & sagðe h(onu)m & synde. hvar h(ann) skylldi mega rœða við hana. “Unnasti goðe, sagðe hon, desire þu skallt nu fara til K(al)a(ti)r. en ec skal fa þér fin(n)gr gvll mit(t) . & gæt þess vel . er ec vil þer nu segia . at þu villizc ei af an(n)arra kven(n)a astom Un(n) vel & trvlega þ(eir)re sem þu villt kosit hafa. En ef þu gætir þess ei. Þa man(n)tu tyna fingr gvlleno. En ef sva ber(r) at. at þu tynir þui. Þa fær þu þ(at) alldre oftar. sacar enskis lutar er þu kan(n)t at gera. Ger nu vel, kvað hon, & lat lat ei falla ferð þina & skun(n)da til Kalatirs. Þui at fyr(r) en þu toct at un(n)a mer. Þa vartu lofsæll af reysti þin(n)l & riddara skap & atgerðum. engvm riddara samir at fyr(ir)lata fegrð sina sacar kven(n)a asta.” & færðe hon þa fingrgullit a fingr hans. Siðan kysti h(ann) hana. & hellt hen(n)i i faðm sinv(m). & skilduzc þau þa með mikilli astsemð. (For an established English translation, see Cook & Tveitane 1979, pp. 114-116).

Figure 3: The Sacrifice of Abraham in *Stjórn*. AM 227 fol. The text corresponds to *Genesis*, 22:1-19. The Old Norse text was edited by Unger in 1862 and can be found in Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1862) *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra Verdens Skabelse til det Babyloniske fangenskap*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag, p. 130. Quotation marks for clarity:

ON: “Abraham. Abraham.” Hann suaradi. “Ek er til reidu.” “Tak þu sun þinn Ysaach.

Þann sem þu elskar,” sagði Gud. “Ok far til sionar landz. Ok offra mer hann þar a einu þi fialli sem ek man þer syna...”

E: “Abraham. Abraham.” He answered, “I am at your service.” Take your son Isaac, the one that you love,” said God, “and go to the mountains and sacrifice him there on the mount that I will show you...” My translation.)

Figure 4: The Fall of Jericho in *Stjórn*. AM 227 fol.

The text corresponds to the Book of Joshua, 2: 1-2. The Old Norse text was edited by Unger in 1962, and can be found in Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1862) *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra Verdens Skabelse til det Babyloniske fangenskap*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag, p. 351 (Quotation marks for clarity).

ON: H(er) send(er) Josue meN sina i Jiericho at skoða l(an)dzlegh. Þa er Josue var í þeim stað er Sathim heit(er), sende h(a)N .ii. men fra h(er)budum leynlega yfer Jordan at skynia ok skoða landzlegh ok niosna ef þeir neði borg Jericho er stoð a vollunum odru megin aarinnar...”

E: Here Josua sends his men to Jericho to spy. When Joshua was in the town called Sathim, he sent two men from his camp secretly over Jordan to reconnoiter and look at the terrain and determine if Jericho was supported by strong walls or other fortifications.

Figure 5. From *Elucidarium*. AM 674a, 4^o: 8-9

The Old Norse text has been edited by Firchow in 1992, p. 6-8. Orthography with aspirated *þ* in all positions. Standardized Old Norse uses *þ* in the beginning of words, *ð* within and at the end of words. Small capital *N* means double *n*. Sometimes the double *N*

stands next to a single n. For the English translation, see the Anthology Section. Starting in the second line:

ON: ... Alt g(er)p(er) þu í speke G(uðs) (You made everything in God's wisdom).

D: Vas h(on)o(m) duol necq(ue)r at scapa eþa scapaþe h(ann) alt sen þ (Did it take him long to create everything or did he create all at once þ)

M: Aei-no avga b(ra)gþe scapaþe h(ann) alt sen sem ritet er. Saes eiliv(er) scapaþe alt sen. EN h(ann) scifste ollo íhlute á .vi. dogo(m) hofop scepno(m) .iii. daga en aþre .iii. Þei(m) hlutom es fvr innan hofop skepnor ero. EN fvrsta dag scop h(ann) eilifs dag þ(at) es andlect lios & alla andlega scepno. Annandag scop h(ann) him(in) þa(nn) es skilr lica(m)lega scepno fra andlegre. EN en þ(ri)þia dag se & iorþ. EN .iii. dag scop h(ann) tiplegan dag þ(at) es sol & tungl & stior nor á enne ofsto hofop scepno. Þ(at) es áhi(m)ne. EN .v. dag sc(op) h(ann) fogla & fisca & sette fogla ílofste en fisca í vatne. EN .vi. dag scop h(ann) dyr & man or enne neþsto hofop scepno. Þ(at) es or iorþo.

D: Kenna scep nor G(op) ?

M: Etke g(er)þe þ(at) es e(i)g(e) ke ne h(ann). Þ(ui) at andlauser hlut(er) ero oss dauþ(er) & oscynsam(er) en aller hlut(er)lifa G(ope) & ke na scap(era) sin. Him(inn) kenn(a) h(ann) þ(ui) at h(ann) snvsc of valt efst(er) boþorþe h(an)s se(m) ritet es. G(op) g(er)þe hi(m)na ískilni(n)go. Sol & tun(n)gl & stior nor ke na G(op) þ(ui) at þau varþ-veita staþe rasar sínar at vilia h(an)s. iorþ kenn(ar) h(ann) þ(ui) ay hon gefr avox t & g(ro)s ásinne tiþ...

Figure 6: Page from the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*, AM 619,4^o: 14v-15r

The page includes the last chapter of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, the epilogue, and the first Sermon on the Birth of the Lord (*De nativitate domini sermo*). For an

English translation, see the Anthology Section. Old Norse text can be found in Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamla Norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4º* Oslo: Jacob Dybwad

Vmm hof-sæmi (on modesty)

HARÐA gofugr er crafr hofsæmi fyrir þa er saman stændr alr végr þessa lífs á meðal manna. at maðr hyggi. ok mæle. ok gere stillilega alla luti. i hværri sem æinni som með ráðe hælsu sinnar. En þessar ero léttr ok soter ælsandum guð þann er sva mælte. Neme þer at mér. Þvi at ec em miuclyndr. ok lilit-látr í hiarta. ok munu þer finna hvild á sálum yðrum. (*Jugum enim meum suave est. et honus meum leve*). Þvi at oc mitt er høgt. ok søtt. ok byrðr mín lett. Bættra er ok sæl-légra at ælsca guð þann er ér æilífr sœt-læicr. eilíf fægrð. eilífr hilmr. eilíf scæmtan. eilíf végr. ok u-þrotleg sæla. en at ælsca fágrrar asióner þessa hæims. ok sœta berging. ok fogr líoð. ok dyrlegan hilm. scæmtileg átoc. végr. eða sælor þessa fram faranda lífs. Þessar aller luti fara á-brout. ok líða umb sem scuggi fogls. ok svicva þa er ælsca. ok sœnda þ(a) i æi-lífa cvol. ok vesold. En sa er trvlega ælsca guð almatkan ok gofgr hann u-aflátelega. ok fyllir boðorð hans staðfastlega. maclegr man hann gerasc a(t) eignasc æilífa dyrð með ænglum guðs drottins vars Iesus Crist ei ok ei utan æn(d)a.

Epilogue

þessa luti orta ec þer hinn kærste sonr Widoni með scommu male sva sem þu batt at tu hafer þat hværn dag í augliti þinu sva sem hannd-bóc. J þærri mát tu líta sialfan þic við hvi þu scalt sia. eða hvat þu scalt gera. ok fræmiasc sva fyrri ser-hværiar far-sælor eða úfarsælor þessa lífs at tu megr upp stiga til himin-rikis sælo. Lat æigi þu ræða þic umm buning veraldlegrar at-færðar sva sem þu megr æigi in ganga með þeim buningi í dyrð himnæsc lífs. Þvi at sva sem ollum er iamt boðat sæla rikis guðs. sva lycs ok upp inganga himin-rikis hiamt hværium á sinu ok aldre ok kyni æðtir tign

værðlæics þar er æigi er græin hværr veret hæfir hær í hæimi. lærðr eða u-lærð. auðigr eða aumr. vngr eða gamall. þræl eða drotten. Hældr munu þar dyrcasc hværr sem æin æptir værðlæic gós værcs sins í æilifri dyrð faður ok sonar ok andans hælga. AMEN.

De nativitate dominini sermo

This sermon, found in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (AM 619,4^o), was probably written (or translated) for the enlightenment and comfort of members of a monastic order. Hence the initial address. The Christianization of Norway depended heavily on the work of the religious orders, and especially monks from the British Isles were central to the missionary work. The text start thus:

NO: Goðer brøðr lyðið til hvat hær sægir á þesse hinni helgu boc um(m) þenna drottens dag. Þvi at þesser dagr er hælgaðr hinu(m) hælga k(onun)ge til loff (ok) til dyrðar sva vít sem c(ri)stin dómr er. (ok) sva kœmr guð til hværs b(ri)ost. (Ok) scalu(m) vér oss væl halda amot þessom dægi sva sem D(avid) mæler um(m) þenna dag:
H(a)ec e(st) dies q(uam) f(ecit) D(eus)e(xulte)m(us) (et) l(aete)m(ur) i(n) e(a)
(Haec est dies quam fecit Deus, exultemus et laetemur in ea).

E: Good brothers, listen well to what the Holy Book says about this day of (our) Lord, for this day is consecrated the day of our Saint King (Christ), to be praised and honored throughout Christendom. Then God will come to every human breast (heart). We need to prepare for this day, as David said: *Haec est dies quam fecit Deus, exultemus et laetemur in ea...*

Part V:
Anthology of Texts in Translation in Medieval and
Renaissance Norway

Introduction

The present anthology of Old Norse and Middle-Norwegian (Danish) texts aims at providing the reader with representative samples of the work performed by scholars and translators in medieval and Renaissance Norway. The selection includes both inter-lingual and intra-lingual translations of various literary genres, as well as excerpts from the medieval historical sagas that were translated into Danish in the 16th century.

The material has been organized predominantly according to genre rather than to chronology: chronicles, courteous chivalric and romance literature, religious (philosophical) and devotional material. The historical material has been regrouped along three themes: Prologues, the (hi)story of Saint Olav Haraldsson, and medieval historians' description of Norway. In addition, I have included samples of translation from the end of the Reformation century and the beginning of the 17th century.

Medieval vernacular and Latin histories have been included—not because they necessarily are translations of earlier histories—although the anonymous vernacular *Ágrip* and Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium* may be interconnected—rather because they are the source material for 16th century historians and scholars.

As for orthography, I have maintained the presentation of the cited works, which in most instances were copies of earlier copies. The orthography of the texts therefore do not reflect the standard for the periods concerned. The reader will find significant differences between texts from approximately the same time span, and also within one and the same text, illustrating the irregularities so prevalent in medieval vernacular writing and the corruptive action of copyists. Some of the differences are due to natural language development, others to the fact that the translators' came from different school traditions and backgrounds. Some were Icelanders working in Norway others were

Norwegians. A reader with some knowledge of the Old Norse language will be able to differentiate various genres and periods. The various linguistic and philological features of the texts have been the subject of numerous studies (see Bibliography), and are only of peripheral interest to this thesis in which the emphasis is on cultural exchange in a historical perspective.

To begin with, I wanted to present the texts in parallel columns, first the source text in Latin or French, then the Old Norse text in the middle, accompanied by an English translation in the third column. However, the requested format for the thesis prohibited such a presentation. The texts are therefore presented consecutively: Source text—Old Norse/Danish-Norwegian translation—and an English translation of the latter. If the source text of the English translation has not been indicated, this means that a standardized translation is not available, and consequently that the translation is my own. The Latin or French source texts are extracted from standardized text editions, mainly because the exact sources to many Old Norse sagas still remain unidentified. As a rule, I have not translated the source texts, only the Old Norse translations thereof, as I somehow presume that the source texts are more available to the specialized reader and that the Latin and French texts have been extensively studied and already exist in modern translation. It is also outside my scope (and not a small task) to try to establish the exact version of the base texts.

Despite the shortcomings of this presentation, I hope that the selected texts will give the reader a perception of how Norwegian medieval and Renaissance translators worked, what elements in the texts they found important, what passages they abridged or suppressed, and to what extent they were using one single (comprehensive) source or if they were working from already established compilations.

Each section has a short introduction.

A. Saga Literature And Historical Chronicles

“Prologus” of *Historia Norwegie*

The author of the first Latin history of Norway remains unidentified, but was probably a member of the diocese of Nidaros, and compiled his history some time around the establishment of the archdiocese in 1152. *Historia Norwegie* emerges as a national history; however, with numerous references to authoritative medieval and classical historians, amongst others Solinus (3rd century) and Adam of Bremen (d.c.1072). The Prologue has by some been seen as an emulation of Honorius of Autun’s prologue to *Imago Mundi*. The history is a tribute to the newly created Christened nation, and was the first book in a larger project, as indicated by the “incipit liber primus” with which the history begins.

The second volume has not been positively identified, but it has been suggested that it may have been *Passio Olavi*, attributed to Eystein Erlendsson (d. 1188). The extant manuscript text is a copy from between 1443 and 1510. It transited by the Orkney Islands and was found in Scotland in the 1840s by P. A. Munch.

Prologus incipit

... tus in Philostrato suo laudans amicitiam, cum de ceteris vitro bonis ageret, inter veros amicos nihil fere difficile fore meminit. Hujus igitur tanti philosophi satis probabili sententiae nequaquam contraire ausus – tantae enim sagacitati me in omnibus imparem et ad tale et tam grave onus me imbecillem novi debite honestissimis adhortationibus utpote viri peroptimi satisfaciens, ne ingratus crebrorum munerum beneficiis existam, ad quod poscor volens nolens aggredi tentabo. Est enim mihi imperito gravis sarcina situm latissimae regionis circumquaque describere ejusdem

rectorum genealogiam retexere et adventum christianitatis simul et paganismi fugam ac utriusque statum exponere. Quod negotium – nimio sudore plenum, florente mente excogitatum meæque imperitiae injunctum, sed hucusque latino eloquio intentatum – quam sit onerosum ut ob invidios quam sit periculosum, ipse optime nosti; obsecundo tamen nostris amminiculis fretus, illorum edacem livorem postponendo, si quid nostra refert, quod vos posterius haec mei laboris emolumenta habebitis; qua in re si quid indocta parentis procacitas, clemens mandantis remittat caritas. Tu igitur, O Agnelle, jure didascalico mi praelate, utcunque alii ferant haec mea scripta legentes non rhetorico lepore polita, immo scrupulosis barbarismis implicita, gratanter ut decet amicum accipito. Neque enim laudis avidus ut chronographus existo neque vituperii stimulos ut falsidicus exhorreo, cum nihil a me de vetustatis serie novum vel inauditum assumpserim, sed in omnibus seniorum assertiones secutus. Si quid vero nostris emporibus memoria dignum accidisse repperi, hoc ipsum addidi quoniam multorum magnificentias cum suis auctoribus ob scriptorum inopiam a memoria modernorum quotidie elabi perspexi.

Theodoricus Monachus: “Prologus” to *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium*

Text extracted from *Commentarii historici duo. hactenus inediti: Alter, De regibus vetustis Norvagicis, alter, De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, circa annum MCLXXXV (1185) susceptam, eodem tempore ab incerto autore conscriptus*: Iohannis Kirchmann, Lübec. Printed by Bernh. Casp. Kirchmanno, J. U. D. in Amsterdam 1684. For an established English translation, see Faulkes & Perkins (1998).

Theodoricus (possibly þórir) was a 12th century monk at the diocese of Trondheim under the first native archbishop, Eysteinn Erlendsson (d. 1188), believed to be the author of *Passio Olavi*, and to whom Theodoricus dedicated this history of the Norwegian kings. We do not know much about Theodoricus; however, he must have been quite a learned man, as can be seen by the many references in *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* to the writings of authoritative medieval and classical writers.

Prologus

THEODORICI MONACHI in *Ecclesiastica Historia Norwagensium*

Domino & Patri suo, viro Reverendissimo Augustino Nidrosiensi Archiepiscopo
Theodoricus humilis peccator debita servitutis subjectionem & orationum suffraga.

(Pagina 1). Opere pretium duxi, *Vir Illustrissime*, pauca haec de Antiquitate Regum Norwagensium breviter annotare, & prout sagaciter perquirere potuimus ab eis, pene quos horum memoria praecipue vigere creditur, quos nos *Islendingos* vocamus, quia haec in suis antiquis carminibus percelerata recolunt. Et quia pene nulla natio est tam rudis & inculta quae non aliqua monumenta suorum antecessorum ad posteros transmiserit, dignum putavi haec, pauca licet majorum nostrorum memoriae posteritatis tradere. Sed quia constat nullam ratam regalis stemmatis successionem in (p. 2) haec

terra extitisse ante *Haraldi Pulchre-comati* tempora, ab ipso exordinum fecimus: Non quia dubitaverim, etiam ante ejus aetatem fuisse in hac terra viros secundum praesens seculum probitate conspicuos, *quos nimirum, ut ait Boëthius, clarissimos suis temporibus viros scriptorum inops deluit opinio.* Ad quod probandum testes ciebo isoneos. *Hugo*, bonae memoriae, canonicus *Sancti Victoris Parisiis* vir undercunque octissimus, ita meminit gentis nostrae in Chronica sua: *Northmanni, inquit, de Scuthia inferiori, illam procul dubio volens intelligi superiorem, quam nos Suethiam appellamus, egressi classe advecti in Gallias, intrantesque per sequanam fluvium amnia depopulati sunt ferro & flamma. Sigibertus quoque Gyemblaconsis monachus, in Chronica sua ita scribit: Northmanni, inquit, Aquilonaris gens atrocissima advecti in Gallias cum longis navibus intraverunt Ligerim [la Loire] in fluvium & Thurones [Tours] usque pervenerunt omnia vastante.* Liquet itaque, viruorum optime, ex his fuisse etiam ante tempora *Haraldi* in hac terra in bellicis rebus potentes viros, sed, ut diximus, illorum memoriam scritorum inopia delevit. Veritatis vero sinceritas in hac nostra narratione ad illos onmimodo referenda est, quorum relatione haec annotavimus: Quia nos non visa, sed audita conscriptisimus.

Digressiones etiam more antiquorum (p. 3) Chronographorum non utiles, ut arbitramur, ad delectandum animum Lectoris loci compitentibus adjunximus. Vestra igitue *Excellentiae* potissimum praesentem schedulam examinandam misimus, cujus peritiae certissimae scimus nec resecanda superflua quicquam affore; nec benevolentiae ad ea quae recte prolata sunt comprobanda. Omnipotens Deus, custodiat Sanctitatem vesram, longo tempore incolumem, Ecclesiae suae sanctae! Vale.

Explicit Prologus

English Translation

(From Anthony Faulkes & Richard Perkins (Eds) (1998) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium: An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings* (*Theodoricus monachus*). London : Viking Society for Northern Research : pp. 1-2)

Prologus

Here begins the Prologue of the monk Theodoricus to his account of the ancient history of the Norwegian kings.

To his Lord, the most reverend Eysteinn (Augustinus), archbishop of Niðaróss, the humble sinner Theodoricus pledges the obedience owed by a subject, and the support of prayers. I have deemed it worthwhile, noble sir, to write down in brief these few details concerning the ancient history of the Norwegian kings, as I have been able to learn by assiduous inquiry from the people among whom in particular the remembrance of these matters is believed to thrive—namely those whom we call Icelanders, who preserve them as much celebrated themes in their ancient poems. And because almost no people is so rude and uncivilized that it has not passed on some monument of its predecessors to later generations, I have thought it proper to record for posterity these relics of our forefathers, few though they are. Because it is clear that no established succession of the royal line existed in this land before the time of Haraldr Fair-Hair, I have begun with him; and I have not done this because I doubted that before his day there were in this land men who, by the standards of the present age, were distinguished by their prowess, since certainly, as Boethius says, “reputation without authors has effaced those who were very famous in their own times.” To prove this, I shall summon suitable witnesses. Hugh of blessed memory, canon of Saint Victor in Paris, a man most skilled in every branch of learning, made mention of our people in his chronicle as follows: “The Northmen,” he says, “departed from nether Scythia (by which he doubtlessly means

Upper Scythia, which we call Sweden) and sailed in their fleet to Gaul, and entering the country by the river Seine, they laid everything waste with iron and flame.” Sigebert the monk of Gembloux likewise writes as follows in his chronicle: “The Northmen, “ he says, “a most horrible Nordic people, sailed to Gaul in their longships, entered the river Loire and penetrated as far as Tours, devastating everything.” It is therefore clear from these accounts, O best of men, that before the days of Haraldr there were in this land men mighty in war, but that, as I have said, a dearth of writers has effaced any remembrance of them. However, the degree of pure truth in my present narrative must be placed entirely at the door of those by whose report I have written these things down, because I have recorded things not seen but heard. Moreover, in the manner of the ancient chroniclers, I have added digressions in appropriate places which, in my opinion, are not without value in serving to delight the mind of the reader. I have therefore submitted the little document before you to your excellency for examination, since I know that you lack neither the very sound understanding to cut away what is superfluous, nor the good will to approve of what has been set forth correctly.

May almighty God long keep safe your holiness for His holy Church.

Fare well.

Snorri Sturlason: “Prologue” to *Heimskringla*

The Old Norse text has been extracted from Pálsson, Steingrímur (1944) *Heimskringla* (Snorri Sturlusson). Reykjavik: Helgafell

Snorri Sturlason (c.1178/9-1241) was an Icelandic lawyer or “law-sayer” in the service of the Norwegian kings. He was in Norway during the reign of Hákon Hákonsson, in the 1230s, when *Heimskringla* was written. Knowledge of the old laws, and the previous writings of Sæmundr Sigfússon (c.1056-1133) and Ari Þorgillsson (c.1067-1148) written more than a century before, as well as Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum*, must have spurred Snorri’s interest in past political events, the history of the kings and the origins of the nation. *Heimskringla* covers the history of Norwegian kings from Halvdan the Black (9th century) to the death of Magnus Erlingsson (1177).

Prologus (p. 1-3)

Í bók þessi lét ek rita fornat frásagnir um höfðingja þá, er ríki hafa haft á Norðrlöndum ok á danska tungu hafa mælt, sva sem ek hefi heyrt fróða menn segja, sva ok nökkurar kynkvíslir þeira eftir því, sem mér hefir kennt verit, sumt þat, er finnst í langfeðgatali, því er konungar hafa rakit kyn sitt eða aðrir stórættaðir menn, en sumt er ritat eftir fornum kvæðum eða sögulljóðum, er mann hafa haft til skemmtanar sér. En þó at vér vitim eigi sannendi á því, þá vitum vér dæmi til þess, at gamlir fræðimenn hafa slíkt fyrir satt haft. Þjóðólfr inn fróði ór Hvini var skáld Haralds ins hárfagra; hann orti ok um Rögnvald konung heiðumhæra kvæði þat, er kallat Ynglingatal. Rögnvald Geirstaðaálfs broður Hálfðanar svarta. Í þess kvæði eru nefndir þrír tigur langfeðga hans ok sagt frá dauða hvers þeira ok legstað. Fjölfnir var sá nefndr, er sonr var Yngvifreys, þess er Svíar hafa blótat lengi síðan. Af hans nafni eru Ynglingar kallaðir. Eyvindr skáldaspillir taldi ok lengfeðga Hákonar jarls ins ríka í kvæði því, er Háleygjatal heitir,

er ort var um Hákon. Sæmingr er þar nefndr sonr Yngvifreys. Sagt er þar ok frá dauða hvers þeira ok haugstað. Eftir Þjóðólfs sögn er fyrst ritin ævi Ynglinga ok þar við aukt eftir sögn fróðra manna. In fyrsta öld er kölluð brunaöld. Þá skyldi brenna alla dauðamenn ok reisa eftir bautasteina, en síðan er Freyr hafði heygðr verit at Uppsölum, þá gerðu margir höfðingjar eigi síðr hauga en gautasteina til minningar eftir frændr sína. En síðan er Danr mikilláti, Danakonungr, lét sér haug gera ok bauð sik þangat bera dauðan með konungsskrúði ok herbunaði ok hest hans með söðulreiði ok mikit fé annat, en hans ættmenn gerðu margir sva síðan, ok hófst þá haugsöld þar í Danmörku, en lengi síðan helzt brunaöld með Svíum ok Norðmönnum. En er Haraldr inn hárfagri var konungr í Nóregi, þá byggðist Ísland. Með Haraldi váru skáld, ok kunna menn enn kvæði þeira ok allra konunga kvæði, þeira er síðan hafa verit at Nóregi, ok tökum vér þar mest dæmi af því, er sagt er, í þeim kvæðum, er kveðin váru fyrir sjálfum höfðingjunum eða sonum þeira. Tökum vér þat allt fyrir satt, er í þeim kvæðum finnst um ferðir þeira eða orrostur. En þat er háttr skálda at lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja sjálfum honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok sva sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof.

Ari prestr inn fróði Þorgillsson, Gellissonar, ritaði fyrstr manna hér á landi at norrænu máli fræði, bæði forna ok nþja. Ritaði hann mest í upphafi sinnar bokár fra Íslands byggð ok lagasetning, síðan fra lögsögumönnum, hversu lengi hverr, hafði sagt, ok hafði þat áratál fyrst til þess, er kristni kom á Ísland, en síðan allt til sinna daga. Hann tók þar ok við mörg önnur dæmi, bæði konungaævi í Nóregi ok Danmörku ok svá í Englandi eða enn stortíðendi, er görzt höfðu hér í landi, ok þykkir mér hans sögn öll merkiligust. Var hann forvitri ok svá gamall, at hann var fæddr næsta vetr eftir fall Haralds Sigurðarsonar. Hann ritaði, sem hann sjálfr segir, ævi Nóregskonunga eftir sögu Odds Kolssonar, Hallssonar af Síðu, en Oddr nam at þorgeiri afráðskoll, þeim manni, er vitr var ok svá gamall at hann bjó þá í Niðarnesi, er Hákon jarl inn ríki var drepinn. Í

þeim sama stað lét Óláfr konungr Tryggvason efna til kaupvangs, þar sem nú er. Ari prestur kom sjau vetra gamall í Haukadal til Hallr Þorarinssonar ok var þar fjórtan vetr. Hallr var maður stórvitr ok minnigr. Hann mundi þat, er þangbrandr prestur skírði hann þrétvetran. Þat var vetri fyrr en kristni væri í lög tekin á Íslandi. Ari var tólf vetra gamall, þá er Ísleifr byskup andaðist. Hallr fór milli landa ok hafði félag Óláfs konungs ins helga ok fekk af því uppreist mikla, var honum því kunnigt um ríki hans. En þá er Ísleifr byskup andaðist, var liðit frá falli Óláfs konungs Tryggvasonar nær átta tígum vetra. Hallr andaðist níu vetrum síðar en Ísleifr byskup.

Þá var Hallr at vetratali níráðr ok fjögurra vetra. Hann hafði gört bú í Haukadal þrítökr ok bjó þar sex tigu ok fjóra vetr. Svá ritað Ari. Teitr, sonur Ísleifs byskups, var með Halli í Haukadal at fóstri ok bjó þar síðan. Hann lærði Ara prest, ok marga fræði sagði hann honum, þá er Ari ritaði síðan. Ari nam ok marga fræði at þuríði, dóttur Snorra goða. Hon var spök at viti; hon mundi Snorri, föður sinn, en hann var þá nær hálf-fertögr, er kristni kom á Ísland, en andaðist einum vetri eftir fall Óláfs konung ins helga. Þat var eigi undarligt, at Ari væri sannfróðr at fornum tíðendum, bæði her ok útan lands, at hann hafði numit at gömlum mönnum ok vitrum, en var sjálf námgjarn ok minnigr. En kvæðin þykkja mér sízt ór stað færð, ef þau eru rétt kveðin ok skynsamliga upp tekin.

English Translation

In this book I have had written down the old sayings about the ancient chieftains who ruled the northern countries and who spoke the Danish tongue,³⁴⁵ according to what I have heard wise men report, and also about their ancestry as I have come across. I have learned some from the oral accounts according to which kings and other nobles

345 Old Norse was regularly referred by contemporaneous writers as Danish tongue, testifying to the close relations between the Scandinavian peoples in the earliest vernacular writings.

reckon their lineage. Some of the material derive from old songs and historical poems that people perform for their entertainment. Because, even if we do not know for sure that they are true, we know that old wise men saw in them the truth.

Þjóðólfr the wise from Kvíne was Haraldr the Fair-Hair's bard, he composed a poem called *Ynglingatal* about King Rögnvaldr the Venerable. Rögnvaldr was son of Ólaf Geirstaðaálfs brother, Halvdan the Black. In this poem he enumerates thirty of his forefathers, how they all died, and where their burial mound is located. Fjölfnir is the name of the son of Yngvifrey to whom the Swedes sacrificed for a long time (after his death), from whom the Ynglinge clan descended. Eyvindr the poem breaker also told about the ancestors of earl Hákon in a momentous poem entitled *Háleygjatal*, which he composed for Hákon. In it, Sæmingr is called the son of Yngvifrey, and the poem retells how his forefathers died and where they are buried. [We have] first written the life history of the Ynglinge clan on account of Þjóðólfr, augmented with material gathered from the sayings of wise men.

The period is called the "burning age," as it was customary to burn the dead and raise a tall stone pillar in their memory. But ever since Frey was buried in a barrow in Uppsala, many chieftains rather make barrows than erect pillars in memory of their kinsmen and friends. And since Dan the Proud, the Danish King, had a barrow made and asked that his remains be buried in it with his royal apparel, armor, his horse fully mounted, and much of his other earthly belongings, many of his descendants took to this tradition, and thus initiated what is known as the barrow period in Danish history. The burning period continued for some time amongst Swedes and Norwegians.

Iceland was colonized when Haraldr the Fair-Hair was King of Norway. In Harald's household there were bards, and learned men still know their poems and songs about the kings who ruled Norway. We have taken most from these (sources) because what is said in them was performed in front of the chieftains themselves or for their

sons. We consider true what is said in them about the (ancient kings') adventures and battles. It is however the habit of the skalds to praise the man before whom they stand; nevertheless, no one would dare tell a man about sham deeds if everyone listening knew that they are only boasting lies, including the patron for whom the poem was composed. Such a behavior [on the part of the skald] would be contempt and not praise [...].

Pater Ari Þorgillsson the Wise, son of (Þorgil) Gellisson, was the first in this country to write, in the Norse tongue, about both old and present events. In his book he wrote primarily about the settlement of Iceland, about the recording of the laws, about the lawyers and how long it took them to recite the law, and he counted all the years from these happenings to the introduction of Christianity in Iceland and even after. He also included many other events in his book, such as the history of the kings in Norway and Denmark as well as in England, and other important affairs in this country. I think that all his stories are worthy of our attention. He was very knowledgeable and so old that he was born one winter after the fall of Haraldr Sigurðarson. He wrote, as he put it himself, the life history of the Norwegian kings according to the tales of Oddr Kolsson from Siðu. This Oddr had learned the tale from Þorgeir Afráðskollr (the tenant?), a very wise man and so old that he had lived at Niðarnes when earl Hákon the Mighty was slain. In this place, Óláfr Trygvason let construct a commercial town which still exists.

Ari priest came to Haukadal at the age of seven to Hallr Þórarinnsson and remained there the next fourteen years. Hallr was a man with great knowledge and a good memory. He remembered that Þangbradr baptized him when he was three, one year before Christianity was introduced by law in Iceland. Ari was twelve years old when bishop Ísleifr died. Hallr traveled between the (two) countries and engaged in business with King Óláfr the Saint and became a rich man and acquired great knowledge about Óláfr's kingdom. Bishop Ísleifr died almost eight winters after the fall of Óláfr Trygvason. Hallr died nine years after the bishop when he was ninety-four. He had

settled at Haukadal when he was thirty and lived there for sixty-four years. This is what Ari wrote. Teitr, the son of bishop Ísleifr, was fostered by Hallr in Haukadal and lived there ever since. He taught Ari priest and told him many wise old things, which Ari later recorded. Ari also learned much from þuríði, the daughter of Snorri the Good. She was wise and she remembered Snorri her father and his adventures. He was about thirty-five when the Christian faith was introduced in Iceland, and died one year after the fall of King Óláfr the Saint. It was not surprising that Ari had so much knowledge about the events of the past, both domestic and foreign, as he had learned from so many wise people, and was both quick to learn and had a good memory. However, I believe that the songs are trustworthy if they are performed right and interpreted with prudence.³⁴⁶

346 For an established English version of Snorri's work, see Snorre Sturlason (1990) *Heimskringla*, or the Lives of the Norse kings. Monsen, Erling & A. H. Smith (Ed. & Trans.) New York: Dover

On Norway in Adam of Bremen: *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*

The Latin text has been extracted from Adam of Bremen (1876) *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesia pontificum ex recensione Lappenberggii, in usum scholarum ex monumenta germaniae historicis recusa*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, pp. 153-189.

Adam of Bremen (d.c. 1072/1076) came to the archdiocese of Bremen-Hamburg in 1068, which had been the archdiocese for all the Northern regions since 831. In 1103, the diocese at Lund became archdiocese for all the Scandinavian peoples and the Atlantic islands. Adam became canon of the Hamburg cathedral and *magister scholarium*. It is uncertain whether or not Adam ever traveled to the North; however, he went to Denmark in 1069, to visit King Svend Estridson (1047-1076).

In his description of the Northern regions, Adam relies to a great extent on previous Latin historians such as Einhard (c.770-840), Martianus Capella (5th century), Solinus (3rd century) and Orosius (5th century). The *Gesta Hammaburgensis* comprises four books, and the present text is drawn from the last, a predominantly geographical book, in which there is a reference to an island beyond Iceland and Greenland, the Vinland discovered by Leif Eiriksson.³⁴⁷

347 Praeterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertam oceano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascentur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges ibi non seminatas habundare, nonfabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum (*Gesta hammaburgensis*, 1948, p. 186). "Furthermore, he (king Svend) mentioned still another island found by many in that ocean. This island is called Wineland because grapevines grow wild there, giving the finest wine. And crops grow plentiful there without having been sown. This is not an imagined invention, we learnt it from the Danes."

**Ingressio: Descriptio insularum Aquilonis. Si placet haec quarti maneant
primordia libri.**

Provincia Danorum tota fere in insulas dispertita est, sicut etiam legitur in *Gestis sancti Anscarii*. Hanc autem Daniam a nostris Nordalbingis flumen Egdore dirimit, quod oritur in profundissimo saltu paganorum Isharnho, quem dicunt extendi secus mare barbarum usque ad Sliam lacum. Ceterum flumen Egdore descendit usque in oceanum Fresonicum, quem Romani scribunt Brittanicum. Ex prima quidem pars Daniae, quae Iudlant dicitur, ab Egdore in boream longitudine protenditur (p. 154) habens iter tridui, si in Funem insulam divertis. Si vero a Slieswig in Alaburg per directum viam metiris quinque aut septem habes iter dierum. Haec est strata Ottinis caesaris usque ad mare novissimum Wendile, quod in hodiernum diem ex victoria regis appellatur Ottinsand. Latitudo Iudlant secus Egdoram diffusior est, inde vero paulatim contrahitur ad formam linguae in eum angulum qui Wendila dicitur, ubi Iudlant finem habet. Inde brevissimus in Normanniam transitus est. Ageribi sterilis; praeter loca flumini propinqua, omnia fere desertum videntur; terra salsuginis et vastae solitudinis. Porro cum omnis tractus Germaniae profundis horreat saltibus, sola est Iudlant ceteris horridior, quae in terra fugitur propter inopiniam fructuum, in mari vero propter infestationem pyratarum. Vix invenitur culta in aliquibus locis, vix humanae oportuna. Sicubi vero brachia maris occurrunt, ibi civitates habet maximas. Hanc regionem quondam caesar Otto subiciens tributo, in tres divisit episcopatus, unum constituens apud Sliaswig, quae et Heidiba dicitur, quam brachium quoddam freti barbari alluit, quod incolae Sliam vocant, unde et civitas nomen trahit. Ex eo portu naves emitti solent in Sclavianiam vel in Suediam vel ad Semlant usque in Graeciam. Alterum fecit episcopatum in Ripa, quae civitas alio cingitur (p.155) alveo, qui ab oceano influit, et per quem vela torquentur in Fresiam, aut certe in Angliam vel in nostram Saxoniam. Tertium voluit episcopatum esse in Arhusan. Et hanc fretum quoddam a Fune dirimit brevissimum, quod ab orientali pelago

ingrediens, longis anfractibus inter Funem et Iudlant protenditur in boream, usque ad eandem civitatem Arhusan, a qua navigatur in Funem aut Selant sive in Sconiam vel usque in Norwegiam.

Postea vero deficiente hoc episcopatu, quem tercium posuimus, Iudlant duos solummodo episcopatus retinuit, Sleswicensem videlicet ac Ripensem, donec, mortuo nuper Wal, Ripensi episcopo, diocesis illa discreta est in quatuor episcopatis, auctoritatem suam praebente archiepiscopo. (p. 156) Qui mox consecravit in Ripam Oddonem, in Arhusan Christianum, in Wiberch Heribertum, in Wendilam Magnum, cui, dum post ordinationem rediret, in Albia naufrago subrogavit Albricum. Hii quatuor episcopi tunc Ripensem dono Sueni regis sortiti sunt parrochiam...

(Pagina 169) Transeuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur in Sueoniam vel Nordmanniam, quae sunt duo latissima regna aquilonis et nostro orbi adhuc fere incognita. De quibus narravit mihi scientissimus rex Danorum,³⁴⁸ quod Nordmannia vix queat transiri per mensem, cum Sueonia duobus mensibus non faccile percurratur. *Quod ipse, inquit, probaveram, qui nuper sub Iacobo rege 12 annis militavi in illis regionibus, quae altissimis ambea montibus includuntur, magis autem Nordmannia, quae suis alpibus circumdat Sueoniam.* De Sueonia vero nontacent antiqui auctores Solinus et Orosius, qui dicunt, pluriam partem Germaniae Suevos tenere, necnon montana eius usque ad Ripheos montes extendi. Ibi est etiam Albis fluvijs, de quo Lucanus meminisse videtur. Ille oritur in praedictis alpibus, perque medios Gothorum populos currit in oceanum, unde et Gothelba dicitur. Fertilissima regio est Sueonia, ager frugibus et melle opimus, extra quod pecorum fetu omnibus antefertur, oportunitas fluminum sylvarumque maxima ubique peregrinis mercibus omnis regio plena. Ita nullis egere Sueonies dicas opibus, exceptas quam nos diligamus sive potius adoramus, superbia.

348 Svend Estridsson (1047-1076)

(Pagina 174) Nunc de superstitione Sueonum pauca dicemus. Nobilissimum illa gens templum habet, quod Ubsola dicitur, non longe positum ab Sictona civitate. In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio; hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco. Quorum significationes eiusmodi sunt: *Thor*, inquit, *praesidet in aere, qui tonitrusa et fumina, ventos ymbresque, serena et fruges gubernat. Alter Wodan*, (p. 175) *id est furor, bella gerit, hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos. Tertius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus.* Cuius etiam simulacrum fingunt cum ingenti priapo. Wodanem vero sculpunt armatum, sicut nostri Martem solent; Thor autem cum sceptro Iovem simulare videtur. Colunt et deos ex hominibus factos, quos pro ingentibus factis immortalitate donant, sicut in Vita sancti Anscarii leguntur Hericum regem fecisse.

Omnibus itaque diis attributos habent sacerdotes, qui sacrificia populi offerant. Si pestis et famis imminet, Thor ydolo lybatur, si bellum, Wodani, si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, Fricconi...

(Pagina 178) Nortmannia, sicut ultima orbis provincia est, in ultimo libri loco convenienter ponetur a nobis. Haec a modernis dicitur Norguegia. De cuius situ vel magnitudine, cum prius aliqua communiter cum Sueonia dixerimus, nunc vero spetialiter hoc dicendum est, quod longitudine sua inextremam septentrionis plagam extenditur haec regio, unde et dicitur. Incipit autem ex prominentibus scopulis huius freti, quod Balticum appellari solet; deinde reflexo, in aquilonem dorso, postquam frementis oceani marginem suo circuit, tandem in Ripheis montibus limitem facit, ubi et lassus deficit orbis. *Nortmannia propter asperitatem montium sive propter frigus intemperatum sterilissima est omnium regionum, solis aptis pecoribus.* Quorum armenta ritu Arabum longe in desertis stabulant. Eoque victu peculii transigunt vitam, ut lacte pecundum in cibos, lana utantur in vestes. Indeque fortissimos educat milites, qui nulla frugum luxuria

molliti, sepius impugnant alios, quam ipsi molestentur ab aliquo. Sine invidia cum proximis habitant Sueonibus, quamvis a Danis, aequae pauperibus, non impune temptentur aliquando. Itaque rei familiaris inopia coacti, totum mundum circumeunt et pyratice raptibus amplissimam terrarum facultatem reportant domum, penuriam suae regionis tali modo sustinentes. Post susceptam vero christianitatem melioribus imbuti scolis, didicerunt iam pacem et veritatem diligere, paupertate sua contenti esse, immo quae habent collecta spargere, non ut prius sparsa colligere. (p. 179) Cumque nefandis artibus maleficorum omnes ab initio servirent, nunc cum apostolo simpliciter confitentur Christum et hunc crucifixum. Sunt etiam continentissimi omnium mortalium, tam in cibis quam in moribus parcitatem modestiamque summopere diligentes. Praeterea sacerdotum et ecclesiarum tantam habent venerationem, ut vix christianus habeatur, qui non cotidie obtulerit ad missam, quam audierit. Verum baptismus et confirmatio, dedicationes altarium et sacrorum benedictio ordinum apud illos et Danos care omnia redimuntur. Quod ex avaritia sacerdotum prodisse arbitror, quia barbari decimas adhuc dare aut nesciunt aut nolunt, ideo constringuntur in ceteris, quae deberent gratis offerri. Nam et visitatio infirmorum et sepultura mortuorum, omnia ibi venalia. Apud illos tanta morum insignia, ut compertum habeo, sola sacerdotum corrumpuntur avaricia...

(Pagina 182) Post Northmanniam, quae est ultima aquilonis, nichil invenies habitationis humanae, nisi terribilem visu et infinitum oceanum, qui totum mundum amplectitur. Is habet ex adverso Northmanniae insulas multas non ignobiles, quae nunc fere omnes Northmannorum ditioni subiacent, ideoque non praeterundae sunt a nobis, quoniam Hammaburgensem parrochiam et ipsae respiciunt. Quarum primae sunt Orchades insulas, quas barbari vocant Organas; ritu Cycladum illae sunt dispersae per oceanum. De quibus (p. 183) Romani auctores Martianus et Solinus ita scripsisse videntur: *A tergo Britanniae unde infinitus patet oceanus, Orchadae sunt insulae, quarum 20 sunt desertae, 16 coluntur...*

On Norway in *Historia Norwegi(a)e*

The Latin text copied below has been extracted from Gustav Storm (1880) *Monumenta Historica Norwegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger, pp. 73-82.

The author of this first Latin history of Norway remains unidentified. The author was probably a member of the diocese of Nidaros, and compiled his history some time around the establishment of the archdiocese in 1152. *Historia Norwegie* emerges as a national history; however, with numerous references to a authoritative medieval and classical historians, amongst others Solinus (3rd century) and Adam of Bremen (d.c.1072). The Prologue has by some been seen as an emulation of Honorius of Autun's prologue to *Imago Mundi*.

The history is a tribute to the newly Christened nation. The history was the first book in a larger project, as indicated by the "incipit liber primus" with which the history begins. The second volume has not been positively identified, but it is believed that *Passio Olavi*, attributed to Eystein Erlendsson (d. 1188), may have been the second book. The extant manuscript text is a copy dating from between 1443 and 1510.

Incipit liber primus in historia Norwegiae

Norwegia igitur a quodam rege, qui Nor nuncupatus est, nomen obtinuerat. Est autem Norwegia regio vastissima sed maxima ex parte inhabitabilis prae nimietate montium et nemorum ac friorum. Quae in oriente a— (missing text)— magno flumine incipit, versus occidentem vero vergit et sic circumflexo fine per aquilonem regyrat. Est terra nimis sinuosa, innumera protendens promontoria, habitabilibus zonis per longum cincta: prima, quae maxima et maritima est; secunda mediterranea, quae et montana dicitur; tertia silvestris, quae Finnis inhabitatur, sed non aratur. Circumsepta quidem ex

occasu et aquilone (p.74) refluentis oceani, a meridie vero Daciam et Balticum mare habet, sed de sole Swethiam, Gautoniam, Angariam, Jamtoniam. Quas nunc partes (deo gratias) gentes colunt christianae. Versus vero septemtrionem gentes perplures paganismo (proh dolor) inservientes tran Norwegiam ab oriente extenduntur, scilicet Kiriali et Kwaeni, (p.75) cornuti Finni ac utrique Biarmones. Sed quae gentes post istos habitent, nihil certum habemus. Quidam tamen nautae cum de Glaciali insula ad Norwegiam remeare studuissent et a contrariis ventorum turbinibus in brumalem plagam propulsit essent, inter Viridenses et Biarmones tandem applicuerunt, ubi homines mirae magnitudinis et virginum terram (quae gustu aquae concipere dicuntur) se reperisse protestati sunt. Ab istis vero Viridis (p. 76) terra congelatis scopulis dirimitur. Quae patria a Telensibus reperta et inhabitata oc fide catholica roborata terminus est ad occasum Europae, fere contingens Africanas insulas, ubi inundant oceani refluenta. Trans Viridenses ad aquilonem quidam homunciones a venatoribus reperiuntur, quos Scrælinga appellant; qui dum vivi armis feriuntur, vulnera eorum absque cruore albescunt, mortuis vero vix cessat sanguis manare. Sed ferri metallo penitus carent, dentibus cetinis pro missilibus, saxis acutis pro cultris utuntur.

Huc usque situm et circumstantias Norwegiae ostendimus, nunc autem trifariam ejus habitationem exsequamur.

De tripartito incolatu Norwegiae

Zona itaque maritima Decapolis dici potest, nam x civitatibus incluta est, patrias complectens XXII provinciarum capaces. Prima patria Sinus orientalis dicitur, a terminis Daciae oriens, et usque ad locum, qui Rygiarbit appellantur, extenditur IIII provincias continens. Secunda Gulacia ad insulam, quae Media nuncupatur, usque protelatur VI complectens provincias, quarum ultima nomine Mor villam quandam habet naturae mirabilis; omnes enim stipites arborumque abscisi ramusculi, si per unius anni spatium

terrae inhaerant, in lapides convertuntur. Tertia patria Throndemia vocitatur et est sinus ostio angustissimo, octo capiens provincias in sua latissima receptacula III etiam extra sumens et fiunt XI. Quarta Halogia, cujus incolae multum Finnis cohabitant et inter se commercia frequentant; quae patria in aquilonem terminat Norwegiam juxta locum Wegestaf, qui Biarmoniam ab ea dirimit. Ibi ille profundissimus septentrionalis sinus, qui Charybdim, Scyllam et inevitabiles voragines in se continet; ibi et promontoria congelata, quae immensas glacies fluctivomis inundationibus augmentatas brumalique frigore concretas in maria praecipitant, quibus crebro institores Viridem terram petentes inviti applicant sicque naufragium passi periclitantur. Ibi etiam cete grandia diversi generis fortissimas naves confringentia, nautas diglutiunt, quosdam submergunt. Ibi equini ceti monoculi jubis diffusis profunda pelagi sulcantes ferocissimi reperiuntur; illic pistrix, illic *hafstrambus*,³⁴⁹ maxima bellua, sed sine cauda et capite solum susum et jusum dissiliendo veluti truncus, non nisi nautarum pericula praefiguret, apparet. Illic *hafguva*³⁵⁰ et *hafkitta*³⁵¹ prae cunctis marinis monstris maxima et cetera hujusmodi infinita reperiuntur.

Revertentes a maritimis transferamur ad montana.

De montanis Norwegiae.

Mediterranea zona a metis Gautoniae excipitur; quae item patrias et XII provincias complectens usque Throndemiam porrigitur. Hujus prima patria regnum Raumorum ac Ringorum cum continuis provinciis; secunda Thelemarchia cum remotis ruribus; tertia Heidmarchia cum convallibus Albiae; quarta valles Gudbrandi cum Loariis et finitimis

349 “Hafstrambr” – a sea monster of almost human appearance (havmann); “Hafstraumr” – a sea current

350 “Hafgula” – A sea monster

351 “Hafkitti” – A whale

provinciis. Illam terminat magnus mons Dofrarum. Sunt perplures incolatus inter
maritima et montana, ut Waldresia et vallis Haddingorum ac ceteri, qui Gulaticis
subjacent legibus. Est fluvijs in montanis aureis rubens arenis, qui de illo magno stagno
Miorso surgens mare orientalis sinus intrat; nam quondam Saxones illo adventantes et
per ungulas boum eundem amnem trans-natantium auri metallum inesse deprehendentes
furtim conflatum infinitum detulerunt aurum. Est item juxta civitatem Asloiam magna
copia argenti metalli, quae nunc nimia aquarum fluentia hominibus vetita sub petrina
mole latet absconsa.

Peragratjs montanis silvas Finnorum ingrediamur perscrutatum.

On Norway in Absalon Pederssøn Beyer: *Om Norgis Rige*

The Middle Norwegian text has been extracted from Harald Beyer (1928) *Om Norgis Rige*. Absalon Pederssøn Beyer. Oslo: Foreningen for Norsk Bokkunst/Beyers Forlag

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer's (1528-1575) Norwegian history is more a personal reflection and commentary upon current and past historical events than a chronological history of past political events. He resented the presence of the Hanseatic League in Bergen and believed that the German merchants—who dominated virtually every aspect of commercial life—were responsible for much of the moral decay in his hometown. After his university studies abroad—first in Copenhagen, then in Wittenberg—he devoted himself to the Chapter of Bergen and the students at the Latin school. He did not himself translate the Old Norse sagas—there is no evidence that he mastered the Old Norse language—but must have read them in either Jon Simonssøn's, Mattis Størssøn's, or Laurents Hanssøn's translations. Simonssøn, a lawyer, came to the Chapter in 1532 as the archbishops deputy administrator, and Hanssøn worked for the administration in the 1540s. The selected passages about Norway can be compared with Theodoricus, Chapter 20 and 22; *Ágrip*, Chapter 31-35; and Adam of Bremen, pp. 153-189.

About Norway (pp. 50-51)

Norgis rige indenlands skiftis udi disse efterskrevne biskops sticts: Trondhjem, Bergen, Staffuanger, Hammer, Opslo.

Ser man nu til Trondhjems erchebiskops stict, da skiftis det udi tre parter, som er er udi det len, ser er omkring Trondhjem paa alle sider, oc udi Hemelanden (Nordland) oc Findmarchen.

Hemlande oc Trondelagen have skjøne agre oc eng, merkelige gode laxefiske oc sildefiske, herlige elver, veldige skove, god gressgang, der vanker oc herlige vildvare,

los, rever, maard, biørneskind, ulvskind, felfraas, graaverk, elgskind, hjorter. Item herligt, kraftigt smør, ost oc anden god vare.

Ser man oc til Hemlande, da er det oc eit skjønt fructsommeligt land med agre oc eng, vildvare, med lax oc sild, oc besynderlig den gode, vide berømte raaskering.

Ser man oc til Findmarchen, daa er det mest øer liggendis udi havet, oc er eit ufructsomligt land med korn, fordi sommeren er der saa stackit at der kan det ei voxe. Dog haver Gud udi andre maade med sine guddommelig gaver det beprydet, først at man kan se solen klarligen med sine øyen den høgste sommer igjennom, saa vel om natten som om dagen, saa at hun gaar icke under, oc femmede folk som kommer did, skifte ofte natten til dagen, endog at der er ingen nat. Oc om vinteren, naar han er paa sit høgste oc maanen skinner som om natten der, daa skinner han saa vel om dagen som om natten, oc de have altid ljus at se af. Der nest faar man der herlig fisk, som vide føris i andre land : man faar den lystige oc fede rav (som smager saare vel i lybsk oc hamburgisk vinkellere, oc end i Bremem oc andre steder flere) reckling, item rocker, spord oc hine store hvale, rosmer, med deris huder oc tender, oc andre underlige ting. Der er oc eit slags djur, man kaller rein. Der faar man røde, hvide, sorte oc blackede rever. Der ser man sildebergen den ganske sommer udi havit, hvorlunde de spele, der faar man oc hine hvide kobber oc mange andre herlige Guds gaver, som er haabrand, haakerling, af hvilken man faar lyse, some føris vide undenlands.

Udi dette stict haver altid kongerne i Norgis rige verit kronede indtil paa denne dag, der er erchestol, der er kongens ypperste sede, der er den vide berømde domkirke, oc paa hennis kirkegaard den sted, paa hvilken kongerne bleve kronede, der var den gyldne ros, som staden haver sit navn af oc kallis Nidros. Til den haver udi fordom tid af adskillige kongeriger oc førstedømme verit en stor berømd søgning til, icke allene for den vrange helligdom som der skede, men ogsaa fordi at de ville beskue udi dette kongerige den vide berømde verdige, drabelige, stadselige oc underlige bygning, som

med menneskelige hender synis neppelig at vere opbygd, men af nogle høgre oc ypperlige aand oc forstand.

Famous warriors and heroes (p. 37)

Gud [havde oc] begavit kongerne med veldige, dapper krigsmend oc kemper, som baade havde vilje oc forstand, hjerte oc sind til at vaage deris liv for deris herre oc konge.

Saa haver der udi hver enevolds kongers tid verit besynderlige krigsmend: i Harald Haarfagers tid var Hauck haabrog, i Oluf Tryggvessøns tid var Einar tambaskjelver, Kolbrjörn Stallare, Torsten Oxefod, Ulff Røde. Udi St. Oluffs oc Svend Tjuveskjeggs tid vore Einar Tambarskjelver oc Torberg i Giska, hans brødre oc flere...

English Translation

About Norway

The kingdom of Norway is divided into the following four dioceses: Trondheim, Bergen, Hamar, Stavanger, and Oslo.

The archdiocese of Trondheim is divided into three regions: the counties around Trondheim [in every direction], Hemland (Nordland), and Finnmark.

Hemland and the region called Trøndelag have beautiful fields, wonderful salmon and herring, splendid rivers, vast forests, good grassland. The wildlife there is abundant: lynx, fox, marten, bear skin, wolf skin, leather, grey fur, moose skin, and hides. Furthermore, superb and healthful butter, cheese and other good products.

If we look at Hemland, it is also blessed with fertile land, cornfields and grassland, wildlife, salmon and herring, and especially the famous and tasty stockfish.

Finnmark is mainly a region of islands in the sea. The land is not fertile and is not sown because the summer is not warm and corn cannot grow. Nevertheless, God has in

other ways granted the region with divine gifts: Here it is possible, during the summer, to watch the sun in all its brightness as well during the day as during night as it never sets. Foreigners who travel here sometimes become confused as to whether it is day or night because there is no night. Towards mid-winter, the moon glow as much during the day as during the night, so that people always have light to work by. And people catch wonderful fish, sold to many countries: you have the fat and delicious halibut (which tastes well in the wine cellars of Lübeck and Hamburg, as well as in Bremen and other places), dried fish, skate, eel, great whales and walrus with skin and tusks, and other remarkable things. There is also the animal we call reindeer. There are red, white, black and brown fox. There are heaps of herring in the sea in the summer, and seals, and you can catch white seal, and many others of God's gifts, such as porbeagle, Greenland shark, of which one makes oil for export.

In the diocese (of Trondheim), the Norwegian kings have always been crowned until this day, at the archbishopric, and this is where you find the King's finest residence; and at the cemetery, close to where the kings were crowned, there was a golden rose, from which the name of the town (Nidaros)³⁵² derived. In ancient times, the town was renowned in many kingdoms and principalities, and visited by many from far and abroad, not only because of the (blasphemous) holy (shrine), but also (by people who wanted) to see the world-famous, worthy, glorious and magnificent building, which (in its splendor) seems to have been built, not by human hands, but by some higher spirit and reason.

352 Beyer seems to believe that the "ros" in the old name Nidaros means "rose," when in fact the river Nidar and its estuary ("os") gave the place its name. By the 16th century, Nidaros was referred to as Trondheim in civil affairs.

Famous warriors

And God also provided the kings with strong, heroic warriors and giant fighters, men who had the will and wit, heart and mind to risk their lives for their lords and kings:

Every ruling king had marvelous knights: Harald the Fair-haired had Hauck the Proud, in the times of Olaf Trygvasson there was Einar Tambarskjelver,³⁵³ marshal Kolbjørn, Torsten Cloven Foot, and Ulff the Red. Saint Olaf and Svend Fork-Beard (Alfivason) (also) had Einar Tambarskjelver and Torberg of Giska, his brothers and many more...

353 "Who makes the bow vibrate"

On Olav Haraldsson in Adam of Bremen: *Gesta hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*

The passages presented have been extracted from Adamus Bremensis (1876) *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopopii Hahniani, Liber II (For an established English translation, see Tschan 1959.)

The archdiocese of Bremen-Hamburg had organized the first Christian missions in the North from 831 to 1103. Although most of the early clergy came from the British Isles, the church that they built in Norway came under the supervision of the archdiocese of Bremen-Hamburg. As canon of the administrative center for the emerging Norwegian church, Adam had a special interest in the northern regions and their Christianization. Adam was made canon of the cathedral and *magister scholarum*. It is uncertain whether or not Adam ever traveled to the North; however, he went to Denmark in 1069, to visit King Svend Estridson (1047-1076). In 1072, the diocese at Lund took over the administrative charge of all the Scandinavian peoples and the Atlantic islands, and in 1153, Trondheim became the national archbishopric for the Norwegian Church.

(Liber II, Cap. 49, Pagina 75) Suein, Rex Danorum atque Nortmannorum, veteres iniurias tam occisi fratris quam suae repulsionis ulturus, classe magna transfretavit in Angliam, ducens secum filium suum Chnut et Olaph, filium Cracaben,³⁵⁴ de quo supra dictum est. Itaque multo tempore multis praeliis adversum (p. 76) Anglos exactis, Suein

354 In deed not Olav Tryggvason's son, but Olaf Tryggvason himself, called "Krakeben" (Crow foot) by the Danes (according to Adam in the previous chapter) because he could tell the future by reading birds' feet, an ancient pagan ritual.

veteranum regem depulit Edilredum et insulam tenuit in sua ditione, verum brevi tempore. Nam tercio mense postquam victoriam adeptus est, ibidem morte praeventus occubuit.

(Cap. 50, p. 76) Chnud, filius regis cum exercitu reversus in patriam, denuo bellum molitur in Anglos. Olaph a Nortmannis electus in principem, separatus est a regno Danorum. Tunc vero Chnud ancipiti casu turbatus, pactum iniit cum fratre Olaph, filio Herici, qui regnavit in Suedia, eiusque fultus auxilio deliberavit primo quidem Angliam subiugare, deinde Norvegiam. Itaque mille navibus magnis Chnut armatus oceanum transivit Britannicum, per quem, sicut nautae referunt, a Dania in Angliam, flantibus euris, triduo vela panduntur. Hoc mare magnum et valde periculosum a laeva Orcadas habet, dextrorsum attingit Frisiam.

(Cap. 51, p. 76) Triennium ergo Chnut Britanniam oppugnavit. Adelrad, rex Anglorum, apud Lundonam obsessus obiit, simul cum regno amittens vitam. (Et iusto iudicio Dei, qui fratre per martyrium consummato 38 annis sceptrum sanguine polluit. Is parricidium taliter expiavit, relinquens filium parvulum nomine Edvardum, quem suscepit ab Imma uxore. Frater Adelradi Emund, vir bellicosus, in gratiam victoris veneno sublatus est; filii eius in Ruzziam exilio dampnati.

(Cap. 52, p. 77) Chnud regnum Adelradi accepit uxoremque eius Immam nomine, quae fuit sorore comitis Nortmannorum Rikardi. Cui rex Danorum suam Margaretam pro foedere. Quam deinde Chnut repudiatam a comite Wolf duci Angliae dedit, eiusque Wolf sororem copulatam alteri duci Gudvino, callide ratus Anglos et Nortmannos per conubia Danis fideliores, quae res eum non fefellit. Et Rikardus quidem comes declinans iram Chnut, Iherosollmam profectus, ibidem obiit relinquens filium in Nortmannia nomine Rodbertum, cuius filius est iste Willelmus, quem Franci Bastardum vocant. Wolf autem ex sorore regis Chnut filios suscepit Bern³⁵⁵ ducem et Suein regem,

355 Björn

Guduin a sorore Wolf ducis Suein, Tostin et Haroldum genuit parricidas. Quam generationis seriem, quoniam secuturae lectioni utilem iudicavimus, hic inserere dignum videbatur.

(Cap. 55, P. 78) Inter Chnut et Olaph, regem Nortmannorum, continuum fuit bellum nec cessavit omnibus diebus vitae eorum; Danis pro imperio certantibus, Nortmannis vero pugnantibus libertate. In qua re iustior mihi visa est causa Olaph, cui bellum necessarium magis fuit quam voluntarium. Si quando autem tempus a bellorum motibus quietum erat, idem Olaph iudicio et iusticia regnum gubernavit. Dicunt eum inter cetera virtutum opera magnum Dei zelum habuisse, ut a maleficos de terra disperderet, quorum numero cum tota barbaries exundet, praecipue vero Norvegia monstris talibus plena est. Nam et divini et augures et magi et incantatores ceterique satellites antichristi habitant ibi, quorum praestigiis et miraculis infelices animae ludibrio daemonibus habentur. Hos omnes et huiusmodi beatissimus rex Olaph persequi decrevit, ut scandalis firmiter coalesceret in regno suo christiana religio. Habuitque secum multos episcopos et presbyteros ab Anglia, quorum monitu et doctrina ipse cor suum Deo praeparavit subiectumque populum illis ad regendum commisit. Quorum clari doctrina et virtutibus erant Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rudolf et Bernard. Hi etiam iussu regis ad Suediam et Gothiam et omnes insulas, quae trans Nortmanniam sunt, accesserunt euangelizantes barbaris verbum Dei et regnum Iesu Christi. Misit etiam nuntios ad archiepiscopum nostrum cum muneribus, petens, ut eos episcopos benigne reciperet suosque ad eum mitteret, qui rudem Nortmannorum populum in christianitate confortarent.

(Cap. 55, p. 80-81) Olaph igitur, clarissimus rex Nortmannorum, contra Chnut, regem Danorum, qui regnum suum impugnauerat, perpetuo decertabat praelio. Tandemque ferunt beatissimum regem Olaph seditione principum, quorum mulieres ipse propter maleficia sustulit, a regno depulsum Norvegiae. Et regnavit Chnut in

Nortmannia simul et Dania et, quod nulli regum prius contingere potuit, in Anglia. Olaph vero totam spem suam in Deo ponens, ad comprimendos ydololatrias denuo bellum instaurat. Itaque de rege Suenonum, cuius filiam habuit, et populis Islandorum infinitam congregans armatorum multitudinem, patrium regnum vi et armis recepit. Rex igitur christianissimus fortitudine in hostes et iusticia in suos celebris, ad hoc se credidit in regnum a Deo restitutum, ut iam tunc nemini parcere debuisset, qui vel magus permanere vellet aut christianus fieri nollet. Et iam magna ex parte votum implevit, cum paucio, qui remanserant ex magis, in ultionem eorum, quos rex dampnavit, etiam ipsum non obtruncare non dubitarunt. Alii dicunt eum in bello peremptum, quidam vero in medio populi circo ad ludibrium magis expositum. Sunt alii qui asserunt, illum in gratiam regis Chnut latenter occisum, quod et magis verum esse non diffidimus, eo quod regnum eius invasit. Igitur Olaph rex et martyr, ut credimus, tali fine consummatus est; corpus eius in civitate magna regni sui Trondemnis cum decenti est honore tumulatum. Ubi hodieque pluribus miraculis et sanitatibus, quae per eum fiunt, Dominus ostendere dignatur, quanti meriti sit in coelis, qui sic glorificatur in terris. [Regnavit autem annis 12.] Agitur festivitas eius 4. Augusti, omnibus septentrionalis oceani populis Nortmannorum, Sueonum, Gothorum, [Semborum], Danorum atque Sclavorum aeterno cultu memorabilis.

(Cap. 71, p. 89) Anno pontificis sexto manu fortis imperator Conradus obiit, et successit ei filius Heinricus, ille qui Ungros domuit. Eodemque tempore memorabiles aquilonis reges obierunt Chnut et Olaph, germani fratres. Quorum alter, videlicet Olaph, rex Sueconum, successorem regni habuit filium, de quo supra diximus, Iacobum. Sub quo iunior Suein, filius Wolf, militavit in Suedia 12 annis, qui retulit nobis, Iacobo regnante christianitatem late in Sueonia diffusam esse. Alter frater, scilicet Chnud, in Anglia decessit, tenuitque regna Danorum, Anglorum ac Nortmannorum in ditione sua per viginti duos annos.

(Cap. 72, p. 90) Post cuius mortem, ut ipse disposuit, succedunt in regnum filii eius, Haroldus in Angliam, Suein in Nortmanniam, Hardechnut autem in Daniam. Iste cum esset filius Imme reginae, sororem habuit eam quam caesar Heinricus in coniugium postea recepit. Ceterum Suein et Harold a concubina geniti erant qui, ut mos est barbaris, aequam tunc inter liberos Chnut sortiti sunt partem hereditatis, Haroldus in Anglia triennium regnavit. Contra quem frater a Dania veniens, in Flandria classem adunavit. Sed rex Anglorum morte praeventus, bellum diremit. Hardechnut Angliam simul possedit et Daniam.

On Olav Haraldsson in *Historia Norwegie(a)e*

The Latin text about Olav Haraldsson has been extracted from Gustav Storm (1880) *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*, Kristiania: Brøgger, pp. 119-124

The author of this first Latin history of Norway remains unidentified. The author was probably a member of the diocese of Nidaros, and compiled his history some time around the establishment of the archdiocese in 1152. *Historia Norwegie* emerges as a national history; however, with numerous references to a authoritative medieval and classical historians, amongst others Solinus (3rd century) and Adam of Bremen (d.c.1072).

The Prologue has by some been seen as an emulation of Honorius of Autun's prologue to *Imago Mundi*. The history is a tribute to the newly Christened nation. The history was the first book in a larger project, as indicated by the "incipit liber primus" with which the history begins. The second volume has not been positively identified, but it is believed that *Passio Olavi*, attributed to Eystein Erlendsson (d. 1188), may have been the second book.

The extant manuscript text is a copy dating from between 1443 and 1510, and was probably not finished, as the story about Olav Haraldsson ends with the King's return to Norway in the company of his four missionary bishops.

Olavus filius Haraldī Grenscensis

Istis temporibus Olavus filius Haraldī grenscensis in Ruscia clara habetur. Hic quia herili solo privatus erat, piraticam exercere necesse habeat. In ea poli, quam nos Holmgardiam appellamus, haud minuta classe sipatus hiemare solebat. qui æstivo tempore cunctos gentiles per ambitum Baltici maris deprædando lacescendo non desistebat urgere. Insulam quoque Eysyslam valde spatiosam ac populosam ex toto

vastavit; sed et alias duas colonum frequentia et magnitudine huic æquales, scilicet Gotorum insulam et Eynorum, adeo demolitus est, ut illarum incolæ, quamdiu in Ruscia morabatur, immania redderent tributa. Item in finibus Curorum non minimas de ipsis dans strages celeberrimo exaltabatur triumpho. Post diuturnam tyrannidis sævitiam princeps gloriosus reverti parat ad patriam; at cum pervenisset ad Daniam. rogatus a Sweinone Danorum rege transfretavit cum eo ad Angliam comitante Canuto patrem ipsum, videlicet Sweionem; qui in cunctis congressibus, illius beatissimi tyranni Olavi belligera astutia victoriam adepti sunt. Demum depulso Adelredo totam insulam brevi tamen tempore detinuit Sweino; nam post tres menses ex hac luce subtrahitur ipse. Cum Canutus repatriavit, a Danis rex patris loco constituitur, Olavus interim Britones debellat et usque Hispaniæ partes profectus ibique clarissimos suæ victoriæ titulos relinquens rediit in Daniam et a socio suo tum Danorum rege multum honorifice susceptus est. Qui inter se adoptivæ fraternitatis foedus pepigerunt; sed quoniam ipse Canutus parente orbatus de Anglia inhoneste aufugerat, cum ingenti exercitu iterum illud redire disposuit; socium suum Olavum et ejusdem vocabuli consortem fratrem suum se illo comitari maxime concitavit pollicendo dimidiam, si totam illorum amminiculis lucrari posset insulam. Pergunt itaque alacres simul millenis navibus constipati, plenis velis prosperis ventis portum *Jarmuthiam* post triduum tenerunt. Inde conciti petunt Londoniam, ubi forte rex Edmundus tunc temporis morabatur patre Adelredo iam orbatus. Rex igitur cognito hostium adventu cives convocat, amnis Tamisiæ pontem munire jussit, ne inimicis liber pateret aditus. Nec mora, dlicta factis impleverunt, ipseque in finitimis provinciis exercitum congregavit. Interim Dani cum ingenti clamore ponti appropiantes munitiones eorum omni conamine repugnare coeperunt, illi ex adverso se suaque defensare summa ope nitebantur. Cumque Canutus casso labore per totam diem sic concertasset ac plurimos de suis male perdidisset, Olavus noster pro capessenda victoria seque suosque maximo dedit periculo, quippe cum undecim navibus fortissime

remigando pontis propugnacula supervectus, ipsi namque satellites tutantium testudinum tegmine protecti sic delusa defensantium machina per media vitæ discrimina pertransiere audacissime. Unde victorissimo bellatori Olavo jam civitatem ingresso ab universo exercitu insignia laudum præconia referebantur ac tota obtenti triumphī ascribebatur fama. Post captam Lundoniam contra regem Edmundum quinquies in IX mensibus fortissime pugnaverunt; demum defissis utrisque reges, scilicet Edmundus et Canutus, tale inter se pactum statuerunt, ut dum viverent ambo insulam æque regerent, sed qui superstes fieret, totam teneret. Tunc cum regnasset mense uno, præsentē luce privatur Edmundus, totumque regnum possedit Canutus; qui duxit matrem defuncti socii nomine Elfigeum, quæ ut - - - (missing text) - - -

duos filios suos Sweinonem et Canutum cognomine durum; foedus omnino, quod cum suis suffraganeis firmissimum sanciverat, ex toto adnihilans, et fratrem et socium omni mercede laborum frustratos abire permisit. Tunc Olavus Norwegensis sororem Olavi Sveonensis nomine Margaretam, quam diu digna vicissitudine intimi amoris privilegio dilexerat, in ipso discessu desponsavit, sed frustra, nam eandem rex Iarezlafus de Ruscia fratre cogente invitata duxit uxorem. Quod factum maximam odiorum atque discordiarum fomitem inter tres illos nobilissimos principes subministrasset, si non sapientissima soror Margaretæ per consilium sui nutritoris disruptam prioris desponsationis copulam aptissime redintegrasset; hanc etenim Olavus in matrimonium sibi sociavit, ex qua genuit - - - (missing text) - - -

Olavus de Anglia rediens cum duabus magnis onerariis navibus ad patriam transfretavit Norwegiam et cum eo quatuor episcopi, scilicet Grimkellus, Bernardus, Rodulfus, Sigfridus.

Explicit

On Olav Haraldsson in Theodoricus Monachus: *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*

Historia De Regibus Norvagicis

The Latin text has been extracted from *Commentarii historici duo. hactenus inediti*:

Alter, De regibus vetustis Norvagicis, alter, De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, circa annum MCLXXXV (1185) susceptam, eodem tempore ab incerto autore conscriptus: Iohannis Kirchmann, Lübec. Printed by Bernh. Casp. Kirchmanno, J. U. D. in Amsterdam 1684.

Theodoricus (possibly Þórir) was a 12th century monk at the diocese of Trondheim under the first native archbishop, Eystein Erlendsson (d. 1188), believed to be the author of *Passio Olavi*, and to whom Theodoricus dedicates his history of the Norwegian kings. We do not know much about Theodoricus; however, he must have been quite a learned man, as can be seen by the many references in *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* to the writings of authoritative medieval and classical writers. I have included an English translation of this text, in order to make it easier for the reader to compare this text with that of *Ágrip*, as there are many similarities between the two texts.

Theodorici Monachi in Ecclesiastica Historia Norwagensium

Domino & Patri suo, viro Reverendissimo Augustino Nidrosiensi Archiepiscopo Theodorus humilis peccator debita servitutis subiectionem & orationum suffraga.

Cap. XIII: Opinio quorundam, de Baptismo Beati Olavi, Martyris, filii Haraldi

(Pagina 21) Rex igitur *Olavus* [filius Tryggi], ut facilius totam Christo subjugaret regionem, Norvag. tres sorores suas principibus conjunxit viris, unam *Erlingi*, filio

Scialgs, *Astrittham* nomine; alteram *Thorgeiri*, potenti viro de *Vuic*, qui postea concremavit *God'rod'* in quidam domo, filium *Gunnildar*, (p. 22) cum ille vellet invadere regnum contra *Olauum*; tertiam, *Hyrringi*, fratri ejusdem: Cumque omnes baptizari fecisset, cursum tetendit ad superiora, scilicet *Uplond*. Ibi tunc puerulum *Olauum* trium annorum, qui postea devotus Christi martyr factus est, invenit una cum matre *Asta*, patre jam defuncto *Haraldo* [Hic fuit filius *God'rold'ar Syr*, qui extitit Pater *Bernhardo*, qui cognominatus est *Mercator*, & fuit filius *Haraldi Benecomati*], felicem spem & decus Norwagensium futurum. Tunc & eum una cum matre ibidem, secundum quosdam baptizari fecit. Alii contendunt, cum in *Anglia* baptizatum. Sed & ergo legi in *Historia Normannorum*, quod a Roberto in *Normandia Rothomagensi* (Reims) Metropolitano baptizatus fuerit. Constat enim quod *Willelmus*, Dux *Normanniae*, adscriverit eum sibi in auxilium contra *Robertum*, Regem *Franciae*, cognomento *Capet*, qui fuit filius *Hugonis Capet*, nobilissimi Ducis; qui duci *Willelmo* una cum comite Flandrensi bellum inferre parabant. Nitebatur enim eum expellere a *Normannia*, eo quod antecessores ejus vi extorserant provinciam a Rege *Francorum*. Sed sive *Rothomagi*, sive in *Anglia* baptizatus fuerit, tunc constat eum fuisse provectionis aetatis, quando martyrio coronatus est, quemadmodum illi dicunt (p. 23) quibus maxime in hujus modi credendum est. Nec mirum de *Olavo* hoc contigisse in illa tena, ubi nullus antiquitatum unquam scriptor fuerit: cum idem scribat Beatus *Hieronymus* de *Constantino Magno*, filio *Constantinii* & *Helенаe*: quod quidam dicant, eum *Bithyniae* baptizatum fuisse in ultima senectute, alii *Constantinopoli*: quidam *Romae* a beato *Sylvestro* papa, & adhuc subjudicelis est, quis verius scripserit.

Cap. XV: De reditu beati Olavi de Anglia in Norwagiam

(Pagina 25) *Olauus* filius *Haraldi*, morabatur in *Anglia* eo tempore. Postea martyr Christi futurus, & ibi tunc reconciliavit *Adalredum* fratribus suis, & ut in Regem

sublimaretur obtinuit. Hunc *Adalredum* privavit postea regno *Kanutus*, Rex *Daciae*, qui dictus est *Potens*, & ut perpetuo exularet coëgit. Fertur (p. 26) quod tunc *Olauus* adierit quendam Heremitam, magnae sanctitatis virum, qui ei multa praedixerit, & quia largiturus esset ei Dominus abundantiam gratiae suae, nec non & quali morte ex hac luce migraturus esset ad Christum. Anno post hinc paravit *Olauus* iter suum in *Norwagiam* cum duabus onerariis navibus & sociis apprimè armatis, qui dicuntur fuisse centum viginti omnes loricati. Prospero igitur cursu tramisso Oceano, applicuit primo quodam divino praesagio ad insulam quandam quae materna lingua nostra dicitur *Sæla*, latinè vero interpretatur *felicitas*, nimirum portendus futuram viri beatudinem, & quia spem felicitatis aeternae toti patriae auspicio sui adventus invexerit. Abhinc navigabit in locum qui dicitur *Sautungsund*, ubi & moratus est aliquot dies. Ibi tunc perlatum est ad eum adventare *Hacon*, filium *Erici*, cum duabus navibus, una parva, quam nos vocamus *scuta*;³⁵⁶ altera longa, quam antiqui vocabant *Liburnam*. Unde & Horatius:

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium

Amice propugnacula.

Quo comperto, *Olauus* noster excogitavit huiusmodi laqueum. Facit naves suas altrinsecus econtra locari & (p. 27) quia locus erat angustissimus, cordas inter ipsas naves tendi, quae tamen fluctibus aperientur, ne dolum detegerent, ut dum incauti irretirentur, illae si, & sine sanguinis effusione, si fieri posset carperentur: quod & ita contigit. Nam adveniens *Hacon* nil aliud suscipatus, quam esse mercatores, ilico à Rege captus est. Ibi tunc abjuravit totam illam partem *Norwagiae*, quam ipse tenuerat. Inde profectus est in *Angliam*. *Sueino* vero avunculus ejus cum audisset adventum beati *Olavi*, collecto exercitus mox illum insequitur. *Olauus* vero Rex, (hoc enim nomen a suis jam sortitus fuerat, more antiquorum Romanorum, quia & ibi exercitus sibi solebat

356 Adam frequently uses Old Norse terms. "Skúta" is a small ship.

creare Imperatorem & Regium nomen imponere:). Diffidens de auxilio *Throndensium*: noverat enim eorum facilitatem & inconstantiam, secessit in superiorem provinciam, ibique hyemavit cum vitrico suo *Sivuardo* & *Asta* matre. Adveniente vernali tempore, profecti sunt ambo in *Wic*, ibique exercitu comparato, properant contra *Sueinonem*. Ille vero impiger occurrit eis: confertoque navali praelio, in loco, qui dicitur *Nesiar*, cum *Sueino* vinceretur, detrectans fugam, disposuit cum suis occumbere, nisi prohibitus esset, & invito suo principe & genero, qui sororem ejus in matrimonium duxerit, (p. 28) *Berghliot* nomine, *Einar Tambaskelme*, viro strenuissimo. Hic consulit ei fugam & quodammodo compulit, ut in *Rusciam* pergeret, ubi & diem obiit.

Cap. XVI: De fuga Beati Olavi in Rusciam

(Pagina 28) Tempore vero, quo *Ericus* praefuerat, multi quantum ad Christianismum a vero exorbitaverant. Hos ergo ad viam reducere & salutis iter monstrare, Ecclesias in quibus non erant locis, fundare, fundatas redivitibus ditare Rex *Olavus* modis omnibus intendebat & cooperator existere viri optimi Beati *Olavi*, filii *Tryggva*, ut quod ille magnifice plantaverat, iste sagaciter, ut a Dei Spiritu doctus, rigaret. Leges patria lingua conscribi fecit, juris & moderationis plenissimas, quae hactenus a bonis omnibus & tenentur & venerantur. Justi tenax ad omnes, neminem affligebat, neminem concutiebat, nullum damnabat, nisi forte, quem propria malitia & obstinatio in malo damnasset; & ut breviter concludam, ad hoc tantum principabatur mortalibus, ut eos ad immortalitatis (p. 29) gloriam, quantum in se esset, perduceret: quod & tunc ei evidenter rerum exitus probavit, & quotidie nihilominus beneficiis omnipotentis Dei, pro ejus, ut credimus, meritis collatis, satis superque monstratur. Duxit deinde Rex uxorem *Astriithi*, filiam *Olavi* Regis *Swechorum*, cum tamen ante primogenitam ejus sibi desponsasset: sed interveniente ira patris neuter optatis nuptiis perfrui potuit. Suscepit ex ea filiam nomine *Ulfildi*, quam postea conjunxit *Otoni*, (Hennig. *Ortholphum* vocat), Duci Saxonum. Post

haec, Rex *Kanutus Daciae & Angliae*, homo avidus alieni, animadvertens quod pater ejus *Sueino* habuerit tertiam partem *Norwagiae*, simulque considerans, filium sororis suae *Hacon*, tunc secum morantem, a patria expulsum, coepit sollicitare Principes *Norwagiae* adversus Regem, & clanculo pecunia corrumpere *Erlingum*, videlicet filium *Scialgs de Sola*, *Kalf* filium *Arna*, *Thore Hund*, & alios plures. Et quia *Erlingus* praecipuus erat illorum, collegit exercitum, & congressus est navali praelio cum Rege *Olauo*, ubi & ipse occubuit. Et hoc fuit in loco, ejus nomen est *Tunga*. Invito tamen Regen, a quoddam suo parente, *Aslac Fina Scalla*, occisus est. Postea Rex, comperto, *Kanutum* Regem adesse, cum innumerabili (p. 30) exercitu, nam mille ducentarum navium fertur classis ejus fuisse, cernensque se imparem congressioni relictis navibus abiit ad *generum* (socerum) suum *Olauum* Regem *Suethiae*. Inde profectus est in *Russiam*, ad *Wirtzlauum* (*Jerizlevum*) Regem, qui duxerat *Ingigerthi*, quam ipse, ut paulo ante dixi, desponsaverat & habere nequiverat. Moratus est ibi anno uno, honorifice & officiosissime a Rege *Wirtzlauo* susceptus, cujus etiam tutelae commisit filium suum *Magnum*, puerum quinque annorum quem ex concubina susceperat. Interea *Kanutus* Rex allexit sibi omnis *Norwagiae* principes, multa dando & plura promittendo, si fidem servarent nepoti suo *Haconi*, quem secum adduxerat, acceptisque obsidibus ab illis, quibus minus credendum putaret, reversus est in *Angliam*. Deinde post annum, perrexit *Hacon* in *Angliam* pro adducenda uxore sua: Sed cum reverteretur tempestate correptus, coactus est incidere in *Charybdim*, illo loco maris, qui dicitur *Perlantzfiorth*, juxta *Orcades insulas*, ibique in illi inimam voraginem, cum omnibus suis absorptus est.

Cap. XVIII: Quod beatus Olauus repatriaverit, & de Corporum humanorum diminutione

(Pagina 33) *Kanutus* igitur Rex *Angliae*, ut cognovit iteritum *Hakonar* nepotis sui, illico misit *Sueinonum* filium suum, ad gubernandum regnum *Norwagiae*, simulque

resistendum *Olauo*, si in patriam redire disponderet. O infelix & inexplibilis cupiditas mortalium! O multum misera humana anima! quae quanto magis sparsit & in visibila ista, & dilatavit in figuram hujus mundi, quae praeterit, tanto difficilius post hanc vitam recolligitur, & a Deo, qui vera sufficientia est, alienatur. (p. 34) Hoc in *Kanuto* satis superque elucet: qui cum duo regna possideret, tertium justissimo Regi *Olauo*, quod illi ex avita successione debebatur, molitur eripere. *Olauum* itaque, ut fertur, admonitus in somnis, redire eum oportere in *Norwagiam*, vale faciens *Wirtzlauo* & *Ingigerthi*, relictoque ibi filio suo *Magno*, reversus est ad generum suum, *Olauum* Regem in *Swethiam*, ibique anno illo moratus est. Adveniente itaque vernali tempore congregant exercitum auxilio gereri sui, qui magna ex parte erat paganorum, duxitque eum per superiora in *Norwagiam*. Cumque instaret Rex pagani, ut baptizarentur illique detrectarent suscipere jugum Domini, ait: Se non indigere paganorum & a Deo alienorum, maxime contra Christianos; vilem sibi fore victoriam, quae iniquorum manibus pararetur. Respondent pagani: Paratos se quidem ad usus bellorum, & si quid aliud juberet Rex: istam vero novellam institutionem nolle se veterinae consuetudini antiponere: malle se redire in patriam. Quo audito Rex permisit omnes abire. Congregati sunt postea ad eum parentes ejus, cum *Haraldo* fratres ejus, qui tunc erat adolescens quindecim annorum, sed & quidam alii principes: inter quos erant *Ringr*, filius *Dags*, cum filio suo ejusdem (p. 35) nominis, & *Fithr*, comes filius *Arna*, frater *Kalfs*, qui maxime adversabatur Regi. Secutus fuerat & Regem individuus comes in omnibus periculis *Ragnvalder*, filius *Brusa*, filii *Siwardi*, qui primum omnium consulum Orcadum insularum Christianus fuit, ejus superius mentionem fecimus. Isti fuerunt viri strenui & fortes, corpore & animo validiores multo, quam his miseris temporibus, longe tamen suis antecessoribus inferiores. Hujus diminutionis talem reddit rationem *Plinius Secundus* in *Naturalis Historia*. Verba ipsius ponam. *In plenum*, inquit, *cuncto mortatium (sic?) generi minorem (puta, staturam) indies fieri propemodum observatur;*

rarosque patribus proceriores, consumente ubertatem seminum exustione, in cuius vires nunc vergat aevum. Haec *Plinius*. Non enim latebat Philosophos, quia audierant diluvium praecessisse, seculum praesens exustione finiendum. *Lucanus* quoque, non minus Philosophus quam Poëta, dixit, ubi ad *Julium* Caesarem loquitur, eo quod prohibuit comburi mortuos in bello: (p. 36)

Hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis, uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite Ponti, communis mundo super est rogos, ossibus astra mixterus.

(Lib. VII, v. 812)

Cuncta namque in terra ex calore & humore procreantur: in quibus calor abundat, fiunt exiliora, graciliora & subtiliora: Et ubi praevalet humor, sunt grossiora, proceriora, & magis corpulenta. Hanc vicissitudinem seculorum exustionis & eluvionis, inducit *Plato*, dicens: Expletis quindecim millibus annorum, eas alternatim accidere omnesque humanum genus interire, praeter paucissimos, qui aliquo casu evadant: Unde postea reparentur homines, hoc semper extisse, & semper futurum esse. Nec tamen mundum Deo voluit coævum esse, sed sicut vestigium ex pede, non pes ex vestigio: & tamen, ex quo pes est, ex eo etiam vestigium: Ita mundum περ Ειμαρμενην [eimarmene – "fate"], id est, continuationem temporis imitari quidem aeternitatem, sed apprehendere non posse. Deus quippe simplicissima aeternitas, incircumscripibilis species, praesentialiter universitatem intuetur. Mundus vero per vicissitudines & tempora diversificatur. In hunc errorem vicissitudinum seculorum, incidit *Origenes*, notabilis tractator divinarum scripturarum: Quod satis (p. 37) pro dolor, elucet in illo libro quem intitulavit *Περὶ αρχων*, id est, de principiis, in quo multa doctrinae obvianta commiscuit. Beatus quoque *Hieronymus* loquens de diminutione corporum, mentionem facit de duodecim lapidibus, quos filii Israëel sustulerunt de alveo Jordanis fluminis, cum transirent sicco vestigio, sicut & antea Rubrum Mare. Unde & Psalmista canit: *Quid est tibi mare, quod fugit p & tu Jordanis, quia conversus es retrorsum p* (Psal. 114 : 5). Jussit namque

Dominus, ut ex singulis tribubus singuli viri exportarent lapidem unum super ripam fluminis, quem leviter ferre possent in testimonium tanti miraculi: quos idem Sanctus *Hieronymus*, testatur, se vidisse unum ex eis casu fractum & ferro religatum: tantaeque esse magnitudinis unum quemque, ut vix a duobus viris ferri posset: non quia lapides crevissent, sed quia homines decrevissent: Et certe, jam pene octigenti anni sunt, ex quo Beatus *Hieronymus* ad regna cœlestia transivit. Ante hos quoque fere septuaginta annos, repertus est *Romae*, *Pallas*, filius *Evandri*, quem *Turnus* occidit, cujus mortem Beatus dicit *Augustinus* simulachrum *Apollonis* flevisse mira Daemonis versutia, quasi doluisset occasum viri probissimi. Inventum est etiam vas argenteum, locatum super (p. 38) pectus ejus, in quo confectio myrrhae erat & balsami pretiosissima, indeque egrediebantur duo calami aurei, quorum summitates navibus infigebantur: ut videlicet virtute unguenti corpus non minus interius, quam exterius duraret incorruptum. Inventi sunt autem & duo versus insculpti:

Filius. Evandri. Pallas, quem. lancea. Turni.

Militer. occidit. more. suo. iacet. hic.

Qui postea erectus, patente ingenti vulnere sub pectore pene murum civitatis adaequavit statura sua: ibique stetit, donec balsamo pluviis abluto, in semet ipsum collapsus est & sic iterum terrae ossa mandabantur.

Cap. XIX: Quod beatus Olauus in bello martyr occubuit

Beatus itaque *Olauus* congregata manu, quem habere poterat in *Upland*, tetendit in *Throndheim*. Audierat enim *Sueinonem*, filium *Kanuti*, in *Wic* operi adventum suum cum valida manu, & ideo declinavit ab eo. *Throndenses* autem audito adventu Regis, convenerunt in *Nidrosiensem* civitatem, quasi vir unus, adversus Dominum & adversus Christum ejus, juvenes cum senioribus, infelici factione, ut impugnarent sanctum Dei. In quibus erant principes, qui maxime Regi obluctabantur, *Thorer Hunder*, & *Kalfs*

(sic.)³⁵⁷ filius *Arna*. Audiens igitur Rex congregatam adversum se multitudine, misit ad eos *Fin*, fratrem *Kalfs*, cujus superius mentionem fecimus: qui populo pacem offeret, Regis animum paratum nunciaret, oblitum cum praeteritarum injuriarum, ignoscere cuique, quod eatenus perperam egisset: detestari se effusionem humani sanguinis, & maxime in civilibus bellis, nullo modo se velle manum conserere, si salubribus ejus monitis acquiescant. Effera vero mens barbarorum, unanimi (p. 40) consensu paci contradicit: Et multo miseri, magis eligunt Sanctum Dei hortiliter impetere, quam salutaria ejus monita suscipere. Omnes itaque Regi obviam ruunt, & properanti gradu ad locum qui dicitur *Sticlastad'er* perveniunt. Praecesserat tamen eos *Fithr*, nuncius Regis, & obstinatam eorum malitiam Regi intimaverat. Beatus itaque *Olauius*, divina revelatione admonitus, obitum suum quodammodo praesagivit, vocavitque ad se, ut fertur, dispensatorem suum, jubet illi, ut speciales Eleemosynas pro omnibus, qui in eodem praelio contra se arma ferendo, casuri essent, ex regia pecunia devote largiretur: Non immemor praecepti Domini sui: *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his, qui oderunt vos*.³⁵⁸ Libet hic intueri animum martyris nostri; furebat persecutorum rabies, & miseranda caecitate perculsi, crudeli infamia debacchabantur in Sanctum Dei: ille vero manet immotus & in Christo fundatus, saluti persequentium providendum curat. Et hoc in tali necessitate, ubi quilibet etiam carissimorum suorum oblivisci potuisset. Audite haec obsecro, universi populi! Vir iste natus pene in ultimis partibus Aquilonis, inter barbaros & incultos: Videte, quale fidus emicuerit, quam humilis, quam sublimis: & hoc non in servili conditione, sed (p. 41) in regalo fastigio. Animadvertite quali animo bellum paraverit, quid intenderit. In promptu causa est, procul dubio remota omni ambiguitate, ut sceleratos & in quos à bonorum persecutione compesceret. Christi sanctia

357 Kalfr.

358 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you (Matth. 5: 44).

stabiliret, de durissimis lapidibus, si fieri potuisset, filios *Abrahae* suscitaret. Haec ita fuisse, certissime declarant cotidiana beneficia, & non minus cebra inusitata miracula, quae omnipotens Deus dignatur operari per ejus merita, non in nostra regione, verum ubicunque locorum, & a quibuscunque auxilium Beati martyris fideliter imploratur. Videre est etiam, quam devote, quam diligenter insecutus sit Beatus iste vestigia illius primi vexilliferi Salvatoris nostri, videlicet beatissimi Protomartyris *Stephani*. Ille inter terrentium ibrem lapidum, pro lapidantibus exoravit: iste pro interemptoribus suis etiam Eleemosynas erogari jubet. Sed in his omnibus ille agnoscendus est, ille laudandus, ille glorificandus, qui & in extrema constantiam. Collatis itaque signis, ferebat vexillum ante Regem vir strenuus, nomine *Biorn*: hic, in primo statim congressu, occisu est a *Thori Hund*, qui primam aciem ducebat contra Regem. Illico subsecutus est occasus Regis, accepto, ut fertur, vulnere ingenti. Quis ei manus (p. 42) intulerit, utrum unum an plura vulnera habuerit, quia a diversis diversa dicuntur, nos nil temere affirmare volumus, nec officioso mendacio aliorum aures demulcere. *Dagr* vero, unus ex principibus Regis, nec non & cognatus ejus, cernens vexillum una cum Rege cecidisset, viriliter illud erexit, hortatus socios & obtestatus, ut necem Regis non velint inultam, ne geminatum gaudium adversarii reportarent & de nece Regis & de incruenta victoria. Inde ruunt omnes in arma, penetrant bis vel ter aciem hostium, plurimos prosternunt, protrahitur pugna usque ad vesperam, nox pugnantes diremit. Discedunt tandem utrique non tam victi, quam sessi & vulneribus afflicti. Occubuit autem Beatus *Olauus* quarto Kal. Augusti, quod tunc erat quarta feria, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo vicesimo nono (1029), ut nos certius indagare potuimus.

English Translation

The translation has been extracted from Anthony Faulkes & Richard Perkins (Eds) (1998) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium: An Account of the Ancient History*

of the Norwegian Kings (Theodoricus monachus). London: Viking Society for Northern Research : pp. 19-23, 25-31 and 33-34.

Chapter 15. On the return of the blessed Olafr from England to Norway.

At that time Óláfr Haraldsson, later to become a martyr of Christ, was in England; and there he reconciled Æthelred with his brothers, and achieved his elevation to the throne. King Knútr of Denmark, who was called the “mighty,” afterwards deprived the same Æthelred of his kingdom and forced him to live in perpetual exile.

It is said that while in England Óláfr visited a certain hermit, a man of great holiness, who foretold him many things—that the Lord would lavish on him the abundance of his grace, and also by what sort of death he would pass from the light of this world to Christ.

In the following year Óláfr prepared to make his way to Norway, with two cargo-ships, and well-armed followers—they are said to have numbered 120, all of them in coats of mail. Having made a favourable voyage across the ocean, as a kind of divine omen he put in first at an island which in our mother tongue is called Sæla, and which rendered into Latin is *felicitas*, happiness, without doubt a portent of the King’s future sanctity, and a sign that through the good omen of his coming, he brought the hope of eternal happiness to his whole country. From there he sailed to a place which is called Sauðungssund, where he remained for a few days. A report then reached him there that Hákon Eiríksson was approaching with two ships, one a small vessel of the type we call *skúta*, the other a longship, of the type the ancients called a “Liburnian,” whence Horace says:

You will go, my friend, in Liburnian galleys
Amid ships like towering fortresses.

On hearing this news, Óláfr devised the following trap. Since he was at a very narrow point in the sound, he had his ships stationed one on either side and ropes stretched between them in such a way that they could be covered by water and the enemy would not detect the stratagem. In this way, the earl and his men could be ensnared there when they least expected it, and might be taken prisoners unharmed and, if possible, without bloodshed. And that is how it turned out. When Hákon arrived, he did not suspect that they were anything other than merchants, and was immediately taken prisoner by the King. He renounced then and there his claim to all that part of Norway over which he had control, and then he went to England.

When Sveinn, Hákon's uncle, heard of the arrival of the blessed Óláfr, he gathered an army and soon set out against him. But King Óláfr—he had, in fact, already received this title from his men, in the manner of the ancient Romans, for among them it was customary for the army to create the commander-in-chief and bestow the royal title—did not count on help from the men of þrandheimr, for he knew their fickleness and inconstancy, so he withdrew to Upplond, and spent the winter there with his step-father Sigurðr and his mother Ásta. When spring came, they both set out for the Vík, and there gathered an army and hastened to confront Sveinn. At the same time, Sveinn moved quickly to attack them; and they joined in a naval battle at the place called Nesjar. When Sveinn was vanquished, he disdained flight and resolved to fall with his men. And he would have done so, had he not been prevented and his ship withdrawn from battle against his will by one of his chieftains, Einarr þambarskelmir, a man of immense vigour, who had married Sveinn's sister Bergliót. He advised him to flee and more or less forced him to make his way to Russia, where he lived until his death.

Chapter 16: On the flight of the blessed Óláfr to Russia

During the time of Eirík's reign, many Christians had turned aside from the true faith. King Óláfr strove by all means at his disposal to lead these people back to the right path and to show them the way to salvation, to establish churches in those places where there were none, and to endow those which were established. In this he strove to appear as the collaborator of that best men, Óláfr Tryggvason, so that he, as one taught by the spirit of God, might prudently water what his predecessor had gloriously planted. He had laws replete with justice and equity committed to writing in the native language; and to this day these are upheld and venerated by all good men. Dogged in his pursuit of justice for all, he persecuted no one, oppressed no one except, to be sure, those whose own wickedness and persistence in evil had already condemned them. In short, in ruling over mortal men his sole aim was to lead them, insofar as it was his power, to the glory of everlasting life. This was both manifestly confirmed then by the outcome of events, and is no less amply demonstrated daily by the blessings of almighty God which, we believe, are bestowed for the sake of his merits.

The King then married Ástriðr, the daughter of King Óláfr of Sweden. He had formerly been betrothed to the Swedish King's elder daughter, but when her father's anger became an obstacle, neither of them was able to enjoy the marriage that they had hoped for. By Ástriðr Óláfr had a daughter named Úlfhildr, whom he later gave in marriage to Duke Otto of Saxony.

After this, Knútr, King of Denmark and England, a man who hungered after the possessions of others, called to mind that his father Sveinn had possessed a third of Norway, and at the same time took note that his sister's son Hákon, who was then staying with him, had been driven out of his own country. So he began to incite the chieftains of Norway against the King, and to bribe them in secret. Amongst these were Erlingr Skjalgsson of Sóli, Kalfr Árnasson, Þorir hund and numerous others, and

because Erlingr was the foremost man among them, he assembled an army and closed with King Óláfr in a naval battle, in which he himself fell. And this happened in a place that is called Tunga. Erlingr was killed there, though not at the King's will, by one of his own kinsmen, Áslakr fitjaskalli.³⁵⁹ Afterwards, when the King learned that King Knút was at hand with an immense force (indeed, his fleet is said to have numbered 1200 ships), he realised that he was not equal to such an encounter, he abandoned ship and withdrew to the court of his father-in-law, King Óláfr of Sweden. From there he travelled to Russia, to King Jaroslav. He had married Ingigerðr, to whom Óláfr had been betrothed but whom he was unable to wed, as I mentioned just now. He remained there for one year, and was treated with honour and the utmost courtesy by King Jaroslav. Óláfr committed to his care his son Magnús, a boy of five, born to him by a concubine.

Meanwhile, King Knútr lured to himself all the chieftains of Norway by giving many gifts and promising more if they would be loyal to his nephew Hákon, whom he had brought with him. And after he had taken hostages from those that he considered less trustworthy, he returned to England. Then, a year later, Hákon proceeded to England to fetch his wife; but on his way back he was caught in a storm and driven into the mouth of Charybdis in that part of the sea which is called Petlandsfjorðr, off the Orkney Isles. And there he and all his people were sucked down into that bottomless whirlpool.

Chapter 18: How the blessed Óláfr returned to his country; and on how the decrease in size of the bodies of men

Thus, when Knútr, King of England, learned of the death of his nephew Hákon, he immediately sent for his son Sveinn to govern the kingdom of Norway and at the same time to oppose Óláfr should he decide to return to his homeland. O, the calamitous and

³⁵⁹ "Karl" (man) from Fitjar.

insatiable greed of mortal men! O, the very wretched human soul! The more it has dissipated itself on visible things and spreads over the figure of this world which will pass away the more difficult it is for it to be made whole again after this life; and it becomes all the more estranged from God, who is the true sufficiency. This is abundantly, even ever-abundantly, clear in the case of Knútr who, although he possessed two kingdoms, still strove to wrest yet a third from the most just King Óláfr, one moreover to which Óláfr was entitled by ancestral succession.

And when, as it is reported, Óláfr was urged in dreams that it behoved him to return to Norway, he bade farewell to Jaroslav and Ingigerðr, and left his son Magnús there with them. He then returned to his father-in-law King Óláfr of Sweden, and he remained there over that year. When spring came, with the help of his father-in-law he assembled an army made up in great parts of heathens, and he led it through the northern regions onto Norway. When the King pressed the heathens to accept baptism and they refused to take on the yoke of our Lord, Óláfr said that he had no need of heathens and godless men, especially when fighting against Christians, and that for him any victory won with the help of evil men would be base. The heathens answered that they were ready to engage in battle and to do anything else which the King might command, but that they would not set this new doctrine above their ancient custom, and would sooner return home. When the King heard this, he allowed them all to depart. After this, Óláfr's kinsmen flocked to his support, and with them his brother Haraldr, who was then a youth of fifteen years, as well as certain other noble men. Among these were Hringr Dagsson, with his son Dagr, and Finn jarl Árnason, the brother of Kalfr, who was one of the King's leading adversaries. The King was also followed in every danger by his inseparable companion, Rognvaldr Brúsason, whom I mentioned earlier, the first of all the earls of the Orkney Islands to become Christian.

These were men of vigour and strength, much more powerful in body and spirit than people are in these wretched times, although they were still greatly inferior to their

predecessors. Pliny the Younger offers the following explanation of this general decline in his *Natural history*.³⁶⁰ I cite his own words. "On the whole, he says, it is more or less plain to see that the entire human race is becoming smaller daily, and that few people are taller than their fathers, as seminal fertility is becoming exhausted by conflagration, the fate to which the age now inclines." Thus Pliny; and this was certainly not unknown to philosophers, for they were aware that earlier there had been a flood and that the present world would end in conflagration. Lucan, too, no less a philosopher than a poet, says this in addressing Julius Caesar because he forbade the cremation of the dead in war:

If, Caesar, fire should not consume these multitudes now,
It will consume them with the earth,
And burn them with the waters of the deep,
There remains for the world a common funeral pyre,
Which will mix stars with mortal bones.

For all things on earth are generated through heat and moisture. Those things in which there is an abundance of heat tend to be frailer, thinner and more delicate; and those things in which moisture prevails are thicker, taller and more fleshy. Plato draws attention to this alternation of periods of fire and flood; for he says that at the end of every fifteen thousand years alternately one or the other of these takes place, and that all mankind dies save for a tiny few who escape by some chance through whom the human race is afterwards restored. This has always been the case and always will be. Plato did not, however, mean to suggest that the world is coeval with God; but just as the footprint comes from the foot, not the foot from the footprint, so both the foot and the

³⁶⁰ *Historia naturalis*.

footprint come from the same source. Likewise the world, through *eimarmene* (that is the unbroken sequence of time), may indeed imitate eternity, but it can never attain it. Indeed, God is the most absolute eternity, infinite in form, who looks upon everything as present, whereas the world is made varied by alternations and times. That worthy commentator on the Holy Scripture, Origen, fell into this error regarding the alternations of the ages. This is, alas, readily apparent in that book which he entitled *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* (that is “concerning the first things”), in which he intermingled many worthless passages from the books of the philosophers which conflict with sound doctrine.

Saint Jerome, also speaking of the decrease in size of the human body, makes mention of the twelve stones which the sons of Israel carried up out of the bed of the river Jordan, when they crossed it dry-shod, just as they had crossed the Red Sea before—whence the Psalmist sings:

What wailed the, O thou sea, that thou didst flee,
And thou, O Jordan, that thou wast turned back?

For the Lord bade that one man from each of the tribes should carry up onto the river-bank a stone which he could easily lift, as testimony of so great a miracle. And saint Jerome attests that he had seen these same stones himself, and that one of them was broken by some accident and then bound together again with iron. He says that each of them was of such a size that it could scarcely be carried by two men, not because the stones had grown bigger, but because the men had grown smaller. And indeed it is now almost eight hundred years since the blessed Jerome passed over into the kingdom of heaven.

About seventy years ago, the body of Pallas, son of Evander, whom Turnus killed, was discovered at Rome. The blessed Augustine says that when Pallas died an image of

Apollo wept, through the astonishing cunning of that demon, as if it lamented the fall of this most excellent man. A silver vessel was also discovered, placed upon his chest, in which there was a very costly mixture of myrrh and balm. Protruding from this vessel were two golden reeds, the ends of which were fixed into the nostrils of the corpse so that, by virtue of this ointment, the body would remain undecayed no less inside than out. Two engraved lines of verse were also found:

Pallas, son of Evander, whom the spear of Turnus

The warrior killed, lies here in accordance with his wish.

When the body was afterwards raised up, with the huge wound under the chest exposed, its height almost equalled that of the city walls. The corpse stood there until, after the balm had been washed away by the rains, it caved in and the bones were committed at once again to the earth.

Chapter 19: How the blessed Olaf died a martyr in battle

And so, after he had assembled what force he could muster in Óppland, Óláfr turned toward þrándheimr, for he had heard that Sveinn Knutsson lay in wait for him in the Vik with a powerful army, and for that reason Óláfr gave him a wide berth. But when the people of þrándheimr had heard of the King's approach, they assembled in the city of Niðaróss as one man against the Lord and against his annointed, young together with old in the one wretched faction, that they might attack God's saint. Among them were the leaders who mounted the greatest opposition against the King: þórir Hund and Kálfr Árnason. When the King heard that a great host was assembled against him, he sent to meet them Finnur, the brother of Kálfr, whom I mentioned earlier. He was to offer the people peace, and make known that the King's mind was favourably disposed and that, forgetful of past offences, he was ready to forgive each person for whatever he had

hitherto done unlawfully. He abhorred the shedding of human blood, especially in civil wars, and by no means wished to engage in battle, if they would acquiesce to his sound admonitions. But the savage temperament of those barbarous men unanimously rejected peace; and rather by far than accept his salutary admonitions, the wretched chose to attack God's saint in hostility. They all therefore hastened to oppose the King and advanced with all speed to the place which is called Stiklestaðir. Finn the King's messenger preceded them, however, and informed the King that they were obstinate in their evil intent.

Then the blessed Óláfr, warned by a divine revelation, had a presentiment of his death, and it is said that, summoning his steward to him, he ordered special alms to be faithfully distributed out of the royal treasury for all those who should fall while bearing arms against him in this battle. For Óláfr was not unmindful of his Lord's commandment:

Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you.

Here one may behold with wonder the spirit of our martyr. The fury of his persecutors raged and, struck with a deplorable blindness, they railed against God's saint with savage invective; yet he remained unmoved and firmly rooted in Christ, and took pains to provide for the salvation of his persecutors—and this when so hard pressed that anyone might have forgotten even those most dear to him. People throughout the world, I beg you, hear what I have to say. This man, born in almost the remotest parts of the North, among barbarians and savages, see how he shone forth like a star, how humble he was and how sublime, and this not in a slave's condition, but in the exalted rank of king. Consider in what frame of mind he made ready for war, to what he directed his thoughts. His purpose was manifest beyond all doubt and free from any uncertainty—to

keep the wicked men and criminals from persecuting those who were good; to confirm the things which had been ordained by Christ and, if it could be done, 'of the hardest stoner to raise up children of Abraham.' That this was most certainly the case is demonstrated by the daily benefactions and the miracles, as frequent as they are extraordinary, which almighty God deigns to perform for the sake of his merits, not only in our part of the world, but wherever anyone faithfully prays for the help of the blessed martyr. Indeed, one can see how devoutly and diligently this blessed man followed in the footsteps of that first standard-bearer of our Saviour, namely the most blessed proto-martyr Stephen. Stephen, amid a hail of cascading stones, prayed for those who stoned him. Óláfr ordered that alms be distributed on behalf of his own murderers. But in all these things He is to be acknowledged, he praised, He glorified, who at the first calling gave faith, and at the last steadfastness.

When the troops were drawn up, a bold man by the name of Björn bore the standard before the King. He was killed at once in the first engagement by Þórir Hundr , who led the van against the King. This was followed immediately by the fall of the King who, it is said, had received a great wound. Who struck him down, or whether he received one wound or more, I will not be so bold as to affirm, since different reports are given by different people; nor do I wish to soothe the ears of others with an obliging lie. But when Dagr, of the King's captains and his kinsman, saw the standard had fallen with the King, he manfully raised the banner up, exhorting and entreating his comrades not to let the King's death go unavenged lest their enemies should have dual cause for jubilation—both the slaying of the King and a bloodless victory. Thereupon they all rushed headlong into the fray, breaking two or three times through the enemy line and cutting down a great many men. The battle dragged on until evening, when night separated the combatants. At last both sides withdrew, not so much vanquished as exhausted and crippled by the wounds.

The blessed Óláfr went to his rest on the twenty-ninth day of July, which was then a Wednesday, in the year 1029 after the birth of our Lord, as far as I have been able to ascertain with some degree of certainty.

On Olav Haraldsson in *Ágrip af Nóregs Konungasögum*

The selected texts have been extracted from Gustav Indrebø (1926) *Ágrip, ei liti norsk kongesoge*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget: 50-63)

The anonymous *Ágrip af konunga sögum* was written towards 1190, almost simultaneously with Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*, and the similarities between the two texts are striking, suggesting that the two chronicles may have been written by the same author, and that the one is a translation of the other. The *Ágrip* was composed in Norway, probably by a Norwegian-born scholar closely connected to the archdiocese, and hence is the first vernacular chronicle about the Norwegian kings that was not written by an Icelandic.

The Lineage Of Olaf Haraldsson. Olaf Comes To Norway

(Chapter 23) Hararldr, faðir Óláfs ens helga, hann var sunr Guðbrøðar, en Guðbrøðar sunr Bjarnar, en Björn sunr Haralds hárfagra, en fyrsti einvalds konungr var yfir Nóregi. En mart er sagt frá víðlendi ferðar Óláfs, en hvégi víða er hann fór, þá sótti hann þegar aftr, er Guð vildi opna ríki fyrir honum, ok kom hann siglande vestan af Englandi með knorrum tveim ok kom at við Sælu ok sigldi síðan í Sauðungasund. Ok sva sem guð skipaði til, þá var sén for Hókonar, er þa stþrði landi eftir Eirik foður sinn, .xv. vetra gamall, enn vænsti maðr, ok stefndi í Sauðungasund, sem allra manna leið var í þat mund, ok óvitandi at Óláfr digri lá fyrir, ok hafði eigi Hókon lið meira en langskip eitt ok skútu eina. En þa er konungrinn varð varr við ferð hans lagði hann sínu megin sundsins hváru skipinu. En þa er Hókon ræri á þá, heimtusk brátt skip hans saman ok varð hann þar handtekinn, ok þa hann lif, ok svá lið hans alt, af konunginum ok fyr svór landit Nóreg Óláfi eilíflega. Þa höfðu þeir feðgar Eiríkr ok Hókon landi ráðit. xiii. vetr jarls nafni ok Sveinn Hókonar sunr. Enn helgi Óláfr gaf honum Hókoni Suðreyjar,

sem sumir segja, ok styrkþi hann svá, at þeira var hann halzi ok þar var hann konungr meðan hann lifði.

Olaf Become King. The Battle Of Nesjar

(Chapter 24) En þa tók inn helgi Óláfr við Nóregs ríki ok styrkþi ríki sitt með kristni ok öllum góðum síðum, ok bar þó með mikill óhægð, þviat margir leituðu á innan lands ok útan, allra helzt fyr kristnis sakar, er hann bauð. Hann var enn fyrsta vetr lengstum með Sigurði mági sínum á Upplöndum, en of várit eftir sótti Sveinn jarl með herskildi í land hans, ok heldu orrustu fyr Nesjum palmadag við Grenmar ok vann Óláfr siger, þar fell mikill hlutr liðs Sveins, en Sveinn helt undan. Einarr þambaskelmir kastaði akkeri í skip Sveins ok sigldi með hann nauðgan á braut til Danemarkar; síðan fór Sveinn austr í Garða ok kom aldregi att.

Olaf's Marriage

(Chapter 25) Siðan bað Óláfr dóttur Óláfs scenska Ástriðar, systur Ingigerðar, er fyrr var heitin honum, ok brá faðir hennar heitum þeim fyr reiði sakar ok gifti Jaritláfi Ausrvegs konungi; ok gaf Óláfr digri með henni börn, en þeira ørnefni eða ørferðir vitum vér eigi nema um Gunnhildi dóttur þeira, er tók Ótto hertogi á Saxlandi. Óláfr var friðr sþnum ok listuligr, jarpt hár hafði hann ok rauðara skegg, riðvaxinn meðalmaðr, ekki hór; hann var á.xx. aldri, er hann kom í Nóreg, ok sþndisk vitrum mönnum í Nóregi hann mikit afbragð í vizku sinnu ok öllum vaskleik um hvern mann fram.

Olaf's Conflict With King Knut. Erling Skjalgsson Falls. Olaf Goes To Russia

(Chapter 26) En á þessu méli reð Knútr fyr Englandi, er hann hafði unnit með hjölp ok með fulltingi ens helga Óláfs ok launaði inum helga Óláfi eigi betr, en hann bar fé undir höfðingja, er í Nóregi váru, sem siðan reyndisk, at þeir skyldu svíkja landit undan

honum. Var í þeirri tölu Erlingr á Sóla, Kalfr á Eggju, þorir hund ok margir aðrir. En þá er inn helgi Óláfr fór austr til móts við Knút konung, þá mætti hann Erlingi ok vænti, at hann væri til liðveizlu kominn í mót honum, en hann réð til konungs þá með bardaga ok helt orrostu við hann, ok vann inn helgi Óláfr sigr ok varð Erlingr svá nauðstaddr, at engi var annarr kostr, enn han hljóp á miskunna konungs ok hann veitti honum vörn, þá er aðrir sóttu at honum. En Áslákr hét maðr fitjaskalli, er stafnbúi var konungs, hann gekk aftr á skip ok hafði undir skauti sér leynilega handæxi, ok varð engi fyrr varr við, en hann hafði höggvit hann í hofuð banasár ok kvað svá at orði: “Svá skal marka niðinginn,” en konungrinn svaraði: “Nú hafir þú höggvit Nóreg ór hendi mér.” En þá varð hann varr af þeim mönnum, er þar tók hann, at allir stærstu menn í landinu váru í svikum við hann. ok snørisk hann þá norðr í fjorð þann, er heitir Slygsarfjörðr inn frá Borgund, ok gekk þar af skipum ok upp at dal þeim, er heitir Valldalr, ok helt síðan ór landi á fjogrtánda vetri síz hann kom í land ok því næst í Austrvega ok hafði sun sinn með sér, Magnús goða.

Knut Conquers Norway

(Chapter 27) En Knútr skipar þá í ríki fyrst Hókoni systursyni sínum ok gíslaði land undir sik af allra baztra manna sunum, en lagði folkit til áþjánar ok til hlþðskyldis. En Hókon fórsk um várit eftir í Englands hafi, en er Knútr frá þat, þá setti hann Svein sun sins ok Alfívu moður hans í ríkit.

Hard Times Under Svein Alfivasson

(Chapter 28) Var þá í fyrstu svá mikit danskra manna metorð, at eins þeira vitni skyldi hrinda tíu Norðmanna. Engi skyldi ná af landi at fara nema með konungs leyfi, en ef færi þá felli undir konung eignir þess. En hverr, er mann vægi, skyldi hafa fyr vegit landi ok lausum eyri. Ef maðr varð í útlegð ok tæmðisk honum arfr, þá eignaðisk konungr arf þann.

Olaf Haraldsson Returns. The Battle Of Stiklestað

(Chapter 31) En eftir þetta þá sækir inn helgi Óláfr aftur í land um Svíþjóð ok kom af Jamtland til þrondheims ok kom niður í Veradali, ok tók þá Eggjar-Kalfr uppreist á mót honum ok efldi orrostu með öllu megni bæði fyrir kapps sakar ok illsku ok fekk með sér fjölmenni allra helzt fyrir þess sakar, at kristniþóð hans kæmi eigi á landit, er menn vissu, at hann myndi þá bjóða ok styrkja með öllu megni sem fyrr hafði hann gert, ok fekk þó þat til orðs, at góðra manna synir skyldu eigi fyrir gísl vera, ok helt orrostu við Óláfr konung á Stiklastöðum. Þeir voru höfðingjar fyrir liði þrœnda með Kalfi, Thórir Hundr, Erlendr ór Gerði, Áslákr af Finneyjum. En með Óláfi voru í ferð Haraldr bróðir hans, xv. vettra gamall, enn vænsti maður ok mikill vexti, Rögnvaldr Brúsa sunr ok Björn enn digri. Í þeira orrostu fell Erlendr ór Gerði fyrstr manna ór þrœnda liði. Þat var ok snemma orrostu, er Óláfr konungr fell, hann hafði sverðr í hendi, en hvárki hafði hann hjalm né brynju, hann fekk sár af húskarli Kalfs á kné; þá hneig hann ok bæk fyrir ok skaut niður sverðinu. Þórir Hundr ok þorsteinn Knarrasmiðr báru banorð af Óláfi konungi. Ok steig svá enn helgi Óláfr af þeira orrostu ór þessu ríki í himinríki. Björn enn digri fell at höfði konunginum, en þorsteinn Knarrasmiðr var þegar drepinn á fœtr konunginum. Í þeirri orrostu fell Áslákr af Finneyjum ok fjölði manna af þrœnda liði.

The Famine under Svein and Alfiva

(Chapter 32) En þá tók landsfolkit eftir fall konungs fulliga við vesöld þangat út, er Sveinn var ok Alfiva. Ok var þá hörmulekt undir því ríki var at búa bæði með ófrelsi ok meðan óaráni, er folkit lifði meir við búfjár mat en manna, fyrir því at aldregi var ár á þeira dögum...

Fixing the Year of the Battle of Stiklestað

(Chapter 33) En inn helgi Óláfr bar þessa heims.xv. vetr konungs nafn í Nóregi til þess hann fell, þá var hann halffertøgr at aldri, ok var, þá er hann fell, frá burð dróttins várs þúshundrað vetra ok.xi. vetr ok.xx. En í orrostu þeiri, er inn helgi Óláfr fell í, þá varð Harald bróðir hans sára; hann flþði eftir fall hans braut þr landi ok í Austrvega ok svá til Miklagarð, ok segja sumi, at hann tœki konungs nafn í Nóregi, en sumi synja.

Saint Olaf. Sending for Magnus

(Chapter 34) En þá er guð tók at birta jartegnum um inn helga Ólaf, þá reðusk (inir) böztu menn til at fara ór landi at sœkja Magnus, sun ins helga Óláfs, þviat menn fundu misræði sín ok iðruðusk ok vildu þá þat bæta á syni hans, er þeir höfðu á sjalfum honum brotit, ok sóttu í Austrvega til Jaritláfs konungs ok báru til þess allra baztra manna orðsending ok boenarstað, at hann skyldi til lands sœkja. Ok váru höfðingjar í þeiri for Rögnvaldr jarl, Einarr þambarskelmir, Sveinn bryggjufótr, Karlfr Arna sunr. En þeira boen var eigi fyrr heyrð né framgeng en þeir unnu honum land ok trúnað, þviat Ingigerðr dróttning stóð á móti.

Magnus Comes to Norway. He is a Hard Ruler

(Chapter 35) En þvi næst kœmr hann í land fjórum vetrum eftir fall föður síns Óláfs konungs, ok með þvi at þau Sveinn ok Alfiva vissu manna þokka við hann ok óvindsæld sína, þá flþðu þau til Danmarkar. En Magnús konungr tók við ríki með alþþðu þokka of siðir, þoát með margs angri væri fyrst, þviat hann hóf ríki sitt með harðræði fyr æsku sinnar sakar ok ágirndar ráðuneytis. Hann var nálíga.xi. vetra, er hann kom í land.

English Translation

The Lineage of Olaf Haraldsson. Olaf Comes to Norway

Haraldr, saint Olaf's father, was the son of Guðbrøðar, and Guðbrøðar was the son of Bjarnar, who was the son of Harald Fair-Hair, the first absolute King of Norway. Much has been said about his travels far abroad, but notwithstanding his foreign adventures, he returned when God opened the land for him. He came sailing from the west, from England, with two ships and sighted land at Selje and sailed from there to the strait of Saudung. And as God made things happen, they then saw Håkon arrive, the one who ruled the country after Eirik, his father. He was fifteen winters old and a handsome man. He steered into the strait of Saudung, which was considered safe passage for all at that time, not knowing that the great Olaf had positioned himself there. Håkon had only a longship and a smaller vessel. When the King discovered Håkon's ships, he sailed up with one boat on either side of the strait. When Håkon rowed towards them, the ships suddenly came close to one another and he was taken prisoner. The King let him live and keep his men, but he had to relinquish the country to Olaf for eternity. By then Eirik, Håkon, and Svein Håkonsson, father and sons, had reigned for fourteen years with the title of earls. Saint Olaf gave Håkon the Hebrides, as some say, and empowered him so that he was able to keep them, and he was King there for the rest of his life.

Olaf Becomes King. The Battle of Nesjar

Thereafter Saint Olaf conquered the whole of the country and strengthened it with the Christian faith and many good customs. But the rule was a burden to him, because many turned against him, both within the country and abroad, because he favored Christianity. The first winter he spent mostly in Oppland together with his brother-in-law³⁶¹ Sigurð. In

361 "Mágr" may signify both father-in-law and son-in-law.

the spring, earl Svein came for him with an army and they engaged in battle at Nesjar by Grenmar on Palm Sunday. Olav won the battle. And a great contingent of Svein's army fell there; however, Svein escaped. Einar þambaskelmir threw an anchor into Svein vessel and hung on to him and followed him against his will to Denmark. Later Svein went to Russia and never returned.

Olaf's Marriage

Later, Olav asked to marry Astrid, the daughter of Olaf of Sweden, and sister of Ingigerd, to whom he had first been engaged, but her father had broken his promise out of spite and married her off to Jaroslav, King of the Eastern countries (Russia). Olaf had children with Astrid; however, we do not know what their names were or what became of them, except for the daughter Gunnhild, who was married to Otto, the King of Saxony. Olaf was a handsome and proud man with brown hair and red beard. He was thickly set and of medium height, not tall. He was twenty years of age when he came to Norway, and many wise men in Norway thought he was an unusually bright man, abler than most.

Olaf's Conflict with King Knut. Erling Skjalgsson falls. Olaf goes to Russia

At this time, Knut ruled England, which he had conquered with the help and assistance of Saint Olaf. However, he repaid Saint Olaf poorly—as was proven shortly after—and gave the chieftains in Norway secret gifts in order to have them betray him (Olaf) of his country. Amongst the chieftains were Erling of Sola, Kalf of Eggjar, Tore Hund, and many others. When Olaf went eastwards, he met Erling, and thought that he had come to assist him. But Erling prepared to attack him and engaged in a battle against him. Saint Olaf won victory and Erling (became so vanquished that he) had no alternative but surrender to the mercy of the King, who protected him when others sought him out. A man called Aslak fitjeskalli (karl (man) from Fitjar) was the King's steersman. He went

back in the boat with a hand-axe hidden under his cape. And before anyone could react, he had given a fatal blow to Erling's head, and said: "Now the coward has been marked." The King answered: "Now you cut Norway off my hand!" Now Olaf learned from the (men he had taken) prisoners that the very greatest men in the country conspired against him. He then turned north to a fjord called Slygsarfjord, in from Borgund. There he went ashore and headed up to a valley called Valldal, and left the country fourteen years after he had come, and went eastwards, taking with him his son, Magnus the Good.

Knut Conquers Norway

Knut first put his sister's son Håkon as ruler of the country, and assured his power by taking sons of the best men hostage, and subjected the people to his will and made them pay him taxes. However, Håkon died the following spring in the English Sea, and when Knut got the news he put Svein, his own son, and his mother Alfiva to rule.

Hard Times under Svein Alfivasson

At this time, the Danish men ranked so high that their witness could overthrow that of ten Norwegians. No one could leave the country without the King's permission, and if a man left, all his properties were confiscated by the King. Anyone who killed a man lost all his land and money. And if a man was outlawed, he could not touch his inheritance which befell the King.

Olaf Returns. The Battle of Stiklestað

After which saint Olaf heads back to the country via Svitjod³⁶² and came through Jämtland to Trondheim. As he came through the valley Verdalen, Eggjar-Kalf organized

³⁶² The original Sweden, i.e. mid Sweden.

an uprising against him, gathering for battle every strong man under his command—as much for the fun of fighting as by wickedness—in order to prevent Olaf from continuing to introduce the Christian faith, which the men knew that he would try with renewed force (as he had done before). Kalf meant that the sons of good men should not be held hostage, and sought battle with King Olaf at Stiklestad. These men were leaders of the troop from Trondheim together with Kalf: Tore Hund, Erlend from Gerði, and Aslak of the Finn Islands. Amongst Olaf's soldiers were Harald, his fifteen-year old brother, a promising young man, big for his age, Ragnvald Brusason, and big Björn. In this battle, Erlend and Gerði died first of the Tronders, and early in the battle Olaf himself fell, too. He had his sword in his hand, but neither helmet nor suit of armor, and was wounded in the knee by Kalf's farmhand. He then knelt down, threw down his sword, and started praying. Tore Hund and Torsteinn Knarresmið were responsible for King Olaf's demise. And Olaf ascended from the battle to his earthly kingdom to Heaven. Big Björn fell at the King's head and Torsteinn Knarresmið was killed at the King's feet. In this battle Aslak of the Finn Islands was killed (too) along with many of the Tronders.

The Famine under Svein and Alfiva

When the King had fallen, the people realized how evil the reign of Svein and Alfiva really was. It became difficult to live in the country, mostly because of the tyranny of the rulers, but also because of the failed harvests. People survived on animal feed more than on proper food, as there was not a single good crop in all the days of Svein's and Alfiva's rule...

Fixing the Year of the Battle of Stiklestað

Saint Olaf had held the title of King of Norway for fifteen years before he fell. He was then thirty-five years old, and was slain one thousand and twenty-nine years after

the birth of our Lord. In the battle in which Saint Olaf fell, his brother Harald was also wounded. He fled the country after his brother's fall, and traveled to the East, and later to Constantinople. Some say that he took the title of King of Norway, while others dispute this.

Saint Olaf. Sending for Magnus

But when God started revealing Olaf's miracles, the best men (of the kingdom) prepared to leave the country and look for Magnus, Saint Olaf's son. People now understood that they had acted badly and regretted their misdeeds and wanted to make up for whatever they had done wrong. They went to king Jarislav and carried with them a message from all of them, pleading with Magnus to return to the country. The spokespersons were earl Ragnvaldr, Einar þambarskelmir,³⁶³ Svein clump-foot and Kalf Arnason. But their plea was not heard and they had no luck until they swore him loyal service and the land, as the queen Ingigerd stood against it.

Magnus Comes to Norway. He is a Hard Ruler

Magnus returned to the country four years after Olaf, his father, had fallen. And because Svein and Alfiva knew how people favored him (Magnus) and how very unpopular they themselves were, they fled to Denmark. And Magnus finally acceded to the throne, with the approval of the people, although it was hard for some at first, as he started ruling with a harsh hand, mainly because of his young age but also because of his greedy counselors. He was eleven years old when he came to the country...

363 "Who makes the bow vibrate," i.e. warrior.

On Olav Haraldsson in Snorri Sturlason: *Heimskringla*

The passages have been extracted from Jónsson, Finnur (1893-1900) *Heimskringla* (*Snorri Sturluson*). Vol. 2. Copenhagen: S. I. Møllers Bogtrykkeri. There are a number of English translations of Snorri's *Heimskringla* available, such as Monsen & Smith (1990). French readers may want to look at Régis Boyer's new edition of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, published in 2000 (See Bibliography).

The selection of chapters from *Heimskringla* and their sequence follows Mattis Størssøn's description of the King-saint and the main events leading up to the battle of Stiklestad. The sequence of Størssøn's and Snorri's narrative are not always concordant. Størssøn not only contracted Snorri's saga, he also rearranged the material considerably. I have arranged the material so that it will be easier for the reader to compare the two chronicles.

Snorri Sturlason (c.1178/9-1241) was an Icelandic lawyer or "law-sayer" in the service of the Norwegian kings. He resided and worked in Norway during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson, when *Heimskringla* (c.1230-35) was written. The many conflicts over the royal succession in the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century spurred an interest in the political events of the past, and the King wanted to consolidate his position. The historical writings of Sæmundr Sigfússon (c.1056-1133) and Ari Þórgillsson (c.1067-1148)—written more than a century earlier—as well as Saxo's (d. 1204) *Gesta Danorum*—must have spurred the King's interest in past political events, in the history of his predecessor and the origins of the nation. With a solid knowledge of the old laws and customs, Snorri Sturlason was well suited for the task. *Heimskringla* covers the history of the Norwegian kings from Halvdan the Black (9th century) to the death of Magnus Erlingsson (1177). Where the early Latin chronicles concentrated on

reporting the main events, Snorri stands out by writing a chronicle based as much on description as on dialogue between the main characters. The dialogue, so revealing of the Old Norse mentality, is what has made Snorri's sagas such interesting reading, and explains why this medieval writer still has a large popular readership.

Óláfs Saga Helga

(Chapter 1, p. 3) Óláfr, sonr Haraldz ins grenska, fœddisk upp með Sigurði sýr, stjúpfoður sinum, ok Ástu móður sinni. Hrani inn víðförli var með Ástu; hann veitti fóstr Óláfi Haraldzþni. Óláfr var snimma görviligr maðr, friðr sþnum, meðalmaðr á voxt; vitr var hann ok snimma ok orðsnjallr. Sigurð sþr var bússlumaðr mikill ok hafði menn sína mjök í starfi, ok hann sjálf fór optliga at sjá um akra ok eng eða fénað ok enn til smiða, eða þar er menn störfuðu eitthvat.

(Chapter 4, p. 5 Óláfr Haraldzson var þá.xii. vetra gamall, er hann steig á herskip fyrsta sinn. Ásta, móðir hans, fekk til Hrana, er kallaðr var konungs-fóstri, til forráða fyrir liðinu ok í för með Óláfi, þviat Hrani hafði opt áðr verit í víking. Þá er Óláfr tók við liði ok skipum, þá gáfu liðsmenn honum konungs-nafn, svá sem siðvenja var til, at herkonungar, þeir er í viking váru, er þeir váru konungbornir, þá báru theirkonungs-nafn þegar, þótt þeir sæti eigi at löndum. Hrani sat við stþrihömlu; því segja sumir menn, at Óláfr væri háseti, en hann var þo konungr yfir liðinu. Þeir helda austr með landinu ok fyrst til Danmerkr...

(Chapter 12, p. 15) Óláfr konungr siglði þá vestr til Englandz. Sveinn tjúguskegg Dana-konungr var þenna tíma í Englandi með Dana-her ok hafði þar þá setit um hrið ok haft land Aðalráðs konungs. Höfðu þá Danir víða gengit yfir England, var þá svá komit, at Aðalráðr konungr hafði flþit landit ok farit suðr í Valland...

(Chapter 25, pp. 32-33) Eiríkr kom á England til fundar við Knút konung ok var með honum, þá er hann vann Lundnaborg... Eiríkr jarl var á Englandi einn vetr ok áttí

nökkurar orrustur, en andat haust eptir ætlaði hann til Rómferðar, þá andaðisk hann af blóðláti þar á Englandi.

(Chapter 26, pp. 33-34) Knútr konungr átti margar orrustur á Englandi við sonu Aðalráðs Engla-konungs, ok höfði þmsir betr. Hann kom þat sumar til Englandz, sem Aðalráðr andaðisk; þá fekk Knútr konungr Emmu drótningar; váru börn þeira Haraldr, Hörðaknútr, Gunnhildr. Knútr konungr sættisk við Eaðmund konung; skyldi hafa hálf England hvárr þeirra. Á sama mánaði drap Heinrekr strjóna Eaðmund konung. Eptir þat rak Knútr konungr af Englandi alla sonu Aðalráðs konungs...

(Chapter 29, p. 37) þar spurðu þeir til Hákonar jarls, at hann var suðr í Sogni, ok var hans þá ván norðr, þegar er byr gæfi, ok hafði hann eitt skip.

(Chapter 30, p. 38) Óláfr konungr helt inn af leið skipum sínum, er hann kom suðr yfir Fjalir, ok snøri inn til Sauðungs-sunda ok lagðidk þar, lágu sínum megin sundzins hváru skipinu ok höfðu milli sín kaðal digran. Á þeiri sömu stundu røri at sundinu Hákon jarl Eiríksson með skeið skipaðri, ok hugðu þeir vera í sundinu kaupskip.ii. róa þeir í sundit fram milli skipanna. Nú draga þeir Óláfr konungr strenginn upp undir miðjan kjöl skeiðinni ok undu með vindásam; þegar er nökkur festi, gekk upp apr en steypðisk fram, svá næst hólfði. Óláfr konungr tók þar af sundi Hákon jarl ok alla þá menn hans, er þeir náðu handtaka, en suma drápu þeir, en sumir sukku niðr...

Hákon jarl var upp leiddr á skipit konungs; var hann allra manna fríðastr, er menn höfðu sét; hann hafði hár mikit of fagrt sem silki, bundit um hofuð sér gullhlaði; settisk hann í fyrrúmit. Þá mælti Óláfr konungr: «Eigi er þat logit af yðr frændum, hversu fríðir menn þér eruð sþnum, en farnir eruð þér nú at hamingju.» þá segir Hákon: «Ekki er þetta óhamingja, er oss hefir hent; hefir þat lengi verit, at þmsir hafa sigraðir verit; svá hefir ok farit með ydrum ok várum frændum, at þmsir hafa betr haft, en ek lítt kominn af barns-aldri; váru vér nú ok ekki vel við komnir at verja oss, vissum vér nú ekki vánir til ófriðar; kann vera, at oss takisk annat sinn betr til en nú.» þá svarar Óláfr konungr:

«Grunar þik ekki þat, jarl, at hér hafi svá borit, at þú myndir hvárki fá heðan í frá sigr né ósigrþ» Jarl segir: «þér munuð ráða, konungr, at sinni.» þá segir Óláfr konungr: «Hvat villtu til vinna, jarl, at ek láta þik fara, hvert er þú vill, heilan ok ósakaðanþ» Jarl spyrr, hvers hann vildi beiðask. Konungr segir: «Enskis annars en þú farir ór landi ok gefir svá upp ríki yðart ok sverir þess eiða, at þér haldið eigi orrostu heðan í frá í gegn mér.» Jarl svarar, lézk svá gera mundu. Nú vinnr Hákon jarl Óláfi konungi eiða, at hann skal aldri siðan berjask í móti honum ok eigi verja Nóreg með ófriði fyrir Óláfi konungi né sækja hann. Þá gefr Óláfr konungr honum grið ok öllum hans mönnum; tók jarl við skipi því, er hann hafði áðr haft. Róa menn í brot leið sína.

(Chapter 32, pp. 41-42) Óláfr konungr inn digri snýr austr með landi ok átti við þing við bóendr, ok ganga margir til handa honum, en sumir mæla í móti ... Hann fór um haustit á land upp á fund Sigurðar konungs, mág sins, ok kom þar snimma einn hvern dag...

(Chapter 35, pp. 46-47) “Nú skal því upp lúka fyrir yðr, er mér hafir mjök lengi í skapi verit, at ek ætla at heimta föðurarf minn, ok mun ek hvárki koma á fund Dana-konungs né Svíakonungs at biðja þá né einna munu um, þótt þeir hafi ní um hrið kallat sína eign, þat er var arfr Haraldz hárfagra. Ætla ek heldr, yðr satt til at segja, at sækja oddi og eggju frændleifð mina ok kosta þar at allra frænda minna ok vina oc þeira allra, er at þessu ráði vilja hverfa með mér...”

(Chapter 44, p. 64) Sveinn jarl ok þeir Einarr þambarskelfir drógu saman her mikinn ok fóru út til Gaulardals it øfra ok stefna út til Niðaróss ok höfðu nær xx hundruð manna. Menn Óláfs váru út á Gaularási ok heldu hestvörð; þeir urðu varir við, er herrinn fór ofan ór Gaulardal ok báru þá konungi njósn um miðnætti. Stoð Ólafr konungr þegar upp ok lét vekja liðit, gengu þeir þegar á skip ok báru út öll klæði sin ok vápn ok þat alt, er þeir gátu með komizk, røru þá út ór ánni; kom þá jamskjótt jarls-liðit til bæjarins; tóku þeir þá jóla-vistina alla, en brendu húsin öll.

(Chapter 46, p. 66) Vel var Sveinn jarl vingaðr við lenda menn; varð honum gott til liðs. Einarr þambarskelfir, mágr hans, var með honum ok margir aðrir lendir menn ok margir þeir, er aðr um vetrinn höfðu trúnaðar-eiða svarit Óláfi konungi bæði lendir menn ok bæendr. Þeir fóru þegar ór firðinum, er þeir vátu búnir, ok heldu suðr með landi ok drógu at sér lið ór hverju fylki. En er þeir kómu suðr fyrir Rogaland, þá kom til móts við Erlingr Skjálgsson ok hafði mikit lið, ok með honum margir lendir menn; heldu þá öllu liðinu austr til Vikr; þat var, er á leið langa-föstu, er Sveinn jarl sótti inn í Víkina. Jarl helt liðinu inn um Grenmar ok lagðisk við Nesjar.

(Chapter 51, pp. 74-75) Nú flýðu sumir menn jarls á land upp, sumir gengu til griða. Þá røru þeir Sveinn jarl ut á fjörðinn ok lögðu þeir saman skip sín, ok töluðu höfðingjar milli sín; leitar jarl ráða við lenda menn. Erlingr Skjálgsson réð þat, at þeir skyldu norðr sigla í land ok fá sér lið ok berjask enn við Óláf konung. En fyrir því at þeir höfðu látið lið mikit, þá fþstu flestir allir, at jarl færi ór landi á fund Svía-konungs, mágs síns, ok eflðisk þaðan at liði; ok fylgði Einarr því ráði, þvíat honum þótti sem þeir hefði þá engi föng til at berjask við Óláf konung. Skildisk þá lið þeira, siglði jarl suðr um Foldina, ok með honum Einarr þambarskelfir; Erlingr Skjálgsson ok enn margir aðrir norðr til heimila sinna; hafði Erlingr um sumarit fjölmenni mikit.

(Chapter 53, p. 78) En er Óláfr konungr kom í þrándheim, þá verð þar engi uppreist í móti honum, ok var hann þar til konungs tekinn ok settisk þar um haustit í Niðarosi ok bjó þar til vetrvistar ok lét þar húsa konungs-garð ok reisa þar Clemenskirku í þeim stað, sem nú stendr hon. Hann markaði toptir til garða ok gaf böndum ok kaupmönnum eða þeim öðrum, er honum sþndisk ok húsa vildu. Hann sat þar fjölmeðr, þvíat hann treystisk illa þrændum um trúleik, ef jarl kvæmi aptr í landit; vátu berastir í því Innþrændir, ok fekk hann þaðan engar skyldir.

(Chapter 74, p. 124) Ok er þat spurði konungr sá, er þar réð fyrir Raumaríki, þá þótti honum gerask mikit vandmæli; þvíat hvern dag kómu til hans margir menn, er slíkt kærðu fyrir honum, sumir ríkir, sumir óríkir. Konungrinn tók þat ráð, at hann fór upp á Heiðmork á fund Frøereks konungs, þvíat hann var þeira konunga vitrastr, er þar váru þá. En er konungar tóku tal sín í milli, þá kom þat ásamt með þeim, at senda orð Guðrøði konungi norðr í Dala ok svá á Hadaland til þess konungs, er þar var ok biðja þá koma á Heiðmörk til fundar við þá Hrørek konung. Þeir lögðusk eigi ferð undir höfuð, ok hittust þeir v. konungar á Heiðmork, þar sem heitir á Hringisakri. Hringr var þar inn fimti konungr, bróðir Hrøereks konungs...

(Chapter 75, p. 130) Hrøekr konungr var maðr forvitri ok hárðráðr; þótti Óláfi konungi hann ótrúligr, þótt hann gerði nökkura sætt við hann. Hann lét blinda Hrørek báðum augum ok hafði hann með sér; en hann lét skera tungu ór Guðrøði Dala-konungi; en Hring ok aðra .ii. lét hann sverja sér eiða ok fara í brot ór Nóregi ok koma aldri aptr; en lenda menn eða boendr, þá er sannir váru at þessum svikræðum, rak hann suma ór landi, sumir váru meiddir, af sumum tók hann sættir.

(Chapter 84, pp. 154-160) þá barsk at upstigningardag, at Óláfr konungr gekk til hámessu; þá gekk byskup með processio um kirkju ok leiddi konunginn, en er þeir kómu aptr í kirkju, þá leiddi byskup konung til sætis síns fyrir norðan í kórnum; en þar sat it næsta Hrøekr konungr, sem hann var vanr; hann hafði yfirhöfnina fyrir andliti sér. En er Óáfr konungr hafði niðr sezkr, þá tók Hrøekr konungr á öxl honum hendinni ok þrþsti; hann mælti þá: «Pellz-klæði efir þú nú, frændi,» segir hann. Óláfr konungr svarar: «Nú er hátið mikil haldin í minning þess, er Jésús Krístr sté til himna af jorden.» Hrøekr konungr svarar: «Ekki skil ek af, svá at mér hugfestisk þat, er þér segið frá Kristi; þykki mér þat mart heldr ótrúligt, er þér segið; en þó hafa mörg dæmi orðit í forneskju.» En er messan var upp hafin, þá stóð Óláfr konungr upp ok helt upp höndunum yfir höfuð sér ok laut til altaris, ok bar yfirhöfnina aptr af herðum honum.

Hrærekr konungr spratt þá upp skjótt ok hart: hann lagði þá til Óláfs konungs saxknifi þeim, er rytningr er kallaðr, lagit kom í yfirhöfnina við herðarnar, er hann hafði lotit undan; skárusk mjök klæðin, en konungr varð ekki sárr. En er Óláfr konungr fann þetta tilræði, þá hlióp hann fram við á gólfrit. Hrærekr konungr lagði til hans annat sinni saxinu ok misti hans ok mælti: “Flýr þú nú, Óláfr digri, fyrir mér blindum.” Konungr bað sína menn taka hann ok leiða han út ór kirkinn, ok svá var gort...

(Chapter 85, pp. 158-160) ... þórarinn segir: “Dýrt er dróttins orð, eða hverja böen viltu af mér þiggja?” Hann segir: “þá at þú flytir Hrærekr til Grænlandz og fœrir hann Leifi Eirikssþni.” Þórarinn svarar: “Eigi hefi ek komit til Grænlandz.” Konungr segir: “Farmaðr slíkr sem þú ert, þá er þér nú mál at fara til Grænlandz, ef þú hefir eigi fyrr komit...”

....Konungr játaði þessu ok gerðisk þórarinn hirðmaðr hans. Þá bjó þórarinn skip sitt, ok er han var búinn, þá tók hann við Hræreki konungi. En er þeir skilðusk, Óláfr konungr ok þórarinn, þá mælti þórarinn: “Nú berr svá til, konungr, sem eigi er ørvænt ok opt kann verða, at vér komum eigi fram Grænlandz-ferðinni, berr oss at Íslandi eða öðrum löndum – hvernug skal ek skiljask við konung þenna þess at yðr megi líkaþ” Konungr segir: “Ef þú kœmst til Íslandz, þá skaltu selja hann í hendr Guðmundi Eyjólfsyni eða Skapta lögsögumanni eða öðrum nökkurum höfðingjum, þeim er taka vilja við vináttu minni ok jartegnum. En ef þik berr at öðrum löndum, þeim er hér eru nærr, þá haga þú sva til, at þú vitir vist, at Hrærekr komi aldri síðan lífs til Nóregs...”

Eptir um sumarit fekk Hrærekr sótt, þá er hann leiddi til bana. Svá er sagt, at sá einn konungr hvílir á Íslandi.

(Chapter 92, p. 180) En er sú veizla hafði staðit nökkura daga, þá var konungr ok jarl ok konungs-dóttir á málstefnu; en þat kom upp at tali þeira, at sú var ráðagörð, at Rögnvaldr jarl fastnaði Ástíði, dóttur Óláfs Svía-konungs, Óláfi Nóregs-konungi með þeiri heiman-fylgju, sem áðr hafði skilit verit, at Ingigerðr, systir hennar, skyldi hafa heiman haft. Konungr skyldi ok veita Ástríði þvílíka tilgjöf, sem hann skyldi hafa veitt

Ingígerði, systur hennar. Var þá sú veizla aukin, ok var þá drukkit brullaup Óláfs ok Ástriðar drótningar með mikill vegsemð.

(Chapter 130, pp. 281-282) Knútr inn ríki, er sumir kalla inn gamla Knút, hann var konungr í þann tíð yfir Englandi ok yfir Danaveldi. Knútr ríki var sonr Sveins tjúguskeggs Haraldzsonar. Þeir langfeðgar höfðu ráðit langa ævi fyrir Danmörku. Haraldr Gormsson, föður-faðir Knúts hafði eignazk Nóreg eptir Haraldz Gunnhildarsonar ok tekit af skatta, sett þar tillandz-gæzlu Hákon jarl inn ríka...

Knútr inn ríki hafði unnit England með orrostum ok barizk til ok hafði langt starf, áðr en landz-fólkit hafði honum hlþóit orðit. En er hann þóttisk fullkominn þar til landz-stjórnar, þá mintisk hann, hvat hann þóttisk eiga þess ríkis, er hann hafði eigi sjálfr varðveizlu yfir, en þat var í Nóregi; hann þóttisk eiga at erfðum Nóreg allan, en Hákon, systur-son hans, þóttisk eiga suman, ok þat með, at hann þóttisk með svívirðing látit hafa; sá var einn hlutr til þess, er þeir Knútr ok Hákon höfðu kyrru haldit um tilkall í Nóreg, at þá fyrst, er Óláfr Haraldzson kom í land hljóp upp alla múgr ok margmenni ok vildi ekki heyra annat, en Óláfr skyldi vera konungr yfir landi öllu. En síðan, er menn þóttusk verða ósjálfráðir fyrir ríki hans, þá leituðu sumir í brót ór landi; höfðu farit mjök margir ríkismenn á fund Knúts konungs eða ríkra bónda synir ok gefir sér þmist til ærenda; en hverr þeira, er kom á fund Knúts konungs ok hann vildi þþðask, þá fengu allir af honum fullar hendr fjár...

(Chapter 131, pp. 284-288). Knútr inn ríki sendi menn vestan af Englandi til Nóregs, ok var þeira ferð búin allvegliga; höfðu þeir bréf ok innsigli Engla-konungs Knúts. Þeir kómu á Óláfs Haraldzsonar Nóreg-konungs um várit í Túnsbergi...

En er þeir fengu lof til at mæla við hann, þá gengu þeir fyrir konung ok báru fram bréfs Knúts konungs ok segja ærendi þau, sem fylgðu, at Knútr konungr kallar sína eign á Nóregi öllum ok telur, at hans forellrar hafa þat ríki fyrir honum; en fyrir þeim sökum, at Knútr konungr vill frið bjóða til allra landa, þá vill hann eigi herskildi fara til Nóregs,

ef annars er ef kostur; en er Óláfr konungr Haraldsson vill vera konungr yfir Nóregi, þá fari hann á fund Knúts konungs ok taki landit í lén af honum ok gerisk hans maðr ok gjaldi honum skatta slíka, sem jarlar guldu fyrr. Síðan báru þeir bréf fram ok sögðu þau alt slíkt it sama. Þá svarar Óláfr konungr: “þát hefi ek heyrt sagt í fornum frásögnum, at Gormr konungr Dana, þótti vera gildr þjóðkonunger ok réð hann fyrir Danmörku einni; en þessum Dana-konungum, er síðarr hafa verit þykkir þat ekki einhlítt. Er nú svá komit, at Knútr ræðr fyrir Danmörku ok fyrir Englandi, ok hefir hann þó nú undir sik brotit mikinn hluta Skotlandz. Nú kallar hann til ættleifðar minnar í hendr mér....

Sendimenn Knúts konungs fóru aptr leið sína, ok byrjaði þeim vel um hafit; fóru þeir síðan á fund Knúts konungs ok sögðu honum ærendis-lok sín ok svá þau álykðar-orð er Óláfr konungr mælti síðarst við þá. Knútr konungr svarar: “Eigi getr Óláfr konungr rétt, ef hann ætlar at ek myna einn vilja eta kál alt á Englandi; ek mynda vilja heldr, at hann fynni þat, at mér býr fleira innan rifja en kál eitt; þvíat heðan skolu honum köld ráð koma undan hverju rífi.”

(Chapter 132, p. 288) Óláfr konungr stefndi til sín lendum mönnum sínum ok fjölmentisk mjök um sumarit, þvíat þau fóru orð um, at Knútr inn ríki myndi fara vestan um sumarit...

Óláfr konungr sendi menn um haustit austr til Svíþjóðar á fund Önundar konungs, mágs síns, ok lét segja honum orðsendingar Knúts konungs ok tilkall þat, er hann hafði við Óláf konung um Nóreg, ok lét þat fylgja, at hann hygði, ef Knútr legði Nóreg undir sik, at Önundr myndi lítla hrið þaðan í frá í fríði hafa Svíaveldi, ok kallar þat ráð, at þeir byndi saman ráð sín ok risi í móti, ok segir, at þá skorti eigi styrk til at halda deilu við Knút konung. Önundr konungr tók vel orðsending Óláfs konungs ...

(Chapter 134, p. 300) En er á leið vart, bjósk Knútr konungr með liði sínu at fara vestr til Englandz; hann setti eptir í Danmörk Hörðaknút, son sinn, ok þar með honum Úlf jarl, son þorgils sprakaleggs...

Knútr ríki fór vestr til Englandz...

(Chapter 135, pp. 301-307. Dráp Þórálfs – Þoralf's murder)

(Chapter 138, pp. 313-320) ... þeir kómu at kveldi eins dags í Giska til bús þorbergs Árnasonar. Var hann eigi heima, en kona hans var heima Ragnhildr, dóttir Erlings Skjalgssonar ...

... þá lá Ragnhildr ok skyldi léttari verða ok var allþungt haldin, en prestr var engi í eujunni ok engi nær ...

... Sendimen báðu prest fara með sér til húss; honum þótti sem þat myndi vera vanda mikill, en vissi fákunnandi sína ok vildi eigi fara ...

Lítlu síðarr fæddi hon barn, þat var mæð, ok þótti heldr ómáttuligt...

Ragnhildr hét Steini vináttu sinni fullkommini, ok hann skyldi þangat koma á hennar fund ef hann þóttisk hennar liðsemðar þurfa ...

... Var Steinn þar um vetrinn. En eptir jól kómu til þorberg sendimenn konungs með þeim orðum, at þorberg skal lóma á fund hans fyrir miðja föstu, ok er lagt ríkt við þessa orðsending. Þorberg bar þar fyrir vini sína ok leitaði ráðs, hvárt hann skyldi á þá hættu leggja, at fara á funds konungs at svá fornu máli...

Síðan fór þorberg á fund Árna Árnason, broður síns, ok segir honum þetta mál svá búit ok bað hann fara með sér til konungs. Árni segir: “Undarligt þykki mér um þik, svá vitran mann ok fyrirleitinn, er þú skalt rasat hafa í svá mikla óhamingju ok hafa fengit konungs reiði, þar er engi bar nauðsyn til ; þat væri nökkur várkunn, at þú helir frænda þinn eða fóstbroður, en þetta allz engi, at hafa tekizk á hendr mann islenzkan, at halda útlaga konungs, ok hafa nú þik í veði ok alla frændr þína...”

Konungr hafði þá spurt um fjölmenni þat, er þeir höfðu, ok var han heldr styggr í ræðunni þeira. Fiðr bauð boð fyrir þorberg ok svá fyrir Stein – bauð hann, at konungr skyldi fé gera svá mikit, sem hann vildi, en þorberg hafa landz-vist ok veizlur sínar, Steinn lífs grið ok lima. Konungr segir: “Svá lízk mér sem þessi for myni vera svá, at þér mynið

nú þykkiask hafa hálf ráð við mik eða meirr; en þess mun mik sízt vara af yðr bræðrum, at þér munuð með her fara í móti mér; kenni ek ráð þessi, er þeir Jaðar-byggjar munu hafa upp hafit; en ekki þarf mér fé bjóða.” Þá segir Finnur: “Ekki höfum vér bræðr haft fyrir þá sök liðsamnað, at vér mynir ófrið bjóða yðr, konungr; heldr berr hitt til, konungr, at vér viljum yðr fyrst bjóða vára þjónustu; en ef þér neitið ok ætlið þorbergi nökkura afarkosti, þá munu vér fara allir með lið þat, er vér höfum, á fund Knúts ins ríki.” Þá leit konungrinn við honum ok mælti: “Ef þér bræðr vilið veita mér sverdaga til þess, at fylgja mér innan-landz ok útan-landz ok skiljask eigi við mik, nema mitt lof ok leyfi sé til, eigi skuluð þér leyna mik, ef þér vitið mér ráðin svikræði, þá vil ek taka sætt af yðr bræðrum.” ...

...Gjengu þeir þá þrir bræðr á eitt skip, þorberg, Finnur, Árni, ok røru inn til bæjar ok síðan gjengu þeir á konungs fund. Fór þá fram þetta sáttmál, at þeir bræðr svorðu konungi eiða. Þá leitaði þorberge Steini sættar við konung; en konungr segir, at Steinn skyldi fara í friðr fyrir honum, hvert er hann vildi – “en eigi mun hann með mér vera síðan.” Þá fóru þeir þorberg út til liðsins. Fór þá Kalfr inn á Eggju, en Finnur fór til konungs, en þorberg ok annat lið þeira fór heim suðr. Steinn fór suðr með sonum Erlings; en um várit snimma fór hann vestr til Englandz, en síðan til handa Knúti inum ríki ok var með honum lengi í góðu yfirlæti.

(Chapter 139, pp. 320-326) ... þá tók konungr til máls ok segir svá; “Sú ráða-görð staðfestisk í skapi mér, at ek ætla í vár at bjóða út leiðangagri af landi öllu, bæði at liði ok at skipum, ok fara síðan með her þann allan, er ek má til fá, í mót Knúti inum ríka, þvíat et veit um tilkall þat, er hann hefir upp hafit til ríkis í hendr mér, at hann mun eigi ætla at hafa þat fyrir hégóma-mál...

Finnur sendi menn í Bjarkey til þorir hundz, lét þar krefja leiðangrs, sem annars staðar. En er þori kómu boð konungs, þá bjósk hann til ferðar ok skipaði af húskörllum sínum skip þar, er hann hafði haft áðr um sumarit til Bjarmalandz; bjó þat með sínum eins kostnaði ...

... Þórir verðr seint búinn ór höfninni; en er segl þeira kom uppbá heldu þeir út um Vestfjorð ok síðan á haf út...

... Hann siglði í Englandzhaf, ok kom fram á Englandi; fór síðan á fund Knúts konugs, ok tók hann vel við honum...

Var þórir þá með Knúti konungi. Finn Arnason fór með liði því til Óláfs konungs, segir honum alt frá ferð sinni ok svá þat, at hann kvaðask hyggja, at þórir væri ór landi farinn ok vestr til Englandz á fund Knúts ins ríka – “Ok ætla ek han munu vera oss allóþarfan.” Konungr segir: “Trúi ek því, at þórir mun vera oss óvinr, ok þykki mér hann ávalt betri firr mér en nærr.”

(Chapter 161, pp. 381-382) Erlingr Skjálgsson ok synir hans allir höfðu verit um sumarit í her Knúts konungs ok í sveit með Hákon jarl; þar var þá ok þórir hundr ok hafði metorð mikil. En er Knútr konungr spurði, at Óláfr konungr hafði landveg farit til Nóregs, þá leysti Knútr konungr leiðangrinn ok gaf leyfi öllum mönnum at búa sér til vetrvistar; var þá í Danmörk herr mikill útlendra manna, bæði enskra ok Norðmanna ok af fleirum löndum, er lið hafði komit til hersins um sumarit. Erlingr Skjálgsson fór um haustit til Nóregs með liði sínu ok þá af Knúti konungi stórar gjafir at skilnaði þeira. Þórir hundr var eptir með Knúti konungi. Með Erlingi fóru norðr í Nóreg sendimenn Knúts konungs ok höfðu með sér óf lausafjár; fóru þeir um vetrinn víða um land, reiddu þá af hendi fé þau, er Knútr konungr hafði heitit mönnum um haustit til liðs sér, en gáfu inum morgum er þeir fengu með fé keypt vináttu Knúti konungi, en þeir höfðu traust Erlings til yfirferðar. Gerðisk þá svá, at fjölði manna snærisk til vináttu við Knút konung ok hétu honum þjónostu sinni ok því með, at veita Óláfi konungi mótstöðu; gerðu þat sumir berliga, en hinir váru miklu fleiri, er leynðusk at fyrir alþþðu. Ólafr konungr spurði þessi tíðendi; kunnu margir honum at segja frá þessum tíðendum, ok vat þat foert mjök í fjölmæli þar í hirðinni...

(Chapter 144, p. 347) ... Fór konungr þá suðr á Hordaland. Hann spurði þau tiðendi, at Erling Skjalgsson var ór landi farinn ok hafði lið mikit, skipp. III. eða IV; hann hafði sjálfr skeið eina mikla, en synir hans. III. tvítögessur, ok höfðu siglt vestr til Englandz á fund Knúts ins ríka. Fór þá Óláfr konungr austr með landi ok hafði all-mikit lið; hann leiddi at spurningum, ef menn vissi nokkut til ferðar Knúts ins ríka, en þat kunnu allir at segja, at hann var á Englandi; en þat var ok sagt með, at hann hafði leiðangr úti ok ætlaði til Nóregs....

(Chapter 145, pp. 348) þá er Óláfr konungr siglði til Danmerkr, ok helt til Sjólandz; en er hann kom þar, tók hann at herja veitti upgöngur; var þá bæði landz-fólkit rænt ok sumt drepit, sumt var handtekit, flutt svá til skipa, en alt flýði, þat er því kom við, ok varð engi viðastada; gerði Óláfr konungr þat it mesta hervirki. En er Óláfr konungr var á Sjólandi, þá spurði hann þau tiðendi, at Önundr konungr Ólafsson hafði úti leiðangr ok fór með her mikinn austan fyrir Skáni ok herjaði hann þar...

(Chapter 148, pp. 354-358) Úlfr jarl sprakaleggsson hafði settr verit til land-varnar í Danmörk, þá er Knútr konungr fór til Englandz; hafði hann selt í hendr Úlfi jarli son sinn, þann er kallaðr var Hörðaknútr. Var þat it fyrri sumar, sem áðr er ritit. En jarl segir þegar, at Knútr konungr hafði boðit honum þat ørendi at skildnaði þeira, at hann vildi, at þeir tœki til konungs yfir Dana-veldi Hörðaknúts, son Knúts konungs...

Siðan bær jarl fram bréf ok innsigli Knúts konungs, þau er sönnuðu alt þetta, er jarl bær upp. Þetta ørendi studdu margir aðrir höfðingjar. Ok af þeira fortölum allra saman réð mannfólkit þat af, at taka Hörðaknúts til konungs, ok var þat gort á því sama þingi. En í þessi ráðagörð hafði verit uphafs-maðr Emma drótning; hafði hon látit gera bréf þessi ok látit innsigla, hafði hon með brögðum nát innsigli konungs, en hann sjálfr var leyndr þessu öllu. En er Hörðaknúts ok Úlfr jarl urðu þess varir, at Óláfr konungr var kominn norðan ór Nóregi með her mikinn, þá fóru þeir til Jótlandz, þvíat þar er mest megin Dana-veldis; skáru þeir þá upp heror ok stefndu saman her miklum....

En er spurðu, at Svía-konungr var ok þar kominn með her sinn, þá þóttusk þeir eigi styrk hafa at leggja til bardaga við þá báða. Þá heldu þeir samnaðinum á Jótlandi ok ætluðu at verja þat land fyrir konungum; en skipa-herinn drógu þeir allan saman í Limafirði, ok biðu svá Knúts konungs. En er þeir spurðu, at Knútr konungr var vestan kominn til Limafjarðar, þá gerðu þeir sendimenn til hans ok drótningar Emma ok báðu, at hon skyldi verða vis, hvárt konungr var þeim reiðr eða eigi, ok láta þá þess verða vara. Drótning ræddi þetta mál við konung ok segir, at Hörðaknútr, sonr þeira, vildi boeta öllu því, sem konungr vildi, ef han hafði þat gort, er konungi þætti í móti skapi...

En þat fannzk brátt, þegar er landz-fólkit spurði, at Knútr inn gamli var kominn, þá dreif til hans allr múgr landzins ok þótti þar traust sitt alt...

(Chapter 149, pp. 359-360) En er Óláfr konungr ok Önundr konungr spurðu, at Knútr konungr var vestan kominn, ok þat, at hann hafði þá óflýjnda her, þá sigla þeir austr fyrir Skáni, taka þá at herja ok brenna heröð, sækja svá austr fyrir landit til móts við ríki Svía-konungs. En þegar er landz-fólkit spurði, at Knútr konungr var vestan kominn, þá varð ekki af handgöngu við konunga...

Þá sóttu konungar austr fyrir landit ok lögðu at þar, er heitir Áin Helga, ok dvölðusk þar um hrið. Sá spyrja þeir, at Knútr konungr fór með her sinn austr eptir þeim. Þá bera þeir ráð saman ok tóku þat til, at Óláfr konungr með liði sínu sumu gekk á land upp ok alt á markir til vats þess, er Áin helga fellr ór; gerðu þar á árósinum stíflu með viðum ok torfi, ok stemma svá uppi vatnit, ok svá skáru þeir díki stór ok hleypðu saman fleirum vötnunum, ok gerðusk þar víðir flóar; en í árveginnn hjoggu þeir stórviðu. Þeir váru í þessu váru í þessu starfi marga daga, ok hafði Óláfr konungr alt tilstilli um brögð þessi, en Önundr konungr hafði þá stjórn yfir skipa-hernum. Knútr konungr spurði til ferða þeira konunga ok svá skaða þann allan, er þeir höfðu gört á ríki hans; heldr þá til móts við þá, þar er þeir lágu í Ánni helgu; ok hafði her mikinn, ok hálfu meira en þeir báðir...

(Chapter 150, pp 361-365) Þat var einn dag at kveldi, at njósna-menn Öndar konungs sá sigling Knúts konungs, ok átti hann þá þangat eigi langt. Þá lét Öndr konungr blása herblástr. Ráku menn þá tjöld af sér ok herklæddusk, røru út ór höfninni ok austr fyrir landit, lögðu þá saman skip sín ok tengðu ok bjoggusk til bardaga. Öndr konungr hleypði njósna-mönnum á land upp; fóru þeir á fund Óláfs konungs ok sögðu honum þessi tíðendi. Þá lét Óláfr konungr brjóta stíflurnar ok hleypa ánni í veg sinn; en hann fór um nóttina ofan skipa sinna. Knútr konungr kom fyrir höfnina; þá sá hann, hvar lá herr konunga búinn til bardaga; þótti honum, sem þá myndi vera sið dags at leggja til orrostu, um þat er herr hans væri allr búinn, þvíat floti hans þurpti rúm mikit á sænum til at sigla; var langt í milli ins fyrsta skips ok ins síðarsta, svá þess, er útarst fór, eða hins, er næst fór landi. Veðr var lítit. En er Knútr konungr sá, at Svíar ok Norðmenn höfðu rýmða höfnina, þá lagði hann inn til hafnar ok svá skipin, sem rúm höfðu; en þó lá megin-herrinn út á hafinu. Um morgininn, er mjök var ljóst, þá var lið þeira mart á landi uppi, sumt á tali, en sumt á skemtan sinni. Þá finna þeir eigi fyrr, en þar geysask votn at þeim með forsfalli; þar fylgðu viðir stórir, er rak at skipum þeira; meiddusk skipin þar fyrir, en vötnin flutu um völlum alla; týndisk þat fólkit, er á landi var, ok mart þat, er á skipum var; en allir þeir, er því kómu við, hjoggu festar sínar ok leystusk út, ok rak skipin mjök sundrlaus. Dreka inn mikla, er sjálfr konungr var á, rak út fyrir straumi; varð honum ekki auðsnúit með árum; rak hann út at flota þeira Öndar konungs. En er þeir kendi skipit, þá lögðu þeir þegar at umhverfis; en fyrir þá sök, at skipit var borð-mikit, svá sem borg væri, en fjölði mannz á ok valit it bezta lið, vápnat ok sem øruggligast, þá varð skipit ekki auðsótt; var ok stundin kómm, áðr Úlf jarl lagði at með sínu liði, ok hófsk þá orrosta. Því næst drósk at herr Knúts konungs öllum megin. Þá sá konungar, Ólafr ok Öndr, at þeir mundu unnit hafa þá at sinni þann sigr, sem auðit var; létu þá siga skip sín á hömlu ok leystusk í brót ór her Knúts konungs ok skildu flotana....

En er þeir höfðu skilðizk ok sér fór hvárr flotinn, þá könnuðu konungar lið sitt ok funnu, at þeir höfðu ekki mannsPELL fengit, þat sá þeir ok, ef þeir biði þar þess, er Knútr konungr hefði búit allan her þann, er hann hafði, ok legði ván var, at þeir mundu sigrask, en auðvitat, ef orrosta tækisk, at þar myndi verða it mesta mannfall. En er þeir sá, at flotinn Knúts konungs fór ekki eptir þeim, þá reistu þeir viður ok settu upp segl sín..

(Chapter 151, p. 366) Óláfr konungr ok Önundr konungr siglðu austr fyrir veldi Svía-konungs...

(Chapter 158, p. 378) ... En hann sendi menn ok lét flytja skip sín austr í Kálmarnir; létu þeir þar upp setja skipin ok fæytja reiða allan ok annan varnað til varðveizlu...

(Chapter 159, p. 379) Óláfr konungr byrjar ferð sína, fór fyrst upp um Smálönd ok kom fram í vestra Gautland, fór spakliga ok friðsamliga, en landz-menn veittu þeim góðan forbeina. Fór konungr til þess, er hann kom ofan í Víkina ok svá norðr eptir Víkinni, til þess hann kom í Sarpsborg; dvalðisk hann þá þar ok lét þá þar búa til vetrsetu. Gaf konungr þá heimleyfi mestum hluta liðsins, en hafði með sér þat af lendum mönnum, er honum sýndisk. Þar váru með honum allir synir Árna Armoðssonar, váru þeir mest virðir af konungi...

(Chapter 161, pp. 381-382) Erlingr Skjalgsson ok synir hans allir höfðu verit um sumarit í her Knúts konungs ok í sveit með Hákonu jarl; þar var þá ok þórir hundr ok hafði metorð mikil. En er Knútr konungr spurði, at Óláfr konungr hafði landveg farit til Nóregs, þá leysti Knútr konungr leiðangrinn ok gaf leyfi öllum mönnum at búa sér til vetrvistar; var þá í Danmörk herr mikill útlendra manna, bæði enskra manna ok Norðmanna ok af fleirum löndum, er lið hafði komit til hersins um sumarit. Erlingr Skjalgsson fór um haustit til Nóregs með lið sínu ok þá af Knútr konungi stórar gjafir at

skilnaði þeira. Þórir hundr var eptir með Knúti konungi. Með Erlingi fóru norðr í Nóreg sendimenn Knúts konungs ok höfðu með sér of lausafjár; fóru þeir um vetrinn víða um land, reiddu þá af hendi fé þau, er Knútr konungr hafði heitit mönnum um haustit til liðs sér, en gáfu inum morgum, er þeir fengu með fé keypt vináttu Knúti konungi en þeir höfðu traust Erlings til yfirferðar. Gerðisk þá svá, at fjölði manna snørisk til vináttu við Knút konung ok hétu honum þjónostu sinni ok því með, at veita Óláfi konungi mótstöðu; gerðu þat sumir berliga, en hinir váru miklu fleiri, er leynðusk at fyrir alþýðu...

(Chapter 165, pp. 386-389) Þórir, sonr Ölvis á Eggju, stjúpsonr Kalfs Árnasonar ok systersonr þóris hundz, var manna friðastr, mikil maðr ok sterkr; hann var þá.xviii. vetra gamall...

Han bauð konungi heim til veizlu með lið sitt...

Dagr svarar: "Hann vann þat til fjár, at hann gerðisk dróttins-sviki; hann hefir tekit fé af Knúti inum ríka til höfuðs þér."...

Konungr lét þóri taka höndum ok setja í járn. Þá gekk Kálfr at ok bað þóri friðar ok bauð fyrir hann fé...

Síðan lét konungr drepa þóri, en verk þat varð at inni mestu öfund bæði þar um Uplönd ok engum mun síðr norðr um þrándheim, þar sem ætt þóris var flest. Kálfr þótti ok mikils vert aftaka þessa manns, þvíat þórir hafði verit fósterson hans í æsku.

(Chapter 168, p. 391) Þau tíðendi spurðusk í Nóreg, at Knútr inn ríki dró saman her óvígjan í Danmörku, ok þat með, at hann ætlaði at halda liði því öllu til Nóregs ok leggja þar land undir sik...

(Chapter 170, pp. 394-395) ... Knútr konungr fór norðr með landi. Kómu þar til hans menn ór heruðum ok játuðu honum þá allir hlýðni. Knútr konungr lá í Eikundasundi nökkura hrið. Kom þar til hans Erlingr Skjalgsson með lið mikit. Þá

bundu þeir Knútr konungr vináttu enn at nýju. Var þat í heitum við Erling af hendi Knúts konungs, at hann skyldi hafa land alt til forráða milli Staðar ok Rygjarbits...

(Chapter 171, pp. 395-397) Knútr konungr hafði þá lagt land alt undir sik í Nóreg...

Þegar er Hákon jarl hafði tekit við ríki í Nóregi, þá réðsk til lags við hann Einar þambarskelfir, mágr hans; tók hann þá upp veizlur allar, þær sen hann hafpi fyrr haft, þá er jarlar réðu landi...

Hofsk þá af nýju höfðingskapr Einars.

(Chapter 173, p. 399) ... En er Óláfr konungr spurði, at Knutr konungr fór liði sínu norðr fyrir land þá helt Óláfr konungr inn í Oslóarfjórð ok upp í vatn, er Dröfn heitit, ok hafðisk hann þar við, til þessir herr Knúts konungs var farinn um suðr. En í ferð þeiri, Knútr konungr fór norðan með landi, átti hann þing í hverju fylki; en á hverju þingi var honum land svarit ok gefnir gíslar.

(Chapter 174, p. 400) Óláfr konungr helt skipum sínum út til Túnsbergs, þegar er hann spurði, at Knútr konungr var farinn suðr til Danmarkar...

Hann fann þat, at landi var þá svikit undan honum...

Var konungi sá sagt, at Erlingr Skjalgsson hafði liðsamnað mikinn á Jáðri; skeið hans lá fyrir land albúin ok fjölði annarra skipa, er bændi áttu; váru þat skútur ok lagnar-skip ok róðrar-ferjur stórar.

(Chapter 175, pp. 401-401) ... En er Erlingr varð þess varr, at konungr siglði austan, þá lét hann blása liði sínu öllu til skipanna...

Þá sá Óláfr konungr, at þeir Erlingr sóttu eptir mjök, þvíat skip konungs váru sett mjök ok sollin, er þau höfðu flotit á sæ alt sumari ok um haustit ok vetrinn þar til; hann sá, at liðs-munr mikill myndi vera, ef mætti öllu í senn liði Erlings.

(Chapter 176, pp. 403-407) Óláfr konungr stefndi fyrir innan Bókn; fal þá sýn milli þei...

Tóksk þar orrosta ok var in snarpasta; þá snøri mann-fallinu brátt í lið Erlings...

Svá fell vandliga lið Erlings, at engi maðr stóð upp á skeiðinni nema hann einn.

Þá mælti konungr: “Viltu á hönd ganga, Erlingr?” “Þat vil ek,” segir hann. Þá tók hann hjálminn af höfði sér ok lagði niðr sverðit ok skjöldinn ok gekk fram í fyrirrúmit. Konungr stakk við honum æxar-hyrmunni í kinn honum ok mælti: “Merkja skal dróttinsvikann.” Þá hlóp at Áslakr Fitjaskalli ok hjó með æxi í hofuð Erlingi, svá at stóð í heila niðri; var þat þegar bana-sár; lét Erlingr þar líf sitt. Þá mælti Óláfr konungr við Áslak: “Hogg þú allra manna armastr; nú hjóttu Nóreg ór hendi mér.” Áslakr segir: “Illa er þá, konungr, ef þér er mein at höggvi; ek þóttumk nú Nóreg í hond þér höggva; en ef ek hefi þér mein gört, konungr, ok kantu mér óþökk fyrir þetta verk, þá mun mér kostlaus vera þvíat hafa mun ek svá margra manna óþökk ok fjándskap fyrir þetta verk, at ek mynda þurfa at hafa yðart traust ok vináttu.” Konungr segir, at svá skyldi vera...

... En bæendr tóku lík Erlings ok bjoggu um ok fluttu heim á Sóla, svá val þann allan, er þar hafðit fallit; ok var Erlingr it mesta harmaðr, ok hefir þat verit mál manna, at Erlingr Skjalgsson hafi verit maðr gofgastr ok ríkastr í Nóreg, þeira er eigi bæri tignar-nafn meira...

(Chapter 177, p. 408) Sønir Erlings váru sumir norðr í þrándheimi með Hákon jarli, en sumir norðr á Hordalandi, sumir inn í fjörðum, ok váru þeir þar í liðsamnaði. En er spurðisk falls Erlings, þá fylgði þeiri sögu útboð austan um Agðir ok um Rogaland ok Hörðaland; var þar her boðit út, ok var þat it mesta fjölmenni; ok fór sá með sonum Erlings norðr eptir Óláfi koningi...

Fór Óláfr konungr til þess, er hann kom norðr um Stað ok lagði til Hereyja ok spurði þau tiðendi, at Hákon jarl hafði lið mikit í þrándheimi...

(Chapter 178, pp. 410-411) Síðan helt Óláfr konungr inn til Steinavágs ok lá þar um nótt...

... En þá er Óláfr konungr kom jafnfram Borgund, þá fór ok skip móti honum, er Áslakr hafði átt. En er þeir hittu Óláf konung, þá sögðu þeir sín tiðendi, at Vigleikr

Árnasson hafði tekit at lífi Áslak Fitjaskalla, fyrir þat er hann hafði drept Erling Skjalgsson...

(Chapter 179, pp. 416-417) ... þá fór Óláfr konungr yfir fjall ok kom fram í Einbúa ok var þar um nótt. Óláfr konungr hafði þá verit konungr í Nóregi xv vetr, með þeim vetri, er þeir Sveinn jarl váru báðir í landi, ok þessum, er nú um hríð hefir verit frá sagt, ok þá var liðit um jól fram, er hann lét skip sín ok gekk á land upp, sem nú var sagt. Þessa grein konungsdóms hans ritaði Ari prestur Þorgilsson inn fróði, er bæði var sannsögull, minnigr ok svá gamall...

(Chapter 180, pp. 417-418) Síðan er Óláfr konungr hafði verit um nótt á Lesjum, þá fór hann með liði sínu dag eptir dag, fyrst til Guðbrandzdala, en þaðan út á Heiðmörk. Sýndisk þá, hverir vinir hans váru, þvíat þeir fylgðu þá honum, en hinir skildusk þá við hann, er með minna trúleik höfðu þjónat honum...

... Óláfr konungr gaf heimleyfi mörgum mönnum sínum, þeim er bú áttu ok börn fyrir at hyggja...

... þar var þá með honum Ástriðr drótning, Úlfhílr dóttir þeira, Magnús sonr Óláfs konungs, Rognvaldr Brúsason, þeir Árna-synir Þorberg, Finnur, Árni ok enn fleiri lendir menn; hafði hann gott mannval. Björn stallari fekk heymlefi; fór han aptr ok heim til bús síns, ok margir aðrir vinir konungs fóru aptr til búa sínna í leyfi hans...

(Chapter 181, p. 419) þat er at segja frá ferð Óláfs konungs, at hann fór fyrst ór Nóregi austr um Eiðaskóg til Vermalandz, ok þá út í Vatsbú ok þaðan, sem leið liggr, ok kom fram á Næríki...

... Fór hann um sumarit ok létti eigi fyrr, en hann kom austr í Garðaríki á fund Jarizleifs konungs ok þeira Ingigerðar drótningar. Ástriðr drótning ok Úlfhíldr konungsdóttir váru eptir í Svíþjóð, en konungr hafði austr með sér Magnús, son sinn.

(Chapter 184, p. 428) Hákon jarl fór þat sumar ór landi ok vestr til Englandz, en er hann kom þar, þá fagnar Knútr konungr honum vel. Jarlinn átti festar-mey þar á

Englandi, ok fór hann þess ráðs at vitja ok ætlaði brullup sitt at gera í Noregi, en aflaði til á Englandi þeira fanga, er honum þóttu torfengst í Nóregi. Bjósk jarl um haustit til heimferðar ok varð heldr síðbúinn; siglði hann í haf, þá er hann var búinn...

(Chapter 185, p. 429) Björn stallari sat heima at búi sínu, síðan er han hafði skildizk við Óláf konung...

(Chapter 186, pp. 431-433) Björn stallari spurði tiðendi þau, er sagt var, at Hákon jarl væri týndr...

... Fór síðan dag ok nótt ferðar sinnar, þat á hestum, svá mátti, þat á skipum, er þat bar til... Ok varð konungr allfeginn, er Björn hitti hann. Spurði þá konungr margra tiðenda norðan ór Nóregi. Björn segir, at jarl var týndr ok land var þá höfðingjalaust fyrir.

Björn segir konungi frá því, hverir mest bundusk fyrir, at reisa fjandskap upp í móti konungi ok hans mönnum; nefndi hann til þess sonu Erlings á Jaðri ok aðra frændr þeira, Einar þambarskelfi, Kálf Árnason, Þóri hund, Hárek ór Þjóttu.

(Chapter 196, pp. 443-444) ... En er þat spurðisk í Nóreg, at Óláfr konungr var austan kominn til Svíþjóðar, þá sömnuðusk saman vinir hans, þeir er honum vilu lið veita. Var í þeim flokki tignastr maðr Haraldr Sigurðarson, bróðir Óláfs konungs; hann var þá xv vetra gamall, mikill maðr vexti ok roskinmannligr...

(Chapter 197, p. 444-445) Önundr konungr svarar ... "Skal þat eigi seint at segja þér, hvat ek vil til leggja; ek mun fá þér cccc manna, ok velið af hirðsveitum mínum góða hermenn ok vel búna til bardaga..."

(Chapter 199, p. 446) Dagr er maðr nefndr, er svá segir at hann var sonr Hrings konungs, þess er land hafði flýit fyrir Óláfi konungi, en menn segja, at Hringr væri sonr Dags Hringssonar, Haraldzsonar ins hárfagra. Dagr var frændi Óláfs konungs; þeir feðgar, Hringr ok Dagr, höfðu staðfestsk í Svía-veldi ok höfðu þar fengit ríki til forráðs.

Um várit, er Óláfr konungr var kominn austan til Svíþjóðar, sendi hann orð Dag frænda sínum þau, at Dagr skyldi ráðask til ferðar með honum með þann styrk allan, sem hann hefir til; en ef þeir fá land eignazk í Nóregi, þá skyldi Dagr hafa ríki þar eigi minna, en forellri hans hafði haft...

(Chapter 200, p. 447) Óláfr konungr gerði orð frá sér í byggðir ok sendi orð þeim mönnum, er þat vildu hafa til féfangs sér, at afla hlutskiptis ok hafa uptekðir þær, er óvinir konungs sæti fyrir, þá skyldi þeir til hans koma ok honum fylgja...

(Chapter 201, pp. 447-448) Menn þeir eru nefndir, en annarr hét Gaukaþórir, en annarr Afrafasti; þeir váru stíga-menn inir mestu, höfðu með sér xxx manna, sinna maka. Þeir bræðr váru meiri ok sterkari en aðra menn, eigi skorti þá áræði ok hug...

... En er þeir koma þar, þá ganga þeir með sveit sína fyrir konung, ok höfðu þeir förunautar alvæpni sitt. Þeir kvöddu hann. Hann spurði, hvat mönnum þeir sé ...

... Konungr segir, at honum leizk svá, sem í slíkum mönnum myni vera goð fylgd. “Ek em fúss,” segir hann, “við mönnum at taka, eða hvárt eruð ér kristnir menn?”

Gaukaþórir svarar, segir, at hann var hvárki kristinn né heiðinn. “Höfum vér félagar engan annan átrúnað, en trúm á okkr ok afl okkat ok sigrsæli, ok vinnzk okkr þat at gnógu.”

(Chapter 205, pp. 455-456) ... Síðan talaði konungr fyrir liðinu ok mælti svá: “Vér höfum mikinn her ok frítt lið. Nú vil ek segja mönnum, hverja skipan ek vil hafa á liði váru. Ek mun láta fara merki mitt fram í miðju liði, ok skal þar fylgja hirð mín ok gestir ok þar með lið, er til vár kom af Uplöndum, ok svá þat lið, er her kom til vár í þrándheimi. En til hægri handar frá mínu merki skal vera Dagr Hringsson ok með honum þat lið alt, er hann hafði til föruneytis við oss; skal hann hafa annat merki. En til vinstri handar frá minni fylking skal vera þat lið, er Svía-konungr fekk oss, ok alt þat lið, er til vár kom í Svía-veldi; skolu þeir hafa it.iii. merki...

... En ef vér komum í orrostu, þá skolu vér hafa allir eitt orðtak: “Fram, fram krists-menn, kross-menn, konungs-menn!”

(Chapter 213, pp. 469-470) Óláfr konungr var svá búinn, at hann hafð hjálm gyltan á höfði, en hvítan skjöld ok lagðr á með gulli kross inn helgi; í annarri hendi hafði hann kesju þá, er nú stendr í kristskirkju við altara; hann var gyrðr sverði því, er Hneitir var kallat, it bitrasta sverð ok gulli vafiðr meðalkaflinn; hann hafði hringa-brynju.

(Chapter 216, p. 474) Frá því er nú at segja, er aðr var frá horfit, at lendir menn ok bæendr höddu saman dregit her óvigjan, þegar er þeir spurðu, at konungr var austan farinn ór Garðaríki ok hann var kominn til Svíþjóðar. En er þeir spurðu, at konungr var austan kominn til Jamtalandz ok hann ætlaði at fara austan um Kjöl til Veradals, þá stefndu þeir herinum inn í þrándheim ok sömnuðu þá saman þar allri alþýðu, þegn ok þræl, ok fóru svá inn til Veradals ok höfðu þar svá mikit lið, at engi maðr var sá þar, er í Nóregi hefði sét jammikinn her saman koma.

(Chapter 195, p. 443) Höfðingjar í Nóregi heldu njósnum austr til Svíþjóðar ok suðr til Danmerkr, ef Óláfr konungr kvæmi austan ór Garðaríki; fengu þeir þegar spurt, svá sem menn fengu skjótast farit, er Óláfr konungr var kominn til Svíþjóðar; en þegar er þat var sannspurt, þá fór herboð um land alt; var stefnt út almenning at liði; kom þá herr saman; en þeir lendir menn, er vátu af Ögðum ok Rogalandi ok Hörðalandi, þá skiptusk þeir við, snöru sumir norðr, en sumir austr ok þótti hvártveggja lið fyrir þurfa. Snöru austr synir Erlings af Jaðri ok alt lið þat, er austr var frá þeim, ok vátu þeir höfðingjar fyrir því liði; en norðr snørisk Áslakr af Finneyju ok Erlendr ór gerði ok þeir lendir menn, er norðr vátu frá þeim. Þessir, er nú eru nefndir, vátu allir eiðsvarar Knúts konungs til þess at taka Óláf konung af lífi, ef þeim gæfi færi á því.

(Chapter 219, p. 478) Lendir menn, þeir er þar vátu saman komnir, áttu stefnu ok tal sitt ok ræðu ok skipuðu þá til, hversu fylka skyldi eða hverr höfðingi skyldi vera fyrir liðinu. Þá mælti Kalfr Árnason, at Hárek ór þjóttu væri bez til feldr at gerask höfuðs-maðr fyrir her þessum – “Þvíat hann er kominn af ætt Haraldz ins hárfagra. Hefir konungr á honum allþung hug fyrir sakir vígs Grankels, ok mun hann sitja fyrir inum

mestum afarkostum, ef Óláfr kœmsk til ríkis; er Hárek reyndr mjök í orrostum ok maðr metnaðargjarn.”

(Chapter 225, pp. 485-486) Þá er liðit hvártveggja stóð ok kendusk menn, þá mælti konungr: “Hví ertu þar, Kalfr, þvíat vér skilðumk vinir suðr á Mœri; illa samir þér at berjask í móti oss eða skjóta geigurskot í lið vart, þvíat hér er. IIII. bræðr þínir.” Kalfr svarar: “Mart ferr nú annan veg, konungr, en bezt myndi sama; skilðusk þér svá við oss, at nauðsyn bar til at friðask við þá, er eptir váru; verðr nú hvern at vera þar, sem staddr er; en sættask mundu vit enn, ef ek skylda ráða.” Þá svarar Finn: “Þat er mark á um Kálf, ef hann mælir vel, at þá er hann ráðinn til at gera illa.”

(Chapter 226, p. 486-489) Þórir hundr kom þá ok gekk fram með sveit sína fyrir merkit ok kallaði: “Fram, fram bóandmenn!” Lustu þá upp herópi ok skutu bæði örum ok spjótum. Konungs-menn æpðu þá heróp; en er því var lokit, þá eggjuðusk þeir svá, sem þeim var áðr kent, mæltu svá: “Fram, fram Krists-menn, kross-menn, konungs-menn!” En er þetta heyrðu bæendr, þeir er út stóðu í arminn, þá mæltu þeir slíkt sama, sem þeir heyrðu þá mæla. En er aðrir bæendr heyrðu þat, þá hugðu þeir þat vera konungs-menn ok báru vápn á þá, ok börðusk þeir þá sjálfir, ok fell mart, áðr þeir kannaðisk við...

... Í fyrstu hrið fellu þeir Arnljótr gellini, Gaukaþórir ok Afrafasti, ok þeira sveit öll, ok hafði hvern þeira mann fyrir sik eða. II. eða sumir fleiri. Því þyntisk skipanin fyrir framan merki konungs; bað konungr þá þórd bera fram merkit, en konungr fylgði sjálfr merkinu ok sú sveit manna, er hann hafði valit til at vera sér nær í orrostu; váru þeir menn í hans liði einna vápn-djarfastir ok bezt búnir.

(Chapter 227, p. 490) Óláfr konungr barðisk þá alldjarfliga; hann hjó til þorgeirs af Kvistsstöðum, lendz manns, þess er fyrr er getit, um þvert andlit ok í sundr nefbjörg á hjálminum ok klauf hööfuðit fyrir neðan auga, svá at nær tók af. En er hann fell, mælti konungr: “Hvart er þat satt, er ek sagða þér, þorgeirr, at þú myndir eigi sigrask í okrum viðrskiptum?” Þá hafði þórðr fengit bana-sár ok fell hann þar undir merkinu. Þá fellu

þar ok þorfiðr muðr ok Gizur gullbrá, ok höfðu hann sótt .ii. menn, en han drap annan þeira, en særði annan, áðr hann fell...

Í þenna brum kom Dagr Hringsson með þat lið, er hann hafði haft, ok tók þá at fylkja liði sínu ok setti upp merki. En fyrir því at myrkr var mikit, þá varð ekki skjótt um atgönguna, þvíat þeir vissu eigi vist, hvat fyrir var.

(Chapter 228, p. 492-494) Kálfr ok Óláfr hétu frændr Kálfs Árnasonar; þeir stóðu á aðra hlið honum, menn miklir ok hraustir. Kálfr var sonr Arnfinnz Armoðssonar, broðursonr Árna Armoðssonar. Á aðra hlið Kálfi Árnasyni gekk fram þórir hundr. Óláfr konungr hjó til þóris hundz um herðarnar; sverðit beit ekki, en svá sýndisk sem dust ryki ór hreinbjálbanum...

Þórir hjó til konungs, ok skiptusk þeir þá nokkurum höggum við, ok beit ekki sverð konungs, þar er hreinbjálbinn var fyrir, en þó varð þórir sárr á hendi. Konungr mælti til Bjarnar stallara: “Ber þú hundinn, er eigi bíta járn.” Björn snøri øxinni í hendi sér ok laust með hamrinum; kom þat högg á öxl þóri, ok varð allmikit högg, ok rataði þórir við; en því jamskjótt snøri konungr í móti þeim Kálfi frændum ok veitti bana-sár Óláfi, frænda Kálfs. Þá lagði þórir hundr spjóti til Bjarnar stallara á honum miðjum, veitti honum bana-sár. Þá mælti Þórir: “Svá bautu vér björnuna.” Þorsteinn knarrasmiðr hjó til Óláfs konungs með øxi, ok kom þat högg á fotinn vinstra við knéit fyrir ofan. Finnir Árnason drap þegar þorsteinn. En við sár þat hneigðisk konungr upp við stein einn ok kastaði sverdinu ok bað sér guð hjálpa. Þá lagði þórir hundr spjóti til hans; kom lagit neðan undir brynjuma ok rendi upp í kviðinn. Þá hjó Kálfr til hans; kom þat högg inum vinstra megin útan á hálsinn. Menn greinask at því, hvar Kálfr veitti konungi sár. Þessi.iii. sár hafði Óláfr konungr til lífláts. En eptir fall hans, þá fell sú flestoll sveitin, er fram hafði gengit með konungi.

(Chapter 229, p. 495) Dagr Hringsson helt þá upp orrostu ok veitti ina fyrstu atgöngu svá harða, at bæendr hrukku fyrir, en sumir snøru á flóttu. Þá fell fjölði liðs af bóndum, en þessir lendir menn, Erlendr ór Gerði, Áslakr af Finneyju; var þá merki þat

niðr höggvit, er þeir höfðu áðr með farit. Var þá orrosta in ákafasta; kölluðu menn þat Dags-hríð. Þá snøru þeir í móti Dag Kálfr Árnason, Hárekr ór þjóttu, þórir Hundr, með þá fylking, er þeim fylgði. Var þá Dagr borinn áfli, ok snøri hann þá á flótta ok alt lið þat, er eptir var; ok verð þar dalr nökkurr upp, sem meginflóttin fór...

(Chapter 235, p. 504) Óláfr konungr fell miðvikudag .iiii. kál. Augusti mánaðar; þat var nær miðjum degi, er þeir fundudsk, en fyrir miðmunda hófsk orrostan, en konungr fell fyrir nón, en myrkrit helzk frá miðmunda til nóns.

(Chapter 57, p. 81). Óláfr konungr lét húsa konungs-garð í Níðarósi. Þar var gör mikil hirðstofa, ok dyrr á báðum endum; hásæti konungs var í miðri stofunni, ok innar frá sat Grimkell hirðbyskup hans, en þar næst aðrir kennimenn hans, en útar frá ráðgjafar hans; í öðru öndugi gegnt honum sat stallari hans Björn digri, þar næst gestir. Ef göfgir menn kómu til konungs, var þeim vel skipat. Við elda skyldi þá öl drekka. Hann skipaði mönnum í þjónostur, svá sem siðr konunga var til. Hann hafði með sér LX hirðmanna ok .xxx. gesta ok setti þeim mála ok lög; hann hafði ok .xxx. húskarla, er starfa skyldu í garðinum slíkt er þurpti ok til at flytja; hann hafði ok marga þræla. Í garðinum var ok mikill skáli, er hirðmenn sváfu í; þar var ok mikil stofa, er konungr átti hirðstefnur í.

(Chapter 58, pp. 81-82) Þat var siðr konungs, at risa upp snimma um morna ok klæðask ok taka handlaugar, ganga síðan til kirkju ok hlýða óttu-söng ok morguntíðum ok ganga síðan á stefnur ok sætta menn ok eða tala þat annat, er honum þóttis skylt; hann stefndi til sín ríkum ok óríkum ok öllum þeim, er vitrastir váru. Hann lét opt telja fyrir sér lög þau, er Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri hafði sett í þrándheimi. Hann skipaði lögunum með ráði inna vitrustu manna, tók af eða lagði til, þar er honum sýndisk þat; en kristinn rétt setti hann með umráði Grimkells byskups ok annarra kennimanna ok lagði á þat allan hug at taka af heiðni ok fornar venjur, þær er honum þótti kristnispell í. Svá kom, at bændr játtu þessum lögum, er konungr setti.

On Olav Haraldsson in Absalon Pederssøn Beyer: *Om Norgis Rige*

The text has been extracted from Harald Beyer (1928) *Om Norgis Rige*. Absalon Pederssøn Beyer. Oslo: Foreningen for Norsk Bokkunst/Beyers Forlag, Chapter 3: 53-54.

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer's (1528-1575) Norwegian history is more a personal reflection and commentary upon current and past historical events than a chronological history of past political events. He resented the presence of the Hanseatic League in Bergen and believed that the German merchants—who dominated virtually every aspect of commercial life—were responsible for much of the moral decay in his hometown.

After his university studies abroad—first in Copenhagen, then in Wittenberg—he devoted himself to the Chapter of Bergen and the students at the Latin school. He did not himself translate the Old Norse sagas—there is no evidence that he mastered the Old Norse language—but must have read them in either Jon Simonssøn's, Mattis Størssøn's, or Laurents Hanssøn's translations. Simonssøn, a lawyer, came to the Chapter in 1532 as the archbishop's deputy administrator, and Hanssøn worked for the administration in the 1540s. The selected passages about Norway can be compared with Theodoricus, Chapter 20 and 22; *Ágrip*, Chapter 31-35; and Adam of Bremen, pp. 153-189.

Oluff Haraldsson

(Chapter 3, pp. 53-54) Fremdeles er det icke det minste ornament, som Norge er med begavit, at St. Oluff kongis legome findis end paa denne dag ved domkircken helt og huldit, som haver der legit oc ligger uforkrenkit udi fem hundre og 37 aar, som man nu skriver paa dette nerverendis aar 1567 efter Christi byrd, thi St. Oluff regjerende 15 aar, oc der efter anno Christi byrd 1030 var han slagen i Stycestad, hvis blod synis end nu til denne dag uden en lade oc kan aldrig utslettis med vand eller menniskis hender.

Jeg regner det iblant Norgis ornamenta besynderligen derfor, at udi andre kongeriger haver oc vel verit hellige konger oc fyrster, ligevis som udi Danmarck St. Knud oc i Sverrige St. Erik oc andre steder, dog hverken les man, heller hører at sige af at deris kongers legomer er saadan ære vederfarit som vor Norigs konge St. Oluff, hvilket uden al tvivl er det for skeet, at Gud baade vil dermed give tilkenne, at St. Oluffs sag, lerdøm, bekendelse, krig haver verit ret, oc at Gud vil opvecke hannom til det evige liv, oc give hannom den uforgengelig ærens krone, oc det giver Gud tilkenne udi hans legome, saa at ligervis som Gud bevarer legomet uforkrenkt, saa vil han oc bevare sjelen uforkrenkt, oc lade dennem komme sammen oc blive udødelig. Sancte Oluff maa vel regnis blandt de konger, som have haft Gud oc hans ord kjert, som oc lod christne landet og komme det under god skick, han lod beskrive Graagaasen, som er en streng oc alvorlig laag, oc maa vel kallis lex talionis, en genskrepss laag, han førde krig i rigt oc uden, Gud hjemsøgte hannom med kors oc modgang, som altid pleier vere hos dennem, som ville handheve religionen etc.

English Translation

It is still a great endowment, a blessing for Norway, that St. Olaf's body still is found at the Cathedral, completely intact, and that it has lain there unscathed for five hundred and thirty-nine years on this day as we write 1567 after the birth of Christ. St. Olaf reigned for 15 years, and was slain in the battle of Stiklestad in the year 1030 after the birth of Christ, and his blood seems unchanged till this day and no water or human hand is able to change it. There are king-saints in other countries, too, amongst others King Canute of Denmark and King Eric of Sweden. However, I consider it an added blessing to Norway that one never reads in any book nor finds evidence of these kings having been blessed with the same gifts and honor as the remains of St. Olaf. Truly, what happened was that God wanted to acknowledge Saint Olaf's mission, wisdom,

confession, and show us that his wars were all just. It is my belief that God will resuscitate Olaf to eternal life and give him the eternal crown of honor. God's honor and mercy was bestowed upon his bodily remains; but, in the same way God will preserve his soul unmarked, and let the two rejoin and become eternally immortal. Saint Olaf was a king who cherished God and his word. He also christened the country, and in order to assure good customs, he had the Grágás written down, a strict and serious law, which can rightly be termed *lex talionis*.³⁶⁴ He also waged war both within his own realm and abroad, and God burdened him with cross and adversity, in the manner of those whose task it is to introduce and maintain religion.

³⁶⁴ The law of retribution.

On Olav Haraldsson in Mattis Størssøn: *Den Norske krønike*

The Middle Norwegian text has been extracted from Størssøn, Mattis (1962) *Den Norske Krønike oversatt av M. Størssøn*. Mikjel Sørle (Ed.). Bergen: J. D. Beyer, pp. 38-54.

Den norske kronike c. 1560—an abridged history of the Norwegian kings, is in essence a summary based on Snorri's *Óláfs saga helga* in *Heimskringla* and the anonymous *Bergsbok*. The orthography in *Den norske kronike* is generally consistent throughout the text; however, there are a few minor discrepancies, for instance in the spelling of names (Harallson, Haralson, Haralldson, Haraldsøn), and sporadic Norwegian forms based on Norwegian dialectical pronunciation, such as “ein” (Danish “een”), and “fraa” (Danish “fra”), and “heim” (instead of the Danish “hiem”), just to mention a few. Størssøn's narrative is kept to the strict necessary, and emphasizes the main events in Olaf's claim to the throne, his exile, his return to the country, and the circumstances leading up to his demise at Stiklestad.

The translation in general follows Snorri's saga quite faithfully; however, much of the dialogue has been substituted by narrative passages and the translator's commentaries. Also, the reformed Størssøn carefully avoided the various hagiographic passages of the Latin and Old Norse sagas, which were significant for the subsequent idolization of the Martyr King, and suppressed the King's visions and dreams, which he experienced throughout his life, as well as the miracle experienced by Tore Hund—the man who gave the King his fatal wound—whose injured hand was healed by the King's blood right there on the battlefield (Snorri, Chapter 230), and the incident concerning the blind man who accidentally touched the dead king, and whose sight was restored (Snorri, Chapter 236; Theodoricus, Chapter 20).

Olav Haraldsson

Oluf Haraldson digre bleff Opfødt hos sin steff-fader Siurd Syr till han bleff xii aar gammel, och bleff strax wdferdit till siøs medt ein duelig krigsmand som hed Rane then widfarendis, att forsøge sin mandom, som tha wor sed ij landett, thi att allt Norrige var tha delt emellom koning Suen tiuffuescheg, koning Oluff fonsche och Erich och Suen jarler, som for er rørtt, saa att hand icke kunde komme till nogen regemente epther sin fader, och begynte først att røffue och tage paa the suenske, forti att hans fader vor ther slagen, tesligeste ij Østersøen, Gulland och Øland, huor hand kunde, och brende och brandskattitt hand alle wegne saa att han bleff wide berømt for en krigsmand, och bleff hannom giffuit konnings naffn, endog hand haffde inthett aff landett.

Der epther drog hand wthi Vestersøen och war wdi Engeland ij then kriig emellom konning Adelrod och konning Knud Harallson ij Danmarck, som kalledis den rige, och war wthi trij aar ij stor ære hoes konning Adellrod indtill hand døde, och ther epther war han nogen stund wdi Normandi med konning Adellrods Sønner, som hede Ettmund och Eduard. Der forbunde de seg till hobe med koning Knud Haralson ij Danmarck och droge ij Engeland medt eitt stort tall folck. Dog bleffue the affslagne saa att koning Knud Harallson behollt Engeland, och konning Adellrods Sønner motte rømme landit igen. Thett ær nock om hans krii wden landz for han kom till Norrige igen.

Der Oluff Haralson digre forstod att Erich jarl war død ij Engeland, och Norrige var da wnder saa mange høffdinge schifft, som for ær rørt, da gjorde han seg rede medt thu schib, och wdualde seg the dueligste krigs folck aff Engeland der paa, och drog till Norrige och komme vnder landit ind for Stad, och seglede siden søder till Wlffuesundt. Der finge the tidende att Haakon jarll Erichson waar paa veyen och willde drage nord ij landett.

Da seglede Oluff Haraldson digre søder ij Sandunge sund.³⁶⁵ Ij thett samme kom Haakon jarll synden till och lagde till sunditt, der møttis the. Haakon Jarll spranch for bord, och bleff fangen paa sundett och leidtt for kongen. Och war Haakon Jarll then deyligste mand ther kunde were. Da sagde kongen: Santh ær thett som sagt ær, att ij fiender ære saa deylige och mandelige mend som vere kunde, men eders lycke haffuer nu ænde. Da suarede Haakon Jarll: Ingen wlycke hafuer end sched meg, thett haffuer offte før veridtt skedt emellom wore fiender, att stundom hafuer then ene och stundom then anden offuerhanden, saa kand end nu sche. Tha sagde Oluff Harallson digre: Thett kan ske att thu skall aldrig faa huerken seiger eller lycke her ij landett epther thenne dagh. Och der med motte han suerge en eid att han alldrig skulle kende seg nogen egn till Norrige, icke heller føre nogen krei paa Norrige emod hannom, och ther med rømde hand landit, och for till koning Knud sin morbroder ij Engeland, och bleff ther well vndfangen.

Oluff Haralson digre drog der fraa till Oplanden till sin steffader koning Siurd Syr. Medt hans hielp bleff hand tagen till konge offuer all Oplanden och fick stor anhang aff alle the edlinger vdi landett wor, forthi han wor rett kommen till landett epther koning Haralld haarfagers lagh.

Der epther samlede Suen jarll och Einar tambescher all then macht aff Trondelagen och droge langs landene syder och samlede folck huor te fore fram. Och kom Elling Schialgson paa Sole till dem och hans sønner medt megitt folck aff Jederen, och droge Øster med landit till Bronlagnes. Oluff kong Haralldson drog folch till samen aff Gudbrandsdalen, Heidmarchen och all Oplanden. Der wor ochsaa med hannom koning Siurd Syr hans steffader med all Sin macht, och droge wdt till Søes till Tonsberg och redde sig der till schiff. Da haffde de tidende aff huer andre, och lagde imodt huer

365 Sauesund, east of Atløy in Fjaler.

andre, Oluff Haraldson och Suen jarll. Jarlen haffde mere folch och smerre schib. Oluff Haralson haffde dueligt folch och wore offte brugede ij krieg, och fich hand therefore offuerhanden. Och Suen jarll och Einar tambescher motte rømme landit och droge till Suerrige till konning Oluff fonsche. Och bleff Suen jarll der død same høst ij Suerrige. Men Einar tamhescher och Elling Schiælgson och andre landemendt droge heim till theris eigit som icke wilde forgøre theris odall.

Der epther drog Oluff Haralldson digre langs landene nord till Trondheim och gick allt landitt hannom till hande, och bleff till konge tagen offuer allt landit, och bleff sidendis ij Trondheim om vinteren, och bygde op kongsgaarden och reiste der Clemetz kirche som ther endnu staar. Han lodt bygge och forbedre Trondhiems by som da wor affbrent. Konning Oluff Haralldson digre lodt da wdtbiude offuer allt landit att the schulde lade seg christne, och sette landzlogen epther som koning Haagen Adelstein haffde begyntt, och sette christenretten med biscop Grimkells raad och samtycke, och bød saa strengelig att holldis skulle aff høg och laag, riig och fattig, schulle gaa eins offuer medt liff och godz, huilken ther imodt brødt.

Der Rørich koning med andre høffdinge aff Heidmarchen forstod att koning Oluff Haralldson digre lod saa strengelig biude christendomen offuer allt landitt, da forbunde dhe seg emod hannom po ny igen. Da drog koning Oluff Haralldson digre emod dem och kom wforuarendis paa dem paa Ringisaager och greb dennom alle dher. Da lodt hand stinge øgen wd po Rørich koning. Men Gudrøder koning aff Gudbrandsdallen lod handt skere tungen aff munden. Men dhe andre motte rømme landitt och komme alldrig igen. Rørich koning fullde koning Oluff Haralldson alltiid huor hand for, thi hand hørde hannom nær till.

Dett schede att paa wor Herris himmelferris dag, dha wore baade kongerne ij kircken, och stod Rørich koning nest hos koning Oluff Haralldson. Ij thett daa slog Rørich koning till koning Oluff Haraldson medt ein kniff och offuerslog hannom saa att

han bleff icke saar. Koning Oluff spranch aff stolen. Hand slag anden gang till hannom och slag saa miste och sagde: Flyr du for ein blind mand? Daa bleff hand fangen och sendt till Jsland, der bleff hand død och ligger ther begraftuen, och ær hand den einiste konning som ij Jsland ær begrafuen.

Konning Oluf fonsche ij Suerrige fortrød att konning Oluff Haraldson haffde saa tuingitt Norrige vnder seg som hannem var till dellt, och bleff therfore ein wfred emellom Suerrige och Norrige saa att huer lagde øde for en anden, huad dhe mest kunde offuerkomme. Da klagede bønderne paa baade siider then store schade som thennom schede formedelst then wfred, och begerede att the motthe nyde fred och søge huer andre om theris nering, thi the kunde icke misse huer andre. Der bleff da handlitt till fredz igen ett forbunt medt saadanne willkor, att koning Oluff Harallson fick Astrid kong Oluff fonschis syster till drottning. Och ther koning Oluff Harallson och koning Oluff fonsche aff Suerrigc wore forenthe, och fred wor landene emellom, da drog kong Oluff Haralldson omkring allt landitt och randsagitt huorledis de hulle christendommen, och straffit strengeligen offuer thennom som icke hulle huad hand paabødett haffde, saa att mange rømde landett siden dhe icke motte sielffue raade. Och bleff ther fore tuedrachtt wthi landitt saa att ther rømde manghe yppermend till Engeland till koning Knud then rige, och klagede att ingen motte nyde sin frellse ij landitt for koning Oluff Haralldson, och menthe att the wilde [h]jeller were vnder Danmarchs konning, som the haffde før weritt, paa thett att the motte tisheller raade thennom sielffue. Epther saadane raadslag tha sende koning Knud then rige sine ambesaatther till Norrigc och var begerendis att koning Oluff Haralldson skulle komme till hannom och tage landtt aff hannem ij forlening och gellde seg schatt ther aff som jarlene plegede tillforn att giffue ther aff, och sagde att Norrige war hannom arff fallett till epther sin fader kong Suen Tiuffuescheg.

Koning Oluff Harallson suaride ambesatherne saa, att Gorm koning then gamble wor konning offuer Danmarch alleniste och welldig noch. Men the andre konninger

Harald Gormson, Suen Harallson Tiuffuescheg haffue thett mere medt wold end medt rette fult Norriges rige ifra mine foreldre wdi nogle aar. Och will jeg nu werrie mitt fedrene rige for hannom med schiold och spiud saa lenge mitt liiff ærr, och alldrig schall ieg giffue koning Knud eller nogen anden schatt ther aff: Och ther met fore ambesaatherne heim och sagde koning Knud suar igen paa sine ærrinde. Konning Knud then riige bleff fortørnid aff thesse suar, och sagde att koning Oluff Harallson skulle well fornemme att han skall haffue saa mange raad behoff som hand haffuer sideben end før hand tror.

Epther thenne fornevnde handell kom ther rychte aff Engeland att koning Knud then rige samblid ein stor hob folck och wilde drage till Danmarch wdi foraarid. Da lodt koning Oluff Haraldson strax sine ambesaather drage till konning Amund ij Suerrige, och lodt hannom forstaa att koning Knud then rige haffde ij sinne att wille tuinge Norrige wnder seg, och ther som thett saa schede, da lodt hand seg icke nøye wden hand finge Suerrige till medt. Therefore war thett raadeligt atthe forbunde seg till hobe jmod koning Knud, huilckitt the och giorde. Then same sommer ther epther drog kong Knud till Engeland igen och sette Horde Knud sin Søn och med hannom Wlff jarll sin syster Søn (Wlfs fader war Torgylls Sprakeleg) till att weriie landett for wfred.

Der koning Knud then rige war faren till Engeland, kom ther wenighed imellom koning Oluff Harallson och the fire brødre, som wore Torberg Arneson, Find Arneson, Kalf Arneson paa Egge och Arne Arneson. De wore the ypperste medt Elling Schialgson po Sole som wore ij Norrige then tiidt.

Thett begaff seg att koning Oluff Harallson haffde lyst Torberg Arnesøn vdsleg och fredløs for han holt Stein Schaffteson hos seg emod kongens wilge, som och war fredløs. Da forsamledt the brødre seg och droge till Trondheim och lagde seg medt theris folck wid Agdenes. Tha for Find och Arne først till kongen och bød bod for Torberg Arneson och Stein Schaffteson, att the motthe beholle liif och lemmer, men

sielff raade huor stor boden schulle were. Da suared koning Oluff wredelig och sagde: Meg tyckis att ij komme saa stercke att ij wille sielffue raade hallfft medt megh. Men ieg haffuer icke formaait saadant aff eder brøderne. Heller tror ieg att Elling paa Sole haffuer veritt aarsage her till. Da suared Find Arneson: Ther som ij icke wille tage thennom till fred som vij nu biude, tha wille vij alle fare till kong Knud then riige mett alt thette folck wij haffue. Daa saagh kongen paa hannom och sagde: J brødre schulle suerge meg ein eid att ij schulle were meg huld och tro, følge meg inden landtz och wthen, och icke schiliies ved meg wthen min villiie, och ij schulle icke døllie thett for meg om ij vithe att ther ærr suig eller forrederij paa min halls for rigitt. Da ginge fram Torberg, Find och Arne Arnesønner och suore kongen then eid. Men Kalff Arneson och Elling Skielgson wilde icke suergiie, men huer drog heim till sitt. Men Find Arneson bleff alltiid hos kongen som hans ypperste raadgiffuere.

Naagen stund ther epther lodt konning Oluff Haraldson wdbiude ledingen offuer allt Norrige, medt all macht hand kunde afstedkomme. Torder Hund ij Barkø hand giorde seg rede epther same bud med all machtt. Der floden wor rede, da tøffuede Torder Hund nogen stund, och seglede epther och lagde till siøs och seglede till Engeland till koning Knud, och sagde hannom visse tidende fraa koning Oluff Haralldson. Men koning Oluff Haraldson drog langs landene och samlede folch. Ther hand kom synder for Jederen, da vor Elling Schiælgson dragen till koning Knud med fem schib, och war alle landz høffdingene medt hannom, wden the som før haffde rømppt till koning Knud. Men Einar tambescher bleff hiemme till sitt eigett, thi hand haffde ingen leen aff kongen. Da drog konning Oluff Harallson till Sieland, och koning Amund ij Suerrige drog ij Schone, røfuid och brende allt thett the offuerkomme som icke wilde gaa thennom till hande. Knud then horde och Wlff jarll Torgylls Sprakalegg son haffde da rømppt till Jutland och samlede der folch att weriie landitt for the norske, thi att Knud then horde haffde ladit tagitt seg till konge saa gott som mod sin faders willie, ther till

hialp Wlf jarll och Emmunne drotning. Konning Knud den rige haffde faat wisse tidende att koning Oluff Harallson haffde samlett megitt folch och wor paa veyen till Danmarch. Da lodt hand och berede ein stor skips hær och gjorde Haakon jarll till ein høffuismand for folchet nest seg, och seglede aff Engeland och komme med beholden reyse till Danmarch ij Limfiord, ther som Knud then horde och Wlff jarll laage faare medt stor forsambling aff landsfolckit. Der bleffue the mistrøstige, och menthe att koning Knud then rige vilde heffne thet som the haffde seg foretagitt. Dog formedels drotningens bøn skyld da gaff han thennom venschaff. Och saa gjorde the rede medt all machtt, och følged kong Knud then rige och lagde till Øresund.

Der konning Oluff Harallson oc koning Amund Oluffson spurde att koning Knud then rige wor kommen aff Engeland medt ein woffueruindelig heer, da seglede the Østher medt Schonelandt, och røffuid och brende huor the fore frem och komme Østher till aaen Hellge, och finge wisse tidende att koning Knud then rige drog epther dennom. Der the laaghe wid aaen Hellge nogle daghe, da tog koning Oluff Harallson ein stor hob folck medt seg, och gick offuer schoffuen till vanditt som aaen løber aff. Och lodt hugge stoer wed wdi aaer munden, och fylthe op osen medt stein, torff och grioth, saa att the stefnde wattridtt saa høgtt att thett gich offuer all marcken, och lodt graffue mange smaa aaer wdi thett store wand. Ther koning Knud then rige fich spørie till theris ferd, dha drog hand medt all sin herr till thennom. Der kong Amund Oluffson saag att koning Knud then rige kom medtt offliande herr, da lagde hand wdaff haffnen och litt øssther medt landitt, och gjorde seg rede medt alle sine schib som han willde giffue och tage, och sende saa bud till koning Oluff Harallson att koning Knud war kommen. Dha lodt han vpbyrde dammen. Men koning Knud then rige lagde ind ij haffnen medt saa mange schib som rom fich, och laa dog største parten wden fore. Thi hand willde icke slas modtt quelliden. Om morgenen ij lysinger da wor megitt folch gaaitt paa landitt att besee sig. I thett same kom der saa suartt it wand mett fossefall och stor wedtt, saa att ther

bleff allt thett folch paa landitt war, thesligeste mange schib bleffue medt folch och allt, wden saa mange som kunde hugge theris ancker. Men thett store schib som koning Knud then rige vor paa, dreff for strömen emodt the norsche och suensche schib. Ther the kende schibett, da lagde de omkring thett medt theris schib och bleff ther eitt hartt slag aff. I thett kom Wlff jarll Spregelegson medt sitt schib och lagde mandelig tillhobe. Der de saage att deris macht icke kunde staa koning Knud emodt, da lodt koning Oluff Harallson sende sitt schib till Kalmaren medt huis andit hand icke kunde faa med sig, och drog siellf offuer land op igennem Smaalandene och saa til Westergylland och therfra ind ij Wigen och saa nord till Sarpsborg, och lodt ther rede till winthersede. Da gaff hand alle rigens höffdinge heimloff wden Torberg, Find och Arne Arnasønner, thennom hollt hand ij største ære hos sig. Der koning Knud then riige spurde att koning Oluff Harallson wor dragen till Norrige landwegen igennem Suerrige, da gaff handtt Elling Schælgson orloff att drage till Norrige, och fich hann om megitt gull och sølff att beuilge folchitt sig till tieniste. Der koning Oluff Harallson haffde werid ij Sarpsborg till offuer jull, tha bleff hannom wnderuist att Torder Olluisøn haffde tagitt penninge aff koning Knud. Da drog hand till hand och lodt hannom affliffue. For thenne gerning bleff hand saa saare hatid aff all hans slecht. Torder Olluisøn wor Kallff Arnessøns steffson, och Torder Hund ij Biørckø wor hans moderbroder. Epther thette blef folchitt saa gaat som oprørisch wthi landett, saa att koning Oluff Harallson fornam att hand ingen troschab haffde aff indbyggerne.

Koning Knud den rige drog till Norrige medt einn suar schibs herr thett same aar, och tog all landett ind, och wende icke før end ij Trondheim. Och der blef hand till konge tagen offuer allt Norrige. Och gaff hand Hakon jarll sin søstersøn allt regementidtt ther offuer. Och Knud then horde sin søn gaff hand Danmarchs rige. Och der Haakon jarll kom ij regementedt ij Norrige, da gjorde hand Einar tambescher till then ypperste mand ij landett nest seg.

Ther epther att konning Knudt then rige wor seglet nord omkring till Trondheim, da komme the østen till som wore senth epther schibene ij Kalmarenn, som ther wore opsette, och lagde ind till Opslo. Och laage ther saa lenge att koning Knud then rige war faren till Danmarch igen, och haffde hand dhaa faait allt Norrige wnder sig forwthen suerdslagh.

Der konning Oluff Harallson fich spurt att kong Knud then rige war dragen nedt igen, da giorde hand seg rede medt thett folch hand kunde faa och drog langs lande norder adt. Der hand kom omkring Jederen, da kom hannom Elling Schiælgson emodt medt mange schib. Der hand kende koning Oluff Harallsons schib, da giorde hand segell och seglede ifraa floden medt ein snecke. Der hand naadde hannom ij Bucknesund, dha lagde the sammen, och bleff ther eitt stort mandfall paa baade siider. Eptherdi att Elling Schiælgson worr medt eitt schib och the andre mett mange schib, tha bleff ther slagitt allesamen paa schibitt wthen Elling Schiælgson. Hand weriede seg saa mandelig att ingen wiste att sige aff att ein mand haffde saa lenge staait, och wilde huercken fly eller begere fredtt.

Da sagde koning Oluff Harallson: Willt thu haffue fred Ellinge? Hand sagde: Ja, och lagde saa ned sitt suerd och schiolden. I thett da støtte koning Oluff Harallson hannom ij kinnen medt øxehørnid och sagde: Merche schall ieg din gudz forreder. I thett samme da sprang Aslach Fittieschall frem och høg ij Ellings hoffuid mett ein øxe saa att han størtedt død ned. Da sagde kong Oluff Harallson: Du høgst som ein arm mand, nu høgstu Norrige aff mine hender. Da suared Aslach: Jeg menthe, herre, att ieg haffuer huggitt rigit till deg och icke efraa. I thett kom schibsfloden all epther och funne Elling liggendis død po marchen, och the som epther komme, anammitt ligitt och førde thett till Sole och lodt thett sømeligen begraffue.

Der epther drog kong Oluff Harallson langs landene norder om Stad. Der fich hand tidende att Haakon jarll och Einar tambescher komme norden till medt eitt stortt tall

folch. Da rømde hand ind ij Thodefiord po Sundmør, och haffde hand med seg Astrid sin drottning och sin dotter Wlluille, thesligiste sin søn Magnus, som siden bleff konge offuer Danmarch och Norrige, och reiste ther fraa till fiels, och kom fram till Einebu po Lessiom, der fraa till Gudbrandzdalen, och saa till Heidmarchen, och theden fraa till Wermeland, och vdt till søes till Nercke. Der tøffuid hand till foraarid, och drag saa der fraa wdi Rysland till Jarleff konning, som otte Astrid drottnings systher som hed Ingeborg,³⁶⁶ och bleff ther nogle aar, och haffde dog stor attraa till rigett igen. Kallff Arneson och Biørn Stallere finge forloff att drage till bage igen ij landett. Men Torberg, Find och Arne Arnesønner the fulde koning Oluff Haralson ij Rysland och bleffue ther alltiidt hoes kongen till hand drog ij landett igen. Men Kalff Arnesøn gaff seg till Hakon jarll och bleff ein regenther nest hannom wthi Norrige, men Biørn Stallere for heim till sitt eigett och sadt ther stille och haffde ingen forlening wthi landett.

Den same sommer epther drag Haakon jarll till Engeland att hente sin festemø, och bleff seint rede och løb aff om høsten till Norrige. Ther bleff hand medt mand och all saa att ther spurdis alldrigh till thennom.

Den tiid att Biørn Stallere fich spurtt the tidende att Haakon jarll war forgaaen, da redde hand segh till och drog hastelig aff Norrige och till Rysland, och sagde konning Oluff Harallson att Haakon jarll wor bleffuen och landett war hæffdinge løst, och sagde att Norrige stod thaa lettelig till att tuinge wnder hannom. Och da gjorde koning Oluff Harallsøn sig rede och steg ij sine schib, och kom frem ij Gylland, och koning Amund aff Suerrige, hans suoger, kom hannom till hielp medt eitt stor tall folch. Thesligiste kom hannom till hielp Harald Siurdson, konning Oluff Harallsons halfbroder, mett all den hielp hand kunde affstedkomme, och da war han xv aar gammell. Och ther kom hannom och till hielp Dager Ringsøn, som och wor kommen aff konge slechtt ij

³⁶⁶ Ingigerd

Norrige, medt medt XII^c mend well webned, och tillforne haffde koning Oluff Harallson samlet XII^c mend vdi Suerige. Der kom och till tho duelig kemper, then ene hed Thorer Gausche, then anden hedt Affuer fasthe, medt XXX andre kemper som wore tidt brugede ij kriig. Mett thette folch drog hand igenom Jampteland och westher offuer Kølen, och theden wdt till Staff: Der fich hand spurtt sandelig huor handtt monne møde fienderne. Der besaa hand sitt folch, da haffde hand tre tusinde folch, wel webnidt, som tha war sedt wdi landett. Daa schickitt konning Oluff Harallsøn sitt folch wdi ordning, saa att kongens baner schulle fare mitt wdi hoben medt hans eigitt krigsfolch, men Dager Ringsøns baner paa then høgre siide medt sitt folch. Men paa then wenstre side schulle were thett tredie merche medt thett folch aff Suerrige, paa thett att huer landz folch kunde kende best huer andre, och thett war theris løsen: Fram Christi mend, korsmend och kongens mend. Da droge dhe hasteligen till dhe komme wdt till Stickelstad, och ther møtte thennem then forsambling aff bønderne. Da sagde koning Oluff Harallson: Endog att bønderne ere fast flere end wij, da lader os staa mandelig, thi gud hielper den som rett haffuer. Torder Folesøn førde kongens mercke. Konning Oluff Harallson haffde ein forgylt hielm paa hoffuedit, ein huid schiold medt eitt forgylt kors, wdi sin hond haffde hand ein kesia och eitt bittert suerd wid siiden som hedt Neitther, handfangen war røed medt guld, och ein ringe brynæ.

Nu wille wij see paa then anden siide. Ther Haakon jarll war bleffuen till søes och Norrige war wthen regenther, som for ær rørt, da haffde dhe høffdinge ij Norrige alle stedz sine bespeiire wde och willde wide om konning Oluff Harallson war till sindz att wille drage ij Norrige igen. Och ther the finge spurtt att kong Oluff Harallson war kommen till Suerrige, da lode the schere op tingbudt offuer allt landett, saa att ther samledis ein suar hob folch till sammen offuer allt landett. Elling Schiælgsons søner paa Sole droge synder medt landitt, medt all then macht der war for thennom, och wentid att koning Oluff willde paa then siide drage ind ij landett.

Aslach ij Findøy och Elling paa Gerde droge nord paa medt all then machtt som the finge nord ij fraa sig, thi thesse haffde loffuid konning Knud then rige att the skulle komme koning Oluff Harallson aff dage, om thett ellers war mueligtt. Och ther the herrer ij Norrige spurde for sanning att koning Oluff Haraldson wilde drage igennem Jampteland offuer Kølen, dha steffnde the till hobe ij Trondhiem ein stor hob folch aff adelen och bønderne, saa att ther war mere end X tusinde mand norden och synden aff landett. Da bleff samtychtt att Kallff Arneson paa Egge, Thorer Hund paa Bierchø och Harech paa Tiøtthen schulle raade och were høfuidtmend offuer folchidt. Och huer aff thennom retthed ett baner op medt all then machtt som war nord ij landett. Ryefyllche, Hordeland, Sognfylche och Fiorde fylche rettidt thett fierde banner op, och droge saa emodt huer andre widt Stickelstad. Och ther koning Oluff Harallson och Kallff Arneson komme saa ner atthe kende huer andre, da sagde kongen till Kallf: Jeg hafde icke trodt deg der till Kallf, att thu skulde saa møde meg, wij wore io wener then sjiste gangh wij schilldis att paa Sundmør, och ære her tre djne brødre hos mig. Och therefore staar thett theg ille atthu fører affuends schiold jmod meg. Kallf suared: Herre, ieg wor nød till att giøre fred medt thennom som iegh schulle bo ij landett medt, therefore maa nu huer staa sin lycke, ther som huer ær kommen. Dogh haffde ieg gerne seeth [h]eller att fred haffde werid giord imellom os. Da suaridt Find Arneson: Naar som helst att Kalf min broder suarer allsom best, da tencher hand som verst. I thett same roffthe the paa baade siider. Kongens folch roffthe: Frem frem, christmen, korsmen och kongens mend, paa then anden siide: Frem frem, bonde mend och bumen, och eggede huer andre frem saa fast att ther fell ejn stor hob folch paa baade siider. I thette første tillob blefue slagne aff kongens folch Arnliot Gellinn. Thorer gausche och Affuer faste medt theris selschab. Dog haffde huer aff them for seg nedlagtt tho, thre eller flere. Der kongen saa folch falle saa fast, da bad hand Torder Foleson trede flux frem medt banneridt, och fullde siellf epther saa mandelig att bønderne reddis och wigede vnden, och hug till Torger paa

Quistad tuert paa ansichtidt, att sønder gich hielmen tuertt igenom hoffuedit wid øgnene, och størtidt dødt ned. Da sagde kongen: Jeg wiste thett schulle saa lychtis medt thin wtrohedt. Ij thett same fich Torder Foleson sit banesaar och sette merchestangen ij jorden och fall ther wnder. Da feell och flere aff kongens gode mend. Torfind och Gittsur gullbraa, och haffde the saa mandelig staaet, att huer aff thennom haffde for sig 3 eller 4 nedlagt. I then wending kom Dagh Ringson medt sin banner och tredde saa mandelig fram att bønderne motte wige. Kallf Arnesøn och Thorer Hund ginge och mandelig fram, och koning Oluff møtthe thennom, och hug kongen till Thorer, och suerdett wilde icke bide. Thesligist hug Thorer till kongen igen, och saa schiffthett the nogre hug tillhobe, och bleff Thorer hund saar ij handen. Da sagde kongen till Biørn Stallere: Slaa thu then hund, ther bider inthett suerd paa hannom. Da slo Biørn Stallere till Thorer Hund saa hartt medt ein øxe hammer att hand ragede seg till falls. I thett stach Kallf Arneson till Biørn Stallere, och tuertt igenom, saa att hand feell død ned till jorden, och sagde; Saa pleiie wij att veide biørner. Tosten Knarresmedt hug till kongen och rampte hannom paa wenstre benett offuen for kneet eitt stort saar. Strax slo Find Arneson Tosten Knarresmedt ihiell. Wid thett hug studde kongen seg op till ein sten och kastitt suerditt, och holtt sine hender op och bad till gud. I thett same stach Thorer Hund till kongen medt sitt spiud, och tog wnder brynien op ij liffluidt, och i thett same hug och Kallff Arneson till kongen paa wenstre siiden adt hallsen. Thisse trij saar haffde konning Oluff Haralldson digre som hannom dreff till døde. Da kongen war fallen, tha fæll och mæste parten aff hans folch, forwden Dagh Ringson, hand holtt end da slagitt saa mandelig, och søchte saa hart fram att bønderne rømde for hannom huor hand frem kom. Da kom Kallff Arneson, Thorer Hund och Harrech paa Kiøtten medt theris hob bønderne till wndsettning, och bleffue dhe hannem for stercke och finge de offuerhanden, och Dag Ringson motthe rymme marchen. Da rymde och alle huer som kunde, och war then største partt saar giortt, och somme wore saa mødde och trette atthe

icke kunde [rymme], icke [h]eller dhe som marchen behollt, kunde nogitt forföllie fienderne for machtløse.

Konning Oluff Harallson fell paa Stickelstad om onsdagen 4. Calendas Augusti, ther klocken war mellom eitt och tollff, der hand haffde regeridtt Norrige wdi xv aar. [Obiit: 4 Kalendas Augusti feria 4: millesimo: 28: anno a[b] incarnatione].

Konning Oluff Haralldson, som kalledis then digre, hafde mest sin werellse wdi Trondheim then tiid hand sadt fredelig ij landett, och lodt hand ophygge konningsgaarden och lodt giøre ein stor sall medt dørren paa baade ender. Kongens sede lodt hand rede mitt paa gullffuidt. Paa then ene siide sath byscop Grimkell, och ther ifraa hans lerne mend. Paa den andre side sath kongens raad. Reth tuert offuer fraa kongen sath hans marshch Biørn Stallere, och ther nest fremmede ypperlige mend som komme till hannom, huilche hand alltid lodt well trachtere. Naar hand wilde giøre seg glad, tha sadt hand gerne widt schorstensilld. Hand haffde alltid medt seg ij daglige tieniste LX hoffsinder och XXX andre suorne tienere, och haffde forsett thennom huor wid the schulle giøre theris tieniste, ther till XXX andre mend som schulle bestyre althing till kongens hoff huad behoff giordis, ther till saa mange arbeidz folch som behoff giordis, wndertiden flere eller ferre.

Thett war kongens daglige øffuellse att hand stod betiden dags op, och strax hand haffde toeth sig, gich hand ij kircke till ottesang. Siden sath hand rettherting medt sine gode mend, offuervegede rigens gaffn och beste, och lodtt oplese then lagh som koning Haakon Adelstein haffde før satt wdj Trondheim, och medt the wiseste mends raad wdi landitt fraa toch och till sette thett som hannom synthes landett att were nytteligste. Desligeste setthe hand christen retthen medt biscops Grimkells och andre lerne mends raad, och wende sin største fliid till att indføre then rette tro ij landitt och wende folchid fraa heidendommitt.

Konning Oluff Haralldson war ein sedelig, tuchtig mand, wiste well att regere sitt sind, taledede sachtelig, milld, dog war hand ein saare hard mand till att straffe huem ther

icke halt huad hand paabød. Handtt lodt och schicke lerdē mēd till Island, Orchnø,
Pherø och Hiētland att predige then rette tro for thennom, och war thett hans største
wiliie och forsett att hand willde slett ødelegge all willfarellse som war ij land och riger.
Och will ieg her medt lade were, och icke mere sige om hans jordeferd eller jertegne
som siiden ær schreffuitt om hannom.

English Translation

Olaf Haraldsson was raised by his step-father Sigurd Syr until he was twelve, and was then sent to sea in the company of a valiant warrior named Rane the Widely-Traveled to forge his manhood, as was customary in the country at that time. Norway already had been partitioned between King Sven Forkbeard, King Olaf the Swede, and the earls Erik and Sven, so that he (Olaf Haraldsson) had no access to the realm that he had inherited from his father, because his father had been slain. He therefore started pilfering and raiding in Sweden, and likewise in the Baltic Sea, Götaland and Øland, and everywhere he went, and gained a reputation as a fearless warrior, and was called King although he had no kingdom.

Afterwards, he traveled westwards to England, and stayed there during the war between King Aethelred and King Canute Haraldsson of Denmark, who was named the Great. He remained for three years, in great honor, with King Aethelred, until he (the King) died, thereafter he spent some time in Normandy with Aethelred's sons, Edmund and Edward. There they conspired with Canute Haraldsson of Denmark and went to England in charge of a large army. The outcome of the campaign was that Canute took England and Aethelred's sons had to flee the country yet once more. This will suffice about Olaf's wars abroad before he returned to Norway.

When Olaf Haraldsson "the Giant" understood that earl Erik had died in England, and that Norway had been partitioned between many rulers, as stated above, he prepared

two ships and selected the most valiant warriors in England and set out for Norway. He reached the coast at Stad and sailed southwards to Ulvesund. There he heard that earl Håkon Eriksson was on his way north.

Olaf Haraldsson then sailed southwards to a fjord called Sandunge.³⁶⁷ Earl Håkon came from the south and entered the fjord, and there they met. Earl Håkon jumped over board but was captured and brought before the King. And earl Håkon was a most handsome man. The King said: "Truly it has been said that you—of all our enemies—are both handsome and valiant, but now your luck has ended." Earl Håkon answered: "No bad luck has yet come to me, and it has been customary between enemies that first the one then the other has had the upper hand, and this may still be true." Then Olaf Haraldsson the Giant said: "From this day on you will meet neither luck nor victory in this country." Upon which he had to swear that he would never covet any part of Norway, and not engage in war against the King, and thereafter he fled the country and went to Canute, his mother's brother in England, and was well received there.

Olaf Haraldsson the Giant then went to Oppland³⁶⁸ to his stepfather Sigurd Syr. With his assistance he was elected King of all Oppland and also obtained the support of many of the leading people in the country, as he had come to Norway on account of Harald Fair-hair's law.

Then earl Sven and Einar tambarskelve³⁶⁹ gathered all the available men in Trøndelag³⁷⁰ and traveled through the counties southward, enrolling on their way as many men as they were able to. Erling Skjalgsson of Sola and his sons joined them as

367 Sauesundet east of Atløy in Fjaler

368 Region in eastern and central Norway

369 "Who makes the bow vibrate"

370 Region north and south of Trondheim

did other brave men from Jæren,³⁷¹ and they headed eastwards to Bronlagnes. King Olaf Haraldsson gathered his army in the Gudbrandsdal,³⁷² and throughout Heidmarcken³⁷³ and Oppland. With him was also King Sigurd Syr—his stepfather—with his whole army. They traveled to the coast, to Tønsberg, and prepared a ship there. There, Olaf and earl Sven got news of one another and engaged in a naval battle. The earl had more men and a faster ship; however, Olaf's men were both strong and capable and had more war experience, so that Olaf soon held the upper hand. Earl Sven and Einar tambarskelve had to flee the country and went to Sweden to King Olaf, where earl Sven died that same fall. Einar tambarskelve and Erling Skjalgsson and other countrymen returned home because they did not wish to loose the rights to their properties.

Later, Olaf Haraldsson the Giant traveled northwards to Trondheim, and everywhere people supported him. He was acclaimed King of the whole country and remained in Trondheim during the winter, reconstructing the royal residence and building the Saint Clement Church, which is still standing. He also let rebuild and improve the town of Trondheim, which had burnt. King Olaf Haraldsson the Giant then proclaimed that the whole country should convert to Christianity and be baptized, and amended the laws, a work which had been undertaken by Håkon Athelstan, and incorporated the Christian principles in accordance with the advice and agreement of bishop Grimkjell. He ordered everyone to conform with his commandment, high and low, rich and poor, and those who refused risked both their lives and their property.

371 The flat fertile region along the coast south of Stavanger

372 Long valley leading from Lillehammer to Dombås. It was the main route for people traveling over land from Trondheim to Oslo

373 Region east of Lake Mjøsa

When King Rørek and other chieftains heard how severely Olav introduced Christendom in the entire realm, they rallied against him yet again. Olaf Haraldsson the Giant set out for them and surprised them at Ringsaker, and they were all captured. The King had Rørik's eyes stung out and cut the tongue off Gudrød, the King of Gudbrandsdal. The others were free to leave the country and never return. Ever since, King Rørek accompanied King Olaf everywhere, because he was his kin.

It happened that on the Day of the Ascension—when the two kings were in church—that Rørek stood next to King Olaf Haraldsson. Suddenly Rørek struck at the King with a knife, but the King hit him back and was not hurt. King Olaf stood up, Rørek struck again, but missed, and said: “Are you fleeing for a blind man?” He was then arrested and sent to Iceland, where he died and was buried. Rørek is the only Norwegian king to be buried in Iceland.

King Olaf of Sweden complained that Olaf (Haraldsson) had taken Norway, to which he lay claim, by force. From then on there was a conflict between Sweden and Norway, and both kings tried to damage as much as they could of the other's realm. The peasants on both sides complained about the great destruction caused by the strife and demanded that the kings make peace and make amends, because they could not do the one without the other. A peace agreement was then negotiated with such conditions that King Olaf Haraldsson was given Astrid, the Swedish King's sister, as queen. And from then on King Olaf Haraldsson and Olaf of Sweden became allies, and there was peace between the two countries. Thereafter King Olaf traveled throughout his kingdom in order to instruct (the people) how to practice the Christian faith, and punished severely those who would not conform with his commandment, so that many fled the country as they could no longer act according to their own will. There was much unrest in the country and many able men fled to King Canute the Great in England, complaining that no one was free in Norway because of King Olaf Haraldsson, swearing that they would

rather serve Canute, the Danish King, as they had done earlier, so as to be able to live according to their own wishes. King Canute thereupon sent word to Olav, ordering him to come to England and receive Norway as an enfeoffment, demanding that he pay the same taxes as the earls used to pay. Canute maintained that Norway rightly belonged to him as he had inherited it from his father, Sven Forkbeard.

King Olaf answered the emissaries that King Gorm the Old had been supreme sovereign over Denmark only, and that the subsequent kings, namely Harald Gormsson and Sven Haraldsson Forkbeard had—for some years and with violent means—unrightly acquired the whole of Norway and seized it from his forebears. “I will therefore defend the country of my ancestors with sword and shield and lance as long as I live, and shall never pay King Canute or any other ruler taxes thereof.” The ambassadors then returned to King Canute and told him the outcome of their mission. Canute the Great was angry with the response, and said that King Olaf Haraldsson should understand that he was going to have to pay heed to as many directions as there were ribs in his body before long.

After the above-mentioned negotiations, rumors from England reached Olaf that Canute was gathering a great army and wished to go to Denmark in the spring. King Olaf immediately sent a courier to Sweden, to King Amund, and informed him that King Canute the Great intended to force Norway under his rule, and if that ever happened, he would not be content with only Norway, but would turn on Sweden as well. It was therefore desirable that they rally together against Canute, which they did. The next summer Canute returned to England and set his son Hardicanute³⁷⁴ to govern Denmark in his absence, assisted by earl Ulf, his sister’s son (Ulf’s father was Thorkil Sprakelegg), who was set to guard the country against danger from abroad.

374 Canute the Hard Ruler.

When King Canute had returned to England, a disagreement erupted between Olav Haraldsson and the four brothers Torberg, Find, Kalf Arnason of Egge, and Arne Arnason. They were the bravest men in the country, next to Erling Skjalgsson of Sola, at that time.

It so happened that King Olaf Haraldsson had banned Torberg Arnason from the country and made him an outlaw because he had kept Stein Skaftesson in his service against the King's orders. Stein had been then outlawed. The brothers gathered and traveled to Trondheim to confer with their people at Agdenes. Finn and Arne first went to the King and offered to pay requital for Torberg Arnason and Stein Skaftesson, that they should keep head and limbs, but letting the King himself decide the size of the settlement. The King answered angrily: "It seems to me that you have come with much assistance and that you will try to decide yourselves what I shall do. I had not expected this from you brothers; I believe that Erling Skjalgsson of Sola must have been the cause of this commotion." Finn Arnason then answered: "If you will not accept our offer for peace, then we will all go to King Canute the Great, and bring all the men that we command." The King looked at him and said: "You brothers should swear me faithful loyalty, and not leave before I grant your leave, and you should not keep hidden from me any conspiracy or treachery against my head or kingdom." Then Torberg, Finn and Arne stepped forward and swore the oath—except Erling Skjalgsson and Kalf Arnason who refused—and they all returned to their respective homes, except Kalf who remained with the King as one of his main advisors.

Some time thereafter, King Olaf Haraldsson issued a concription for the entire realm, with all the authority in his possession. Tore Hund of Bjarkøy also prepared for warfare according to the orders. However, when the tide was right, he set his sails and left for England and King Canute, and brought Canute news about Olaf Haraldsson. Olaf meanwhile traveled throughout the kingdom, gathering men. When he came to Sola

at Jæren, Erling Skjalgsson had already left for England with five ships, and all the local chieftains were with him, except those who had fled there earlier. However, Einar tambarskelve had remained at home, looking after his own property, as he had no fief under the King. Then the King proceeded to Zealand, and King Amund of Sweden went to Scandia, everywhere pilfering and burning those who would not support them.

Hardicanute and earl Ulf, the son of Thorkil Sprakalegg (Quickfoot), had then fled to Jutland and gathered people there to defend the country against the Norwegians.

Hardicanute had let himself be acclaimed King in his own name against his father's will, assisted by earl Ulf and Queen Emma. King Canute the Great had heard the news that King Olaf Haraldsson had gathered an army and was on his way to Denmark. He immediately started preparing his ships and put earl Håkon as governor in his absence, left England and arrived safely to Limfjord, where Hardicanute and earl Ulf had gathered a great army of the peasantry. The people were discouraged, assuming that King Canute the Great would avenge that which had taken place. Eventually, on accounts of the queen's earnest insistence they were reconciled. And they prepared for war and followed King Canute to Øresund.

When Olaf Haraldsson and Amund Olafsson learned that Canute the Great had come from England with an invincible army, they sailed eastwards along Scandia to the river Helge. They heard that Canute had set out after them. They remained on the river for some days. Then King Olaf Haraldsson selected a large contingent of men and went through the woods to the lake from whence the river took its water, and let cut large tree trunks with which he filled the river's outlet. He then filled the barrier with stones, earth and gravel, so that the water flooded the ground, and let his men dig smaller canals in the water. When King Canute the Great heard of this activity, he headed there with his whole army. When King Amund Olafsson saw Canute and his powerful army, he left the harbor and sailed eastwards along the coast and prepared the ships that he wanted to use

in the battle and sent word to King Olaf Haraldsson that Canute had arrived. Olaf then broke the dam. Meanwhile King Canute the Great had entered the harbor with as many ships as he could find place for; however, the majority were anchored outside (the harbor), as he did not want to engage in battle in the evening. At dawn, many of his folks had gone ashore to have a look around. Suddenly a rush of water—a huge waterfall—came towards them carrying away all the people who had gathered and some of the ships, except those that they managed to cut loose. The ship carrying King Canute was swept with the current towards the Norwegian and Swedish ships. When they recognized the King's ship, they gathered around it with their own boats and a fierce battle ensued. Soon earl Ulf Sprakaleggsson arrived with his ship and men. Realizing that they had no chance against Canute's powerful army, King Olaf Haraldsson sent his ships to Kalmar with all the equipment that he could not carry himself. He then set out through Småland to Western Götaland and along the coast to Viken, to the place called Sarpsborg, and set up his winter quarters there. He granted leave to all his chieftains, except Torberg, Finn and Arne Arnasons: these men he kept with him in great honor. When King Canute the Great discovered that Olaf Haraldsson had returned over land through Sweden to Norway, he gave Erling Skjalgsson permission to return to Norway, and gave him as much gold and silver as he needed to recruit new people. Olaf Haraldsson remained in Sarpsborg till past Christmas. Then he was informed that Tore Olafsson had accepted money from King Canute. The King sought him out and had him killed. For this incident he became extremely unpopular with Tore's kinsmen, because he had been Kalf Arnasson's stepson, and Tore Hund of Bjarkøy was his uncle on the mother's side. The killing caused a popular revolt throughout the country, and King Olaf Haraldsson concluded that he could not count on the loyalty of the inhabitants.

King Canute the Great set sail for Norway with a large fleet that same year and conquered the communities along the coast and did not stop until he came to

Trondheim, where he was acclaimed King of all Norway. He put earl Håkon, his sister's son, to rule over the country in his absence. He gave the governorship of Denmark to his own son, Hardicanute, and when earl Håkon was in charge, he appointed Einar tambarskelve his lieutenant and next in command.

As King Canute the Great had sailed north to Trondheim, those (of Olaf's men) who had been sent east to Kalmar in order to get (new) ships, arrived in Oslo, and remained there until Canute had returned to Denmark. Canute had managed to conquer the whole of Norway without battle.

When King Olaf Haraldsson learnt that Canute the Great had left, he gathered as many men as he could, and sailed along the coast northwards. As he passed Jæren, he challenged Erling Skjalgsson with many ships. When Erling recognized the King's ship, he set sails and came out in his own fishingboat. He reached Olaf by the island of Bokn and a fierce battle broke out and many men fell on either side. Because Erling Skjalgsson only had one ship and the King had many, all the men on board were slain except Erling Skjalgsson himself. He defended himself so courageously that people said they had never seen anyone stand tall for such a long time, wanting neither to flee nor to beg for peace.

The Olaf Haraldsson spoke: "Do you want to make peace, Erling?" He replied: "Yes, let us make peace," and lay down his sword and shield. The King then slit him on the cheek with the tip of his axe and said: "I will mark you, God's traitor." In the same instant, Aslak Fitjaskalle leaped forward and charged at Erling's head with his axe so that he fell dead to the ground. Then King Olaf Haraldsson spoke: "You charged like a poor fool, now you cut Norway off my hands!" But Aslak answered: "I do believe, my lord, that I have given you your kingdom and not taken it from you." The fleet sailed up and saw Erling dead on the ground, and his men later took the corpse and buried it at Sola as was appropriate.

Soon afterwards, King Olaf Haraldsson sailed northwards along the coast past Stad. There he heard that earl Håkon and Einar tambarskelve were heading south with a great army. Olaf hid in a fjord called Tjodane³⁷⁵ at Sundmøre—with him were his queen Astrid, his daughter Ulvhild, and his son Magnus, who later became King of both Norway and Denmark—and he traveled from there over the mountains and reached Einebu at Dombås. From there he continued through Gudbrandsdal to Hedemarken, then to Wärmland and further to Närke by the sea where he remained until spring when he departed for Russia and King Jarislav, who had married the queen's sister Ingeborg.³⁷⁶ He settled there, but always yearned for his own kingdom. Kalf Arnasson and Bjørn Stallare³⁷⁷ were granted a leave and returned to Norway. Torberg Arnason, however, and his two brothers remained with the King in Russia until he was ready to return. Kalf Arnason, on the other hand, pledged allegiance to Earl Håkon and ruled as his lieutenant in Norway. Bjørn Stallare returned to his home and remained there quiet, as he held no fief.

The same summer, earl Håkon went to England in order to fetch his fiancé. He was delayed, and set out for Norway in the fall. There (at sea) he [went down] with all his men and everything he carried, and no one ever heard from him again.

When Bjørn Stallare heard that earl Håkon had disappeared, he got ready and left Norway hastily for Russia to notify King Olaf Haraldsson of what had become of earl Håkon, explaining that the country was now without a ruler, claiming that it would be an easy task to bring it under his control. The King then prepared his ships and traveled to Götaland, to King Amund of Sweden, his brother-in-law, who lent him many men.

375 Or maybe Tafjord

376 Ingigerd

377 Bjørn Stallare i.e. "stabularius" or the king's most trusted man.

Harald Sigurdsson, his half-brother, also wanted to support him with all the means he could gather; he was then only fifteen years old. In addition he obtained the assistance of Dag Ringsson, who was also of Norwegian royal stock. He pledged 1200 armed men. Olaf Haraldsson had himself recruited 1200 men in Sweden. Two valiant warriors also joined his ranks, Gauka-Tore and Avrafaste, commanding 30 other fearless soldiers who had often fought in battles. With these men, Olaf went through Jämtland and west of Kjølen³⁷⁸ to Stav.³⁷⁹ There he informed himself about his enemies. He also inspected (counted) his troops: he commanded an army of three thousand, the best equipped men that had ever been in that country. King Olaf Haraldsson then ordered that the royal standard should fly in the middle of his own group, and Dag Ringsson's standard should fly to the right. To the left he ordered the Swedish combattants under the third banner, because the people from each country knew their own best. The battle cry would be: "Charge, Christ's men! Charge, men of the Cross! The King's men!" Then they rapidly advanced to Stiklestad, and met a large gathering of peasants. Then Olaf Haraldsson spoke: "Even though the peasants outnumber us, we will prevail because God helps those who are just." Tord Folessen carried the King's standard; the King had a golden helmet and a white shield with a golden cross. In his hand he held an axe and in his belt carried a sharp sword called Neite with a red and gold handgrip. The King wore a coat of mail.

We will now take a look at the opposing army. Following earl Håkon's disappearance at sea and the subsequent lack of a ruler in Norway, as has been mentioned above, the remaining chieftains had sent out scouts in order to gather information about Olaf's intentions, whether or not he wanted to return to the country.

378 Chain of mountains along the modern borders between Sweden and Norway

379 A farm that lay waste.

The scouts learnt that King Olaf Haraldsson had come to Sweden, and the chieftains held þings in all the districts and gathered a large army with men from the whole country. Erling Skjalgsson's sons from Sola and all their men went southwards along the coast, believing that King Olaf would enter the country from the south. Aslak of Findøy and Erling of Gjerde went north with all the men that they could summon on their way. These two had promised King Canute the Great that they would try to kill King Olaf if they ever got a chance to do so. When the chieftains heard that King Olaf Haraldsson indeed intended to cross Kjølen from Jämtland, they gathered an immense army of noblemen and peasants at Trondheim. There were more than ten thousand men from both the northern and the southern parts. They decided that Kalf Arnason of Egge, Tore Hund of Bjarkøy, and Hårek of Tjøtta each should command one division of the popular army. And each fought under a standard and commanded people from the north. A fourth standard gathered men from Ryfylke, Hordaland, Sogn (including the fjord). The four divisions converged on Stiklestad. And when King Olaf Haraldsson and Kalf Arnason were close enough to recognize each other, the King said to Kalf: "I never imagined, Kalf, that we would meet in this way, as we were friends when we parted in Sunnmøre, and three of your brothers are here with me. It therefore seems inappropriate that you should turn the shield of spite against me." Kalf answered: "Lord, I had to make peace with the man (who ruled the country) if I were to live in the country, and therefore we must both do as best as we can in our respective positions. I would, however, have preferred to have seen a peace settlement between us." Then Finn Arnason spoke: "Whenever my brother Kalf seems to have good intentions, he conspires treacherously." In the same instant there were shouts on either side. The King's men cried: "Charge, Christ's men! Charge, men of the Cross! The King's men!" The other side responded: "Charge, peasants and archers!" And they pushed ferociously forward, and many men fell on both sides. In this first engagement the King's men killed Arnljot

Gelline, Tore Gauke and Avrafaste with their divisions, despite the fact that they had each slain two or three men or more each. When the King saw that people were killed so easily, he ordered Tord Folessen to charge forward with the standard, and followed himself so valiantly that the peasants fearfully withdrew. He struck Torger of Kvistad so hard across the face that his helmet cracked between the eyes, and he fell dead to the ground. The King then said: "I knew that you would succeed in your betrayal." In the same instant, Tord Foleson received a fatal blow and planted the standard in the ground and fell beneath it. Then many of the King's good men fell. Torfinn Mund and Gissur Gullbrå also had withstood the enemy so courageously that each had slain three or four. At that moment, Dag Ringsson arrived with his standard and advanced so boldly that the peasants withdrew. Kalf Arnason and Tore Hund, too, stepped forward bravely and confronted the King, who struck at Tore, but the sword would not bite. In like manner, Tore struck at the King, and they exchanged blows, and Tore Hund was wounded in the hand. The King then turned to Bjørn Stallare and said: "Kill the dog that no sword can bite!" Bjørn then stuck Tore Hund so hard with his axe that he almost fell. At the same moment, Kalf Arnason transpierced Bjørn Stallare so that he fell dead to the ground, and said: "This is how we kill bears." Torstein Knarresmed struck the King and wounded him badly in the left leg above the knee. Immediately Finn Arnason killed Torstein. The King leaned against a big boulder and threw away his sword, raised his hands and prayed to God. At that point, Tore Hund on the one side pierced the King with his lance, up under his coat of mail, and Kalf Arnason struck the King in the neck to the left. These three wounds caused the King's demise. When the King had fallen, most of his army fell, too, except Dag Ringsson, who continued to fight valiantly, and charged so boldly that the peasants withdrew from his path. Kalf Arnason, Tore Hund and Hårek of Tjøtta came to the peasants' rescue; they were strong and soon held the upper hand, and Dag Ringsson was forced to flee. Seeing this, all those who were able to took to their

feet. However, many were badly wounded, some had no strength to flee, and those who dominated the battle had no force to pursue the enemy.

King Olaf Haraldsson died at Stiklestad on Wednesday the fourth of August, between twelve and one o'clock, when he had ruled Norway for fifteen years. [Obit: 4 Kalendas Augusti feria 4: millesimo: 28: anno a[b] incarnation].³⁸⁰

King Olaf Haraldsson, called the Giant, had resided mainly in Trondheim during the peaceful period of his reign, and he had restaured the royal residence and build a beautiful reception hall with doors in either end and the royal throne in the middle. On the one side sat bishop Grimkjell, and beyond him all the learned men. On the other side sat the King's council. Right in front of the King was his most trusted man, Bjørn Stallare; and beyond this man all the great men who came to visit and whom the King always received graciously. When he wanted to be entertained, the King usually sat by the fireplace. He always had fifteen courtiers and thirty other sworn servants whom he had trained, and thirty other men who were charged with the administration of the court, as well as various workers and laborers, whose number varied according to the needs of the court.

The King usually rose early in the morning, and, after the required ablutions, hastened to the church for the matin song. He then chaired his council of trusted men, determining what was best for the kingdom. He had the law—the one that Håkon Athalstan let record in Trondheim in the old days—read aloud, and, in cooperation with the wisest men in the realm, he removed or appointed (men to important positions) according to what was best for the country. In the same way, he established and recorded the laws concerning the Christian principles, assisted by bishop Grimkjell and other learned men, and always strove to introduce the true faith and convert the people from heathendom.

380 "He died on August 4, 1028 years after the (the Lord's) incarnation."

King Olaf Haraldsson was a virtuous and disciplined man, perfectly composed, gentle and mildly spoken. He was, however, a man who punished harshly those who defied his commandsments. He also sent learned men to Iceland, the Orkney Islands, the Faeroe Islands, and the Shetland Islands to preach the true faith, and it was his wish and intention to eradicate paganism in the entire realm. And I will stop here, and not describe his burial or the miracles that people later have written about.

On Olav Haraldsson in Halvard Gunnarsson: *Chronicon regum Norwegiae*

The text has been extracted from Inger Ekrem (Ed.) (1992) *Halvard Gunnarsson, Norges kongekrønike*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 150-160.

Halvard Gunnarsson's (1545-1608) history of the Norwegian kings is certainly representative of the Latin aspirations of the Oslo humanists, who, contrary to the earlier humanists in Bergen, all but abandoned the vernacular and put their entire efforts into the acquisition and mastering of the superior Latin expression. Its formal poetic articulation makes it very different from both the 12th-century Latin chronicles and the various Old Norse writers, and especially from Snorri's colloquial saga style in which the dialogue between the different main characters dominates and carries much of the narrative. However, the verse epic experienced a certain popularity in Europe, too. Ronsard (1524-1585) had undertaken *La Franciade* in 1572, an epic history of the French nation in decasyllables, essentially an imitation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Brunel 1972). Ronsard dreamed of creating a national epic in the spirit of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* of 1516, which had earned a considerable reputation during the 16th century. The project was, however, never completed (*Britannica* 2000, Bellenger 1981).

The present text can by no account be termed a translation in the conventional sense of the term, as it probably does not derive from one source alone, but it illustrates the medieval and also Renaissance practice of combining translation, imitation and summary. The use of Latin verse makes it hard to identify any exact prose source material; however, we know that Mattis Størssøn (d.c. 1569) had composed his vernacular history of the Norwegian kings—*Den norske kronike*—around 1560 (it had been published by in 1594). The German historian Albert Krantz (Crantius) (d.1517) had written *Rervm Germanicarum historici clariss. I. Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniae,*

Sueciae, Noruagiae, chronica: Quibus gentium origo vetustissima, & Ostrogothorum.

The date of first edition is uncertain, but the history was reprinted in 1571, and may hence have been known to Gunnarssøn. Krantz had been amongst Absalon Beyer's sources, too. In addition, Gunnarssøn could have found some appropriate material in Christiern Pedersen's Danish Saxo translation from the beginning of the 16th century, and in the work of the Swedish Olaus Magnus (1490-1558), who had written and published a Latin history of the Northern people—*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*—in 1555 (a huge work consisting of no less than 24 books).

We presume therefore that the immediate sources to this Latin chronicle may have been many, including medieval Latin chronicles and contemporaneous vernacular translations of saga material, and perhaps—if Gunnarssøn was familiar with the Old Norse Language—some of the Old Norse material itself.

S. OLAVS

HARALDI GRONSCÆI filius,

Cognomento CRASSUS

X. Rex Norwegiæ

Regibus expulsis regnum sortitur *OLAVS*,

Qui cultor veræ religionis erat.

Nidrosiæ magnis extruxit sumptibus ædem,

Quam Clementinam secula nostra vocant.

Ignibus eversam violentis funditus urbem

Restaurat, sedem figit ibique suam.

Quo mandante sacris populus conversus in undis

Tingitur, et nomen dat tibi, Christe, suum.

Omnibus exitium mortemque minatur acerbam,
Qui sua detractant jussa verenda sequi.
Regulus id patulis *Roricus*³⁸¹ vt auribus hausit,
*Hedmarchos*³⁸² certa sub ditione tenens
Conspirat contra tecum, *Gudrode*,³⁸³ Monarcham
Cumque alijs, ipsum qui superesse dolent.
Quid fit ? securis nihil et metuentibus illis
Rex venit armata se comitante manu,
Et conjuratos vinc[u]lis constringit, inundat
Hic ubi *Ringsagrios*³⁸⁴ *Mosa*³⁸⁵ profundis agros.
*Gudrodum*³⁸⁶ lingua, *Roricum* lumine privat,³⁸⁷
Sic ambo pœnas quas meruere luunt.
Sed natale solum reliquos mutare coëgit
Inque peregrinis quærere tecta locis.
Roricus semper sequitur comes inde Monarcham
Illi conjunctus Sanguine namque fuit.
Sed quia cultello tentat dare vulnera Regi
Astanti sacris, vincula dura tulit.

381 Rørekr

382 People around Lake Mjøsa in eastern Norway

383 Gudrød, the king of Gudbrandsdal

384 People of the region of Ringsaker

385 Lake Mjøsa

386 Guðröð

387 Rørek's eyes were pierced

Islandisque ideo servandus mittitur idem,
Nunc ubi defuncti corpori ossa cubant.

Post hæc exoritur bellum, quod movit *Olaus*

Fonscho, qui tenuit Suetica sceptrā potens.

Nunc Sueones nostris sævi grassantur in oris,
Ruricolās opibus dispoliantque suis.

Nunc Suetico nostri grassantur in orbe vicissim,
Et dant in varijs maxima damna locis.

Pax tandem facta est, Soror et *Fonschonis Olao*
Legitimo sacri fœdere juncta thori.

Vtractens gens læto testatur gaudia plausu,
Et dat lætitiæ plurima signa novæ.

Postquam districtos Bellona recondidit enses,
Sævaque finito prælia Marte silent,

Totius lustrat regni loca scire laborans,

An colerent vera relligione DEVM.

Quos fecisse suis audit contraria jussis,

Dant illo pœnas præcipiente graves.

Propterea patrios procerum pars magna penates

Mutant, *Cnutonem*³⁸⁸ navigioque petunt.

Illic se patrijs queritantur sedibus actos

Et non per Regem pace licere frui,

388 Canute the Great

Malleque se dicunt omnes parere *Canuto*,
Pro libitu vt faciant fanda nefanda suo.
His motus magnus contraxit militis agmen
Norvagam cupiens subdere Marte sibi.
Audijt vt CRASSUS (fama referente) CANUTUM
Colligere armatos agmina densa viros,
Auxilium implorat Suecorum Regis *Anundi*,
Qui *Fonschone* satus de genitore fuit.
Inde petunt Danos instructis classibus ambo,
Pagos devastant et populantur agros.
Scanica Rex Sueonum, Selandica vastas *Olaus*
Prædia, vulcano tecta furente ruunt.
Interea veniens ingenti classe *Canutus*,
Suppetias Danis auxiliumque tulit.
Est statio profugis aptissima navibus, amnis
Qua subit æquoreas *Helga* sonorus aquas.
Hic aliquot nostri nocteque diesque morantur,
Venturos hostes undique fama refert.
Milite mox sylvam transit comitatus *Olaus*
Invenitque, amnis profluat unde, lacum.
Ostia congestis lignis et cespite multo
Obstruit, et cursum continare vetat.
Inque lacum fodiens rivos deduxit, et amnis
Sic subito ductis accumulavit aquis,
Exundansque suo late omnia gurgite complet,
Prata natant, valles herbiferæque natant.

Appulit hic actis instructa classe *Canutus*,
Victor ut hostiles occupet arte rates.
Protinus e portu Sueonum Rex solvit *Anundus*
Exhortans socios in fera bella suos.
Sed sævo Danus concurrere noluit hosti,
Sol erat hesperias nam subiturus aquas.
Demissis igitur subit ostia remige velis,
Et sistit volucres anchora jacta rates.
Forte manus Danaum naves egressa sub ortu
Auroræ pedibus littora grata premit.
Mittitur extemplo Regi, qui nuntiat hostes
Advenisse rates et religasse suas.
Mox dedit aggeribus ruptis erumpere flumen
Crassus, vt hostilem perderet arte manum.
Hocce ruit magno sonitu magnoque fragore,
Et secum spumans obvia quæque rapit.
Hostes ad ripam spaciantes obruit omnes,
Atque sub horrisonas vortice torquet aquas.
Brachia nequicquam feriunt luctantia fluctus;
Profuit hic illis fortibus esse nihil.
Namque mari sese cumulatis fluctibus infert,
Cum fremitu volvens corpora, ligna, trabes.
Flumine mox poto multæ (miserabile visu)
Merguntur naves intereuntque viri.
Sed pars districto feriunt retinacula ferro,
Præcisis vitæ consulere suæ.

Anno Norvagian petit inde *Canutus* eodem
Navibus, et regni sceptrum gerenda capit,
Quæ dedit *Hacquino Iarlo*³⁸⁹ (fuit ille sororis
Filius) in patriam vela daturus humum.
Hic postquam rerum moderamina cepit, *Olaum*
Expulit, expulsus quo veniente fuit.
Ergo Ruthenorum fugiens petit ille Monarcham³⁹⁰
*Iarlenum*³⁹¹ tota concomitante domo.
Proxima cum campos ornaret floribus æstas,
Et decorata suis frugibus arva forent,
*Iarolus*³⁹² occiduos vento petit ipse Britannos,
Advehat ut sponsam navibus inde suam.
Quid fit ? cum sociis perit ille furente profundo,
Cum daret ad patrios lintea versa Lares.
Hoc ubi *Biornoni* perlatum venit ad aures
Stallero, regis qui *Mareschalus*³⁹³ erat,
Accessit Russos vectus properante Caballo,
Insanis mersum fluctibus esse refert.
Rex igitur cupiens solio sceptrisque potiri,
Patria conscripto milite rura petit

389 Earl Hákon

390 The monarch of the Russians

391 The earl

392 Jarislav

393 Bjørn Stallare i.e. "stabularius" or the king's most trusted man.

Vt *Stavum*³⁹⁴ ducens tria millia venit *Olaus*,
 Digerit armatos ordine rite viros.
 Mox *Sticlestadium*³⁹⁵ properans tendebat et hoste
 Conspecto fecit talia verba suis:
 Nos quamvis superent numeroque et viribus hostes,
 Nostra tamen nullo corda pavore tremant.
 Quisquis recta facit cultor pietatis et æqui,
 Huic fert suppetias auxiliumque DEVS.
 Non semper vincit, numero qui vincere fertur,
 Victorem pietas justaque causa facit.
 Nunc Christique crucisque viri, Regisque viri nunc
 Procedant. Ipsis Symbolon illud erat.
 Dixit; et intrepidus densos prorumpit in hostes,
 Quos decies numero mille fuisse ferut.
 Concurrunt acies, multi cæduntur utrinque,
 Terraque fumanti sparsa cruore rubet.
 Tunc satus antiquo *Tostanus*³⁹⁶ stemmate Sancti
 Fatifero Regis vulnerat ense genu.
 Sanguinis erumpit torrens, gladiumque cruentum
 Abijcit (hic *Neither*³⁹⁷ nomine dictus erat)
 Saxoque incumbens palmas ad sydera tendit,

394 Large farmstead in Verdal

395 Stiklestad, the place where the battle was fought

396 Þorsteinn Knarrasmiðr (Torstein Knarresmed)

397 The king's sword

Commendans summo se precibusque Deo.
*Hundus*³⁹⁸ in orantis condebat viscera ferrum,
Sed gladio sævus guttura *Calvo*³⁹⁹ ferit
Mox heros animam per vulnera reddidit, annos
Quindenos regni cum tenuisset opes.
Tunc a Virgineo partu quadriennia septem
Implerant cursum denaque secla suum.
Si tanti Herois monumentum forte requiris,
Condita Nidrosiæ corporis ossa cubant.
Exitus hic tanti fuerat finisque Monarchæ,
Vix unquam major quo pietate fuit.
Pacis amans placida populos in pace regebat,
Dum licuit, melius qua nihil orbis habet.
Impavidus subijt dubij discrimina Martis,
Pro patria quoties bella gerenda forent.
Testis erit rigido ditissima Suecia ferro,
Et bobus dives Dania testis erit.
Regis Adelrodi tres annos vixit in aula
Inter Magnificos primus honore viros.
Sæva sub illius miscentem prælia signis
Vidit frugiferis Anglia dives agris,
Consilijisque utens prudentum condidit æquas
Leges, subjectis justaque jura dedit.

398 Tore Hund (Þorir hundr).

399 Kalfr of Eggjar ("Calf") had once been the king's friend.

Multa recognoscens addebat legibus atque
Dempsit, *Adelsteno* quas bonus ante tulit.
Quæ sunt in mangno pretio semperque manebunt,
Donec justitiæ nobile nomen erit.
Parva loquor: veræ flagrans pietatis amore
Hostibus hic Christi maximus hostis erat,
Multaque consilijs *Grimchili*⁴⁰⁰ præsulis usus
Sanctijt in laudes, optime Christe, tuas.
Hic jus Christiadum⁴⁰¹ statuit, gentemque rebellem
Cogit salvificis tingere corpus aquis.
Insuper Islandis alijs et gentibus illo
Auspice sunt verbi dogmata sparsa Dei.
Singula quid referant ? Cultus abolere profanos
Divorum Regi maxima cura fuit.
Salve Dive Heros, regum celeberrime salve,
Sceptra sub arctoo qui tenuere polo.
Sydera dum volvitur cælum, tua gloria vivet,
Semper erit nomen, fama, decusque tuum.

400 Bishop Grimkjell (d.1049).

401 "Of Christendum."

B. Chivalric and Romance Literature

Marie de France: Prologue to *Les lais*

The French source text

Marie de France's French text has been extracted from Jean Rychner (1971) *Les lais de Marie de France*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.

Marie of France was the earliest known women writer and translator in England. She was a noble woman at the Court of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), an educated woman interested in the arts. Marie de France wrote in the vernacular Norman French then commonly used in England amongst the upper classes. England was at that time a country of many tongues, and Marie seems to have known several of them. French was her mother tongue, but she also seems to have mastered English and Latin, as well as the Celtic language of the original *Lais*. Marie de France wrote most of her work between 1160 and 1190, and was a contemporary of Chrétien de Troyes. There are many theories as to who she really was. Some claim that she may have been the illegitimate daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and that she had been educated in the convent of Poissy; however, this is far from certain. She not only translated and recreated the *matière de Bretagne* for which she has become so famous. In addition to her *Lais*, Marie composed *Isopet*, Æsop's *Fables*, from Latin in the 1180s, and translated the *Purgatoire de Saint Patrick* from Latin into French.

The *Lais*, originally Breton poems performed to stringed music by Breton *jongleurs*, were probably written sometime before 1170, and address the question of love, honor and marriage. Marie was inspired by the Latin poetry of Ovid, to whom she refers in *The Lai of Guigamar*. The *fin'amor*—the beautiful but fruitless devotion between lovers,

physical or platonic, so cherished by the troubadours—was true love in a sense that could not be found in matrimony. This perception of love comes to the fore in the *Lais*, especially in *Laüstic*, which describes the married state as a source of grief and loneliness. In contrast to Chrétien de Troyes, however, Marie seldom sermoned her audience, despite the fact that many of the *Lais* end rather tragically. Adulterous love is at the core of almost all the *Lais*, in which realism is mixed with the fantastic and supernatural, and sometimes humor and ridicule.

Prologue (p. 1-3)

Ki Deus ad duné escïence
E de parler bone eloquence
Ne s'en deit taisir ne celer,
Ainz se deit voluntiers mustrer.
Quant uns granz biens est mult oïz,
Dunc ad primes est il fluriz,
E quant loëz est de plusurs,
Dunc ad expandues ses flurs.
Custume fu as anciëns
Ceo testimoine Precïens,
Es livres ke jadis feseient,
Assez oscurement diseient
Pur ceus ki a venir esteient
E ki aprendre les deveient,
K'i peüssent gloser la lettre
E de lur sen le surplus mettre.

Li philosophe le saveient,
Par eus meïsmes entendeient,
Cum plus trespasereit li tens,
Plus serreient sutil de sens
E plus se savreient garder
De ceo k'i ert a trespasser.
Ki de vice se voelt defendre
Estudier deit e entendre
A grevose ovre comencier :
Par ceo s'en puet plus esloigner
E de grant dolur delivrer.
Pur ceo començai a penser
D'aukune bone estoire faire
E de latin en romaunz traire;
Mais de me fust guaires de pris :
Itant s'en sunt altre entremis!
Des lais pensai, k'oïz aveie.
Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie,
Ke pur remembrance les firent
Des aventures k'il oïrent
Cil ki primes les comencierent
E ki avant les enveierent.
Plusurs en ai oï conter,
Nes voil laisser ne oblier.
Rimé en ai e fait ditié,
Soventes fiez en ai veillé!

En l'honor de vus, nobles reis,
Ki tant estes prus e curteis,
A ki tute joie s'encline
E en ki quoer tuz biens racine,
M'entremis des lais assembler,
Par rime faire e raconter.
En mun quoer pensoe e diseie,
Sire, kes vos presentereie,
Si vos les plaist a receveir,
Mult me ferez grant joie avoir,
A tuz jurs mais en serrai liee.
Ne me tenez a surquidiee
Si vos os faire icest present.
Ore oëz le commencement!

Old Norse Text

Taken from Robert Cook & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: An old Norse Translation of Twenty-One Old French Lais*. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskript-Institutt.

As is so often the case with the Old Norse translations of European literature, the translator is not known, but must have been someone connected with the royal Norwegian court in Bergen, with a fairly good knowledge of the Anglo-Norman court and the literary activity there, as well as with the literary activity in France. The first part of the introduction is not a translation of Marie's Prologue, but a commentary by the translator. The surviving manuscript is dated to the 1270s, probably a copy of an earlier version from the 1250s. The stories of Celtic origin presumably existed as an

already established collection by the time they reached Norway. The original Old Norse title for the *Lais* was Songbook (Lioðabók). Later the collection was known as *Strengleikar* (stringed songs), suggesting that also the Old Norse version, at least in the beginning, may have been accompanied by music.

Forræða (p. 4-8)

At hæve þeirra er i fyrnskunni varo likaðe oss sat forvitna ok rannzaka þui at þeir varo listugir i velom sinom glægsynir i skynsemdom. hygnir i raðagærðom vaskir i vapnom hœverskir i hirðsiðum millder i giofum ok at allzkonar drængscap. hinir frægiazto. ok fyrir þui at i fyrnskunni gerðusz marger undarleger lutir ok ohæyrðir atburðir a varom dogum. Þa syndisc oss at fræða verande ok viðrkomande þeim sogum er margfroðer menn gærðo um athæve þeirra sem i fyrnskunni varo ok a bokom leto rita. til ævenlægrar aminningar til skæmtanar. ok margfræðes viðr komande þioða at huerr bæte ok birte sitt lif. af kunnasto liðenna luta. Oc at æigi læynizsk þat at hinum siðarstom dogum er gærðozk i andværðom. Sua ok at huerr ihugi með allre kunnasto ok koste með ollu afle freme ok fullgere með ollum fongum at bua ok bæta sialvan sec til rikis guðs með somasamlegum siðum ok goðom athævom ok hælgom lifsænda. Þui at daðer ok drængskaper ok allzkonar goðlæikr er skryddi ok pryddi lif þeirra er guði likaðo. ok þeirra er i þæssa hæims atgærðom frægðost ok vinsælldoxt i fyrnskonne huerfr þess giorsamlegre sem hæims þæssa dagar mæirr fram liða.

En bok þessor er hinn virðulege Hacon konongr ler norrœna or volsko male ma hæita *lioda bok*. Þui at af þeim sogum er þæssir bok birti gærðo skolld i syðra Brætlande er liggr i Frannz lioðasonga. Þa er gærazc i horpum gigiom. Simphanom. Organom. Timpanom. Sallterium. ok corom. ok allzkonar oðrum strænglæikum er menn gera ser ok oðrum til skemtanar þæssa lifs ok lykr her forræðo þæssare. ok þesso nest er upphaf sanganna.

Ollum⁴⁰² þeim er guð hævir let vizsku ok kunnasto ok snilld at birta þa samer æigi at fela ne læynda lan guðs i ser. hælldr fellr þeim at syna oðrom með goð vilia þat sem guði likaðe þeim at lia. Þa bera þeir sem hinn villdaste viðr lauf ok blóm. ok sem goðlæikr þeirra frægizst i annars umbotum þa fullgærezst allden þeirra ok nærer aðra. Þa var siðr hygginna ok hæverskra manna i fyrnskonne at þeir mællto fræðe sin sua sem segi með myrkom orðom. ok diupom skilnengom. saker þeirra sem ukomner varo. at þeir skylldo lysa með liosom umræðom þat sem hinir fyrro hofðu mællt. ok rannzaka af sinu viti þat sem til skyringar hofðu ok retrar skilnengar. af þeim kænngom er philosophi forner spekingar hofðu gort. Siðan sem alldren læið framm ok æve mannanna þa vox list ok athygli ok smasmygli mannkynsens. með margskonar hætte. sva at i ollom londum gærðuzc hinir margfroðasto menn mælande sinna landa tungum. En þeir sem lif sitt vilia lytalaust varðvæita. Þa samer jamnan nokot þat at ihuga ok iðna. er þa gære sialfa vinsæla. ok af kunnasto sinne mege aðra fræða. Oc fyrir þui ihugaða ec at gæra nokora goða sogu. ok or volsku i bokmal snua at þat mætta flæsta hugga. er flæstir mego skilia. En liod þau er ec hævi høeyrt er gor varo i syðra Brætlande af þeim kynlegom atburðom er i þui lande gærðuzc þa likaðe mer at snua ok oðrum segia þui at ec hafða mioc morg høeyrt þau er ec vil at visu fram telia. ok engom glæyma af. Þui er ec ma minni minu a koma. æinum kurtæisum konongi er guð leðe yvir oss vizku ok valld. gævo ok gnott margfallegs hins frægiazta goðlæiks. Þui ihuga ec oftsamlega at samna lioden oll ok i æina bok at fœra þer herra minn hinn hæverske konongr ef þer lika þa er mer fagnaðr at starf mitt þækkez ok hugnar sua hygnum hofðingia ok hans hirðar kurtæisom klærkom. ok hæverskom hirðmonnom.

402 Marie's Prologue starts here.

English Translation

The English translation has been taken from Robert Cook & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: An old Norse Translation of Twenty-One Old French Lais*. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt, pp. 5-9.

Foreword

It pleases us to inquire about and examine the deeds of those who lived in olden days, because they were skilled in their arts, discerning in their reason, clever in their counsels, valiant with weapons, well-mannered in the customs of the court, generous with gifts, and most famous for every kind of nobility. And because many marvelous things and events unheard of in our time took place in olden days, it occurred to us to teach men living and those to come these stories, which men of great learning made about the deeds of those who lived in olden days, and which they had written down in books as an everlasting reminder, as entertainment, and as a source of great learning for posterity, so that each man could amend and illumine his life with the knowledge of past events, and so that that will not be concealed in later times which happened in the remote past, and so that everyone might consider with full knowledge and strive with all his strength, and accomplish and achieve with every opportunity to prepare and improve himself for the kingdom of God by means of fitting behavior and good deeds and a holy life's end. For deeds and nobility and every kind of goodness, which embellished and adorned the lives of those who pleased God and those who in olden days earned fame and favors by means of achievements in this world—these things are disappearing more and more as the days of this world march on.

This book, which the esteemed King Hákon had translated into Norse from the French language, may be called the “Book of Lais,” because from the stories which this book makes known, poets in Brittany—which is in France—composed lais, which are

performed on harps, fiddles, hurdy-gurdies, lyres, dulcimers, psalteries, rotes, and other stringed instruments of all kinds which men make to amuse themselves and others in this world. Here ends this prologue, and the next comes the beginning of the *lais*.⁴⁰³

It is not fitting that all those to whom God has given wisdom and knowledge and the eloquence to make these known should hide and conceal God's gift within themselves; rather, it is proper that they reveal to others with good will that which pleased God to grant them. Then they will bear leaves and blossoms like the most splendid tree, and as their goodness becomes fully ripe and nourish other people. It was the custom of wise and well-mannered men in olden days that they should set forth their learning, so to speak, in dark words and deep meanings for the sake of those who had not yet come, that these should explicate in lucid discourse that which their forbears had said and probe with their intelligence whatever pertained to the elucidation and correct understanding of the teachings which philosophers, sages of long ago, had made. As time and the lives of men wore on, man's art and attentiveness and acumen increased in many kinds of ways, so that the most learned men in every country began expressing themselves in the language of their country. And it is quite fitting that those who want to preserve their lives faultless be always considering and working at that which may make themselves beloved and which may instruct others from their knowledge. For this reason I thought of making some good story and of translating it from French into Latin, that most might be comforted by that which most could understand. But the *lais* which I have heard, which were composed in Brittany about the strange adventures that took place in the land, I wanted to translated and tell to others, because I had heard very many things which I certainly want to tell. And I want to leave out nothing of what I can

403 Suggesting that Marie's Prologue, composed in verse, were considered part of the *Lais*, and not the preamble to them.

recall to my memory in honor of a courteous king whom God gave us and endowed with wisdom and might, good fortune and an abundance of manifold and renowned goodness. Thus I frequently think of gathering all the songs into one book to give to you, my lord and gracious King. If you like them, I am glad that my work pleases and satisfies such a wise chieftain and the courteous clerks of his court and his gracious retainers.

Marie de France: The *Lai of Equitan*

French text extracted from Jean Rychner (1971) *Les lais de Marie de France*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion: 33-43.

The *Lai of Equitan* addresses the question of love, honor and marriage. Marie de France was inspired by Ovid's poetry as was Chrétien de Troyes. The theme of *fin'amor* developed by the troubadours was a kind of love that could not exist in matrimony. In arranged marriages *fin'amor* had no place. This perception of love comes to the fore in the *Lais*, especially in *Laüstic*, which describes the married state as a source of grief and loneliness.

Marie seldom sermonizes her audience despite the fact that many of the *Lais* end rather tragically. Adulterous love is at the core of almost every *Lai*, in which realism is mixed with the fantastic and supernatural, and sometimes humor and ridicule, as in the *Lais of Equitan*, where the affection between the secret lovers is indeed both true and intense; however, it implies cheating on the husband and upsetting the order and obligations of marriage, and therefore defies basic unbreakable societal principles. Consequently, the tragi-comic end to the tale seems fitting, as it restores order and decorum.

Equitan

Mut unt esté noble barun
Cil de Bretaine, li Bretun!
Jadis suleient par pruësce,
Par curtesie e par noblesce,
Des aventures qu'il ocient,

Ki a plusurs genz aveneient,
Fere les lais pur remembrance,
Qu'um nes meist en ubliance.
Un ent firent, k'oï cunter,
Ki ne fet mie a ublier,
D'Equitan, ki mut fu curteis,
Sire des Nauns, jostise e reis.
Equitan fu mut de grant pris
Et mut amez en sun païs.
Deduit amout e druërie,
Pur ceo maintint chevalerie.
Cil metent lur vie en nuncure
Ki d'amur n'unt sen ne mesure ;
Tels est la mesure d'amer
Que nuls n'i deit reisun garder.
Equitan ot un seneschal,
Bon chevalier, pruz e leal ;
Tute sa tere li gardout
E meinteneit e justisout.
Ja, se pur ostïer ne fust,
Pur nul busuin ki li creüst,
Li reis ne laissast sun chacier,
Sun deduire, sun riveier.
Femme espuse ot li seneschals
Dunt puis vint el païs granz mals.
La dame ert bele durement

E de mut bon affeitement.
Gent cors out e bele faiture,
En li former uvrat Nature ;
Les oilz out veirs e bel le vis,
Bele buche, neis bien asis :
El rëaume n'aveit sa per!
Li reis l'oï sovent loër ;
Soventefez la salua,
De ses aveirs li enveia,
Sanz veüe la coveita,
E cum ainz pot a li parla.
Priveement esbanïer,
En la cuntree ala chacier
La u li seneschals maneit.
El chastel u la dame esteit
Se herberjat li reis la nuit ;
Quant repeirout de sun deduit,
Asez poeit a li parler,
Sun curage e sun buen mustrer.
Mut la trova curteise e sage,
Bele de cors e de visage,
De bel semblant e enveisiee.
Amurs l'ad mis en sa maisniee :
Une seete ad vers lui traite,
Ki mut grant plaie li ad faite :
El quor li ad lanciee e mise!

N'i ad mestier sens ne cointise :
Pur la dame l'ad si surpris,
Tuz en est murnes e pensis.
Or l'i estuet del tut entendre,
Ne se purrat nient defendre.
La nuit ne dort ne ne respouse,
Mes sei meïsmes blasme e chose :
"Allas! fet il, queils destinee
M'amenat en ceste cuntree ?
Pur ceste dame qu'ai veüe
M'est une anguisse al quor ferue,
Ki tut le cors me fet trembler :
Jeo quit que met l'estuet amer.
E si jo l'aim, jeo ferai mal :
Ceo est la femme al seneschal ;
Garder li dei amur e fei
Si cum jeo voil k'il face a mei.
Si par nul engin le saveit,
Bien sai que mut l'en pesereit.
Mes nepurquant pis iert asez
Que pur li seië afolez.
Si bele dame tant mar fust,
S'ele n'amast e dru n'eüst!
Que devendreit sa curteisie,
S'ele n'amast de druërie ?
Suz ciel n'ad humme, s'el l'amast,

Ki durement n'en amendast.
Li seneschals, si l'ot cunter,
Ne l'en deit mie trop peser :
Suls ne la peot il pas tenir!
Certes, jeo voil a li partir!"
Quant ceo ot dit, si suspira,
Enprés se jut e si pensa.
Aprés parlat e dist : "De quei
Sui en estrif e en effrei ?
Uncor ne sai ne s'ai seü
S'ele fereit de mei sun dru ;
Mes jel savrai hastivement.
S'ele sentist ceo ke jeo sent,
Jeo perdreie ceste dolor.
E Deus! Tant ad de ci qu'al jur!
Je ne puis ja repos avoir ;
Mut ad ke jeo cuchia eir seir!"

Li reis veilla tant que jur fu ;
A grant peine l'ad atendu.
Il est levez, si vet chacier,
Mes tost se mist el repeirier
E dit que mut est deshaitiez ;
Es chambres vet, si s'est cuchiaez.
Dolenz en est li senescaus ;
Il ne seit pas queils est li maus

De quei li reis sent les fricuns :
Sa femme en est dreite acheiscuns.
Pur sei deduire e cunforter
La fist venir a lui parler.
Sun curage li descovri ;
Saveir li fet qu'il meort pur li.
Del tut li peot faire confort
E bien li peot doner la mort.

"Sire, la dame li ad dit,
De ceo m'estuet avoir respit ;
A ceste premiere feiee
N'en sui jeo mie cunseillee.
Vus estes reis de grant noblesce ;
Ne sui mie de teu richesce
Qu'a mei vus deiez arester
De druërie ne d'amer.
S'aviez fait vostre talent,
Jeo sai de veir, ne dut nient,
Tost m'avriez entrelaissiee,
J'en sereie mut empeirice.
Si issi fust que vus amasse
E vostre requeste otreiasse,
Ne sereit pas uël partie
Entre nus deus la druërie.
Pur ceo que estes reis puissaunz

E mis sire est de vus tenaunz,
Quidereiez a mun espeir
Le dangier de l'amur avoir.
Amur n'est pruz se n'est egals.
Mieuz vaut uns povres hum leals,
Si ensei ad sen e valur,
E greinur joie est de s'amur
Qu'il n'est de princē u de rei,
Quant il n'ad lēauté en sei.
S'aukuns aime plus hautement
Qu'a sa richesce nen apent,
Cil se dute de tute rien!
Li riches hum requide bien
Que nuls ne li toille s'amie
Qu'il voelt amer par seignurie!"
Equitan li respunt après :
"Dame, merci! Nel dites mes!
Cil ne sunt mie fin curteis,
Ainz est bargaine de burgeis,
Ki pur avoir ne pur grant fieu
Mettent lur peine en malveis liu.
Suz ciel n'ad dame s'ele est sage,
Curteise e franche de curage,
Pur quei d'amer se tienge chiere,
Qu'el ne seit mie noveliere,
S'el n'eüst fors sul sun mantel,

Qu'uns riches princes de chastel
Ne se deüst pur li pener
E lealment e bien amer.
Cil ki d'amer sunt novelier
E ki s'aturnent de trichier,
Il sunt gabé e deceü ;
De plusurs l'avum nus veü.
N'est pas merveille se cil pert
Ki par s'ovreine le desert.
Ma chiere dame, a vus m'ustrei :
Ne me tenez mie pur rei,
Mes pur vostre humme e vostre ami.
Seürement vus jur e di
Que jeo ferai vostre pleisir.
Ne me laissez pur vus murir!
Vus seiez dame e jeo servanz
Vus orguilluse e jeo preianz.”
Tant ad li reis parlé od li
E tant li ad crié merci
Que de s'amur l'aseüra
E el sun cors li otria.
Pur lur anels s'entresaisirent,
Lur fiaunces s'entreplevirent ;
Bien les tiendrent, mut s'entramerent,
Puis en murmurent e finirent.
Lung tens durat lur druërie

Que ne fu pas de gent oïe.
As termes de lur assembler,
Quant ensemble durent parler,
Li reis feseit dire a sa gent
Que seignez iert priveement.
Li us des chambres furent clos ;
Ne troveisse humme si os,
Si li reis pur lui n'enveiaist,
Ja une feiz dedenz entrast.
Li seneschals la curt teneit,
Les plaiz e les clamurs oieit.

Li reis l'ama mut lungement
Que d'autre femme n'ot talent.
Il ne voleit nule espuser ;
Ja n'en rovast oïr parler.
La gent le tindrent mut a mal,
Tant que la femme al seneschal
L'oï suvent; mut li pesa
E de lui perdre se duta.
Quant ele pout a lui parler
E el li duit joie mener,
Baiser, estreindre e acoler,
E ensemblë od lui juer,
Forment plura e grant deol fist.
Li reis demanda e enquist

Que ceo deveit e que ceo fu.
La dame li ad respundu :
“Sire, jo plur pur nostre amur,
Ki mei revert a grant dolur.
Femme prendrez, fille a un rei,
E si vus partirez de mei ;
Sovent l’oi dire e bien le sai.
E jeo, lasse, que devendrai ?
Pur vus m’estuet avoir la mort,
Car jeo ne sai autre cunfort.”
Li reis li dit par grant amur ;
“Bele amie, n’eiez poür!
Certes, ja femme ne prendrai
Ne pur autre ne vus larrai.
Sachiez de veir e si creez,
Si vostre sire fust finez,
Reïne e dame vus fereie.
Ja pur nul humme ne lenneie.”
La dame l’en ad mercié
E dit que mut l’en set bon gré ;
E si de ceo l’aseürast
Que pur autre ne la lessast,
Hastivement purchacereit
A sun seignur que morz sereit.
Legier sereit a purchacier,
Pur ceo k’il li vousist aidier.

Il li respunt que si ferat ;
Je cele rien ne li dirrat
Que il ne face a sun poeir,
Turta folie u a saveir.
“Sire fet ele, si vus plest,
venez chacier en la forest
en la cuntree u je sujur.
Dedenz le chastel mun seignur
Sujurnez ; si serez seigneur
E al tierz jur si vus baignez.
Mis sire od vus seignera
E avoec vus se baignera.
Dites li bien, nel lessiez mie,
Que il vus tienge cumpanie!
E jeo ferai les bains temprer
E les deus cuves apporter ;
Sun bain ferai chaut e buillant :
Sus ciel nen ad humme vivant
Ne fust escaudez e malmis
Einz que dedenz se feust asis.
Quant morz serat e escaudez,
Vos hummes e les soens mandez,
Si lur mustrez cumfaitement
Est morz al bain sudeinement.”
Li reis li ad tut graanté
Qu’il ferat sa volenté.

Ne demurat mie tres meis
Qu'el païs vet chacier li reis.
Seiner se fet cuntre sun mal,
Ensemble od lui sun senescal.
Al tierz jur dist k'il baignereit,
Li senescals mut le voleit.
"Vus baignerez, dist il, od mei."
Li senescals dit : "Jo l'otrei!"
La dame fet les bains temprer
E les deus cuves apporter
Devant le lit, tut a devise,
Ad chescune des cuves mise ;
L'ewe buillant fait apporter
U li senescals dut entrer.
Li produm esteit sus levez,
Pur deduire fu fort alez.
La dame vint parler al rei
E il la mist dejuste sei ;
Sur le li al seignur cuchierent
E deduistrent e enveisierent.
Ileoc unt ensemble geü
Pur la cuve, ki devant fu.
L'us firent tenir e garder ;
Une maschine i dut ester.
Li senescals hastis revint ;
A l'hus buta, cele le tint.

Icil le fiert par tel haïr,
Par force li estut ovrir.
Le rei e sa femme ad trovez
U il gisent, entr'acolez.
Li reis garda, sil vit venir ;
Pur sa vileinie covrir
Dedenz la cuve saut joinz piez ;
E il fut nuz e despuillez,
Unques garde ne s'en dona :
Ileoc murut e escauda.
Sur lui est li mals revertiz
E cil en est sauf e gariz.
Li senescals ad bien veü
Coment del rei est avenu.
Sa femme prent demeintenant,
El bain la met le chief avant.
Issi murent ambedui,
Li rei avant e ele od lui.

Ki bien vodreit reisun entendre
Ici purreit ensample prendre :
Tels purcace le mal d'autrui
Dunt tuz li mals revert sur lui.
Issi avint cum dit vus ai.
Li Bretun en firent un lai,
D'Equitan cument il fina,

E la dame ki tant l'ama.

Old Norse Version

The Old Norse and English translations have been taken from Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*. *Norrøne Tekster* 3. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitut: 66-82.

Whereas Marie does not comment in length on the moral implications of this *lais*, the Norse translator takes time to elaborate on the text, maybe inspired by Marie's "ki bien vodreit reison entendre ici purreit ensample prendre" (let he who hears this learn from its example) in the French epilogue. The Norse translator expands the epilogue with his own material, referring to biblical figures like Abraham, Job and Lazarus, quoting Saint Augustine and introducing proverbial sayings in Latin. These sermonizing passages in the text strongly suggest that the translator was a cleric, and that indeed the stories were intended as much to entertain as to admonish and teach good moral (and Christian) behavior.

Equitans strengleicr er her

DYRleger menn ok daða fuller hygner menn ok hæverskir voru i fyrnskonne i Brætlandi at ríki ok at rœysta. at vizsko ok at valde. at forsio ok kvrtæisi. er um atburði þa er jnnanlandz gærðuzt at kunnigir skylldo vera viðkomandom ok æigi glœymazt okunnom þa leto þæir rita til aminningar. strængleika liod ok af þæim gera til skemtanar ok varo mioc margir þæir atburðir er oss samer æigi at glœyma. er viðr læitom lioda bok at gera.

EEinn ríkr maðr ok herra hæverska ok kurtæis hofðingi ok ræfsinga stiore Namsborgar Ekuitan at nafni. hinn vaskaste i vapnom hinn trausasti i Riddara skap. vinsæll ok frægr i sinu fostr landi let lika ser skæmtan ok kurtæisi Riddarscap ok

hirðsiði. en allan hug ohofsamlega lagðe hann a aster ok kuenna þokka. Þui at þær er mioc ælsca tyna skyndsæmð rett at skilia. herra ekuitan atte ræðes mann æinn er var raustr riddare vel mannaðr ok tryggr maðr. Þessom hafðe herra hans fengit gaumgæfð ok gæzlo allz rikis sins. með rettyndom ok ræfsingom. ok for han sua vel með manna malom æftir logum ok landsiðom at engi vandi kunni sa geraz at herra hans þurfti i at [val]kagt þui for hann jafnan at skemtan sinni. með hundum ok haukom at væiða dyr ok fugla ok riddarar hans ok hirðsvæinar. En ræðis maðr hans atte puso ok æigna kono. af þessari kono varð ollu þui riki siðan harmr ok hormung þesse fru var sua frið orðen at væxti ok fægrð ok allri likams skæpnu. at þo at natturan hæfði hænni huætvitna gevet þat er til fægrðar væri. Engi var sua ræinlifr munnkr i allu þui riki. er hann sa nokkora stund annlit ok alit hennar at hann myndi æigi skiott snua allum hug sinom til hennar ok allum hug at unna hænni.

Herra ekuitan er hofðingi ok herra var þæss lanndz ok rikis hœyrð(i) lof fægrðar hennar ok frægðar at engi var i ollu þui konongs riki iamnfrið hænni hann sændi hænni oft astsamlegar kueðior. ok rikar giaver ok optsamlega girntisk hann felaxskap hennar. Þui nest kaus hann æinn fagran dag at fara þangat með famenni. at skemta ser sem ræðes maðr hans bio. ok til þess kastala er su hin friða fru var fyrir. Hon herbyrgði hann þar um nottena. Þa er hann kom af skemtan væiði sinnar. Nu mæler hann við hana sua mart sem honom likar. ok ma hann nu syna hænni allan huga sinn ok vilia ok fann hann hana hyggna ok hœverska ok goðviliaða. hina bliðasto i orðum. ok sêmeleg i hirðsiðum. ok sua vel ser likande yvir allar þær er honum hofðu fyrr hugnat. ok af þessare viðr ræðo hennar er hann nu sua inætiaðr ast hennar at alla nott fecc hann huarki huilld ne svæfn sakar þessarrar fru. er hann hafði ollum hug sinum til snuit. Sua er hann af ollum hug ok henni um snuinn. at hann er allr angrs fullr. ok ahyggio ok verðr hann nu allr til hennar horfa. Þui at hann gætr æigi vart sec fyrir valki ok kærði hann mioc harm sinn ok mælltiz æinn við.

Hov herra Guð sagðe hann huilík orlog ok harðr atburðr hava læitt mek í þætta fylki at harmr ok angr sem sua hava bundit mec sarom sorgum af fru þessare er ec hafi her sét. ok losteð hug minn ok hiarta sua unytri ahyggio ok allan mec fra tekit sialfum mer með sua kynlegom hætti at skyndsemð min ter mer ækki. ok valld mitt. ok sua mikit ríki er mer mæirr harmr en huggan. ec skialfr allr ok þo usiukr mec ventir at ec værði ælsca hana. ok hallda henni trygglega ast. mina ok æinorð. sua sem ec villdi at hon gærði mer. En ef herra hennarr ok pusi verðr við varr nokkorri niosn ok umsát. Þa man honom at visu mislika miok. En þo at sua se þa ma þat vel setiazc. hælldr en ec fyrir faromc ok tynemc af akefð ok ohofsemð astar hænnar. Osyniom være hon sua frið fru ef hon scal vela um æinn bonda. ok ængan æiga hia unnasta. engi maðr er sa livande. ef þæssi fru væri honum unnandi at hann myndi æigi bœtazt af henni. ef hann væri hennar tryggr unnasti. En ef ræðesmaðr minn spyr þetta. Þa samer honom æigi illa kunna. Eiga ma hann hana en æigi æinn saman. at visu vil ec at hann miðle hana við mec. sem hann hafðe mællt þætta. Þa andvarpaðe hann af ollu hiarta. ok la þa enn kyrr ok ihugaði ok siðan mællti hann. til huers sagðe hann eða hui hævi ec slikan angr. ok gere ec mér uró. Enn er mer okunnegt huart þessi fru likar eða æigi at ec se unnasti hænnar. En ec skal vita sem fyrst huart hon hævir nokot kært þess er ec kenni ec skal nu hætta ok hafna þessom hæimska harm er byr í astar oviti. ok æerslo er gerer mer sua mikinn angr. ok uró. at ec fer æigi huilld ne ró. en nu er langt liðit siðan. er ec for her at væiðum. Nu er daga tok þa ræis hann upp þægar ok klæddizt sa hinn ríki maðr þægar ok hofðingi allz þæss ríkis. er mykla pining hafðe haft þa nott. hann upp ræis ok for þægar a væiðar. en skiott kom hann aftr ok kuaðs vera siukr mioc ok gekk hann þægar í hitt jnnzta suæfn hus ok lagðe(s)t í rækkio. Rædes maðr hans ok ríkis stiori varð ryggr ok harms fullr. af þunglæik sins herra. en hann vœit æigi huat sott hann hævir þui at æigin kona hans er sottar sok herra hans hon bryddir hann ok gaddar hon ænguir honom ok hann angrar hon er hans riðu sott. ok ma vera honum sem sarbót. En at gæra ser huggan

ok skæmtan. Þá sendi hann æftir hænni. At ræða við hana ok sagðe hann hænni þa. ok syndi hænni allan vilia sinn. ok gerer henni kunnegt at hann dæyr fyrir sakar hennar. hon ma frialsa hon ma bæta honom ef hon vill hon ma vera dauði hans. ef hon sua illa vil.

Herra minn kuað su hin friða fru. yðr samer at fræsta mer suor min þuiat ec hævi æigi at hugt þesso hino fyrsta sinni ne rað mitt tækit. Þu ert hofðingi mikils rikis ok agætrar tignar. En ec em æigi sua mikils rikis ne sua mattroga manna ne sua rikra at hofðingia scap. ok er þer æigi fallet at sbua til min ast. ok astar þokka. ef þer hæfðit gort vilia yðarn til min þa væit ec at visu at þu myndir skiott hafna mer. ok fyrir lata mek. en frægð min myndi falla. ok lofsæla spillazc. ok mynda ec þa æiga þar fiandr sem nu a ec frændr. Þar ovini sem nu a ek vini. Þui at þu ert æinn hinn rikasti hofðingi ok minn herra hæfir sitt valld af yðro lane ok myndir þu sua sem ec hygg ætla at ec mynda bila þer. ok gera þer vanda at unna mer. En ast er engo nýt nema hon se trygg ok staðfost. Myklo er villdra felaus maðr ok friðr ef hann er hygginn ok væl mannaðr at daðom ok drængscap ok mæire fagnaðr af hans gofuglæik. en at rikum hofðingia ok mottogum manne er huerflynt hævir lundærni ok gæðlaust af ostaðfæsto. Sa er ann þæirre er herra er kyns ok mattar. en hans kynkuisl eða valldi fellr ok samer hann ottazt æ at su bili honum er hann ann ok fyrir þui þionar hann hænni með ollum hug ok æftir læti. En sa er rikr er hann ottazt ækki at nokkorr dirvizt at taka unnasto hans. Þui at hann hygzt æiga allt hæimillt. ok um urugt bua sakar valldz sins ok rikis fyrir þui ann hann litit eða allz ækki. Þoat hann æigi hina friðasto ok hina villdasto kono.

Ekuitan svaraðe hænni. Miskunn fru sagðe hann. mæl æigi slikt. æigi er sa at fullu kurtæiss er mangar ser unnasto sem bæar maðr voru a stræti. Mangare verr fe sitt i marga vanda varu. at auðgast ok æignast af þui. Undir himninom er ængi su fru af hon er hygginn ok hœversk. milld ok goðviliað. ef hon er ast trygg ok æigi nybrættin. Þo at hon ætti allzækki nema æina skikkiu þa scemde æinum herra riks kastala mikit saker hennar

tigna hana ok trygglega unna hænni. En þær er nybrætnir ero ok i astom otryggir ok kuenna svikarar listugir at spotta. undir fagrmæle bunir at blækkia þa er hovum ver marga séna. er æigi [ero] værðugir duganda manna felagscaps. Þui tyna þær ollum sœmdom at þær at fara illzkum ok svikum. En hin kæra unnasta min. Þer iatta ec at ollu sialfan mec. hallt mec æi fyrir herra ne hofðingia hælldr vin þinn. ok æiginn mann. Urulega suær ec þer ok at sonnu sægi ec þer at ec scal gera þat sem þer likar. Ver þu fru en ec herra. Ver þu mikillot en ec biðill þinn. Þic biðiande. Sa hinn riki herra ok hofðingi het henni sua mykit ok sua oft bað hann hana miskunna ser at hon fæsti honum asta vilia hans. en hann iattaðe hænni sialfan sec. ok gaf þa huart tvægja þæirra oðru samband sitt með umskifti fingr gulla sinna. ok fæsti huart oðru oruggan trygglæk upp a tru sina ok hælldo þau væl handsol sin með tryggri ast. ok stoð þa mioc lengi sua buet astar þokke þæirra sua at æigi kom upp fyrir aðra menn. En huerio sinni er þau sotto stætnufundar sins þa let sa hinn riki herra gera hirðliði sinu kunnegt at hann var bloðlatenn. ok varo þa byrgðar alla hurð[ir] svæfnloftanna. ok var engi sua diarfr at þar þorðe at koma. nema æftir honum være sænt. En um nætr kom hon til hans ok um nætr for hon fra honom er hon unni sua mikit. En rikis stiore herrans hellt vel ok virðulega allt hirðlið hans ok gærðe orskurð allra mala ok saka þæirra er sættar varo. hann unni þessare fru mioc længi. sua trygglega at æigi var hugr hans annarre. Þui at hann villde ænga pusa ser. ok mællti at ængi skyllði þæss geta. En raðgíofum hans ok vinum mislikaðe þat mioc ok sagðo vera mykit urað. ok ræddo þær slikt sua openberlega at kona ræðes mannens hæyrði roð þæirra. ok ræðor oftsamlega. ok likaðe hænne þat allilla þui at hon ottaðezc þat at hann myndi fyrir lata hana ok at hon myndi tyna ast hans. ok felaglegom vilia.

Síðan sem hon matte at komazt ar ræða við hann ok gera honom giarna slikt bliðlæte sem hann girntizc kossa ok halsfong. ok likams losta. Þa stygðizc hon honom ok rygðizc ok gærðizc sua harmsfull. at hon gret undarlega mioc sua at hon higsti af sorg ok grate. Sem herra ekuitan spurði hana hui er hon let sua trygglega ok huat hænni

var. ok huerr slikan harm vakte hænni. Þa svaraðe hon. Ec græt sagðe hon saker þin ok okkarrar astar. Þui at ast okkor man snuask mer i mykinn harm ok angr. Ec væit at visu sagðe hon at þu mant kono pusa en ec man vera þa hatað ok hafnað huat man þa verða af mer er ec em fyrir laten af þer. Ec scal þa siolf fyrir fara mer þui at ec se mer enga huggan þa er skiotare luki minum harmum en dauðann.

ÞA suaraðe henni ekuitan. af mykilli ast. Hin friðasta unnasta min sagðe hann. Ottaszk allzækki. Vit þat at sonnu ok tru at fullo. ef herra þinn lykr nasom ok sinom dagum þec skyllða ec gera fru ok drotnengo allz mins rikis valldz ok hirðliðs allra minna æigna. ok kastala. Þægar sem hon hafðe høeyrt þa þakkaðe hon honom goðvilia hans með mikill avusu. ok mællt[e]. ef þer herra tryggið mer. at þer skuloð æigi fyrir lata mec. saker annarrar. Þa man ec skiott þat sysla ok alæiðis koma. at min herra se dauðr. Þui at litið er fyrir þui ef þer vileð tia mér. ok samþykkiazt. Hann svaraðe hænni at hann scal giarna þat gære sem hænni likar. ok hon vill hava sagt honom. æftir mætti sinom. huart sem þat kann snuazt til illz eða goðs.

Herra sagðe hon. ef yðr likar þa fareð a væiðar i værði mork vars fylkis þar sem optazt sit ec ok kom i kastala mins herra at huilazc ok skulo þer þar yðr bloð lata. Eftir hinn þriðia dag bloðlaz scalltu laugazt. En minn herra scal þa ok laugazt ok með þer bloð lata. Seg honom at hann hallde þer fyrir huetvitna framm dælan felagscap. En ec man lata gera laugarnar ok lata fœra laugarkæren i svæfnhusit ok þa scal ec lata gera laugena i sialfs hans kere sua hæita ok vællande at engi er sa livande maðr ef hann kœmr i sua buna laugena at han scal æigi soðen vera ok mæiddr þa er hann hævir i sæzc kæret. ok hann dauðr ok soðenn. sændið æftir yðrom monnom. ok hans vinum. synið þa ok sægið ollum með hueriom hætte er hann er dauðr. i laugæne at uvarom þæim ok braðom dauða.

Herra ekuitan iatte henni ok samþyktizt at hann scal at visu gera þat sem hænnar vili er til. A hinum þriðia manaðe kom ekuitan þangat i væiði morkena ok let ser þar

bloð. ok þo ægi til hælsu. ok hugganar hælldr til ugævo ok ukomennar uhamengiu. ok at hallda honom felagscap þa let bloð með honom ræðis maðr hans. Eptir hinn þriðia dag bloðláss kuazc hann vilia laugazc. ok þat villdi ok ræðes maðr hans. Oc þa mællte ok herra hans. Vit skolum kuað hann baðer saman laug hava sua sem bloðlát. Herra sagðe hann sua hævi ec ætlat sem þer vilið. Fru hans gecc um laugar gærð. ok let bua huartvæggia kæret. annat með vællanda vatne. er hon ætlaðe boanda sinom. en annat herra sinom. Þat er var með vormu vatne. eftir mundangs hove. En sa hinn dugande ræðes maðr var arlla uppstandenn ok utgængenn at skemta ser. en fruen kom þa ok rædde við herra sinn. ok logðuzt þa at bæðe saman i rækkio. ræðes mannens ok skæmtaðo ser ok leko sua sem þeim likaðe þau leto vorð hia hurðenne. mæz æin gætte duranna. Sem ræðesmaðr kom aftr þa gecc hann þegar þangat. ok er hann villde uppskiota hurðenni þa hellt mæren lokonne. en hann laust hana af ræiði. Ok skaut upp hurðenne með ollum afle. ok læit hann þa herra sinn ok kono sina bæði i æinni ræckio. herra hans þegar sem hann læit hann kommande. ok at fela synd sina. ok svivirðing hins. Þa gaðe hann ægi fyrir at sia. ok liop sem skiotazt i þat kæret er vællande vatne var i. skyrtu æinni klæddr. ok skolaus. do þegar ok soðnaðe allr. Nu er hann tekinn i sialfs sins gilldru ok aftr snuen a hann sialfs hans illzka. en hinn hæill ok væl hallden er hann ætlaðe at dœyða. En ræðes maðrenn fann þegar þat sem titt var um herra hans. ok vissi þa at sonnu at þau hofðu raðet honom dauða. hann græip með skunda kono sina. ok skaut hænni af hofði ovan i kæret. ok luku þau þar bæðe sinu svikafullu livi. mæð værdugum hætti.

EN sa er rett kann at skynia ok skyndemd hævir rett at skilia af þessarre sogu. ma hann sannfræðazc ar sa er oðrum gærer svik ok ætlar dauða. ma fyrir giallda sinnar illzku. en hann meg i þeim fyrir koma er hann villdi giarna illt gera.⁴⁰⁴ EN sa er þessa

404 Here ends the translation of Marie's *lai*. The remaining text is the Old Norse translator's own.

bok norroenaðe ræðr ollum er þessa sögu hœyra ok hœyrt hava at þeir girnizc alldregi þat er aðrer æigu rettfeingit. huarke (fe) ne hiuscaps felaga. ne ovunde aldre annars gott næ gævo. Þui at guð skipar lanom sinom sem hanum synizc. Gæfr þeim er hann vill gævet hava. fra tekr þeim er illa nyta. æða ælligar at ræinsa þa ok rœyna sem hinn hælga Jobb. Girnizc ok ængi at auðga sec af annars dauða. Þui at marger dœyia þeir fyrr illum dauða er oðrum æfna at ætla skiotan dauðan. Þui at guð yvirvaker misværkum mannanna ok ser illvilia þeirra snyr upp a þa sialfer þær illskur er þær oðrum gilldra. Guð er vornn ok varnaðr gnog gæva ok urugg gæzla saklausra ok mæinlausra. ryðr skiott ok af þeim rindr uvini ok umsætr allzkyns. Girnizsk ok alldrægi at gera þeim svik ne svivirðingar er yðr gera tign ok þionosto sœmder ok sama. Þuiat þær ero dalegstir i þæsso livi. en væslastir i oðru livi. er giallda illt fyrir goð vilia i þæsso livi. Ef þer vitið ok kœnnið yðr sækkia við guð. mæinum ok misverkum. til þeirra er yðr þionat hava ok yðr tignat bœteð við þa eða þeirra arva. er skylldaster ero. ef hinir ero brott tækner. mæðan er þer haveð tima ok frælsi þæsso lifs. Þui at ækki tær þeim i æilivu livi er hafna at bœtazc i þæsso livi. Ecki tæði þeim hinum Rika manne er syniaðe hinum hælga lazaro likaþram brauðmola bordz sins. Þa er hann bað hinn hælga(a) abraham miskunnar ser. i pinslum at lazarus skyllde kœla brænnande tunga hans. ok þa hann æigi. hann villdi ok at brœðr hans hylpizt er æftir hann lifðu. ok tæde honom huarki fyrir þui hialp honom allzækki i æilivu livi. Þat sem hann bað ok villdi. at hann hafnaðe at nyta frælsi lifs. mæðan er hann hafðe ok mætte. Til slikra mællti hinn hælgi augustinus þetta. *Quia cum potuit homo benefacere. noluit. inflictum est ei non posse cum uelit.*⁴⁰⁵

SEð vinir guðs ekuitan Rikr herra. ok agætr hofðingi. svæik ok svivirði hinn villdasta vin sinn. æigin þion sinn. ræðes mann allz rikis sins. er hanum þionaðe. ok hann tignaðe með goðom raðom. ok rettom raðom. ok ræðom með starve sinu ok

405 "Since man did not do good (things) when he was able to, it has been imposed upon him that he cannot do good when he wants to." This Latin quote originates in Saint Augustine's *De libero arbitrio* (Cook & Tveitane 1979: 80)

stiornn. ok af honom tok allan vanda. æftir rettom logum ok landzsiðum hann or skar ollum vanda malom. at herra hans skyldi ver(a) frials fyrir ollum ahyggiom. En herra hans svæik hann ok sviuirði pusa hans hans. ok samþyktiz dauða hans. En hans fals pusa. er slæit við guð ok hann handsol sin. saker mæiri tignar er hon girntizc ok til sa. bio æignum pusa sinum svik ok dauða. En varr hinn riki drottinn varðe þann er saclauss var. ok aftr snere svikunum a þau er svikin gærðo. ok sæk varo. Þui at þenna dom hafðe Guð longu aðr dæmt. ok upp sagt i orðum hæilagra manna. Sua sannar hæilagt bokmál. *Omnis iniquitas in suum redibit auctorem.*⁴⁰⁶ Nu þo at þætta have gortz i fyrnskunni ok þo at þætta se fornn saga. Þa ognar hon verandom ok viðrkommandom allum er i svikum ok illzsku likar at bui. Þui at huetvitna þat er illt er. kann at ændr nyiaszc þo at i fyrnskunni gærðizc. Þui var þætta með skynsamre snilld sannlega mællt.

Rumor e ueteri faciet uentura timeri
*Cras poterunt fieri turpia sicut heri.*⁴⁰⁷

Ok lykr her nu sinu ærendi. sa er bok þessare sneri. En brættar a brætlandi. Þar sem þætta gærðizt sua sem boken hævir talt upp gerðu ekuitans lioð i strænglæikum huersu hann lauk livi sinu. ok su með honom er hann unni sua miok. ser ok hænni til dauða.

Equitanus rex fuit. Sed silenda est dignitas
*Ubi nulla bonitas sed finis iniquitas.*⁴⁰⁸

406 "Because injustice will revert upon its author."

407 "The rumor from old (the past) makes (one) fear the future; Tomorrow, the depravities may occur as they came to pass yesterday."

408 "Equitan was king, but dignity had to be silenced. Since there was no honesty, only dishonest end."

English Translation

The English translation has been extracted from Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*.

Norrøne Tekster 3. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitutt: 67-83.

The Lai of Equitan begins here.

Excellent and accomplished men, clever men and courteous, were in Brittany in olden days, with power and prowess, with wisdom and with might, prudence and politeness, who, concerning the events which took place in that country—in order that they be known to posterity and not be lost to strangers—had them written in lais for remembrance's sake and made into entertainment. There were many of these adventures which we ought not to forget when we are trying to make a book of lais.

A powerful man and courteous lord and well-mannered leader and strict ruler of Nantes, Equitan by name, most valiant with weapons, very reliable in knighthood, beloved and famed in his native country, was fond of pleasure and courtesy, knighthood and courtly customs, but he immoderately gave all his attention to love and feminine charms—those who love much lose their reason and correct understanding. Lord Equitan had a seneschal who was bold knight, well bred and a faithful man. The lord had given this man the care and keeping of all his realm, with authority to carry out justice and punishment, and he handled men's cases so well according to law and the customs of the land that no difficulty could arise that this lord needed to bother himself about. Thus he was always going out for his pleasure with hounds and hawks to hunt game and fowl together with his knights and courtiers. His seneschal had a spouse and wedded wife; from this woman there later came trouble and tragedy to all the realm. This lady had become so fair in form and beauty and all the shape of her body that it was as though nature had given her everything that belonged to beauty. There was no

monk in all the realm so chaste that, if he ever saw her face and features, he would not turn all his thoughts to her at once and love her with all his heart.

Sir Equitan, who was the leader and lord of this land and kingdom, heard the praise of her fairness and fame: that no one in all the King's realm was her match for beauty. He often sent her affectionate greetings and costly gifts and frequently yearned for her company. Thereupon he chose a fine day to go with a few followers to amuse themselves at the place where his seneschal lived and at the castle where the beautiful lady was. She put him up there for the night when he came in from the sport of hunting. Now he speaks with her as much as he pleases and now he can reveal to her his whole heart and desire. He found her clever and courteous and good-natured, very agreeable in conversation and discreet in courtly manners, and so well pleasing to him above all those who had delighted him before. From this conversation with her he is now so smitten with love for her that he got neither rest nor sleep all night on account of this lady toward whom he had turned all his heart. He is so turned toward her with his full heart that he is all full of care and concern and now has to look entirely to her, because he cannot defend himself from the turmoil. He bewailed his grief and, all alone, spoke to himself.

"Oh Lord," he said, "what fate and cruel chance have brought me into this region, that grief and care have so bound me with painful sorrows on account of this lady whom I have seen here, and struck my mind and heart with such useless anxiety and taken me entirely from myself in such an extraordinary fashion that my reason is of no use to me and my power and such a great kingdom are more care than comfort to me. I shake all over and yet I am not sick. I believe I must love her and hold to her with my firm love and fidelity, just as I would want her to do with me. But if her lord and spouse finds out through some spying or way-laying, he will certainly be very displeased. But though this be so, it must be arranged rather than that I should die and perish from the intensity

and immoderation of my love for her. It would be in vain for her to be such a beautiful lady if she should not have to do with only one man and have no lover besides. There is no man alive who, if this lady loves him, would not be improved by her if he were her loyal lover. But if my seneschal should find this out, it is not right that he should take it badly. He can have her, but not all to himself; surely I want him to share her with me.” When he had said this, he sighed with all his heart and then lay still and reflected. And then he spoke: “For what purpose,” he said, “or why do I have such grief and make unrest for myself? I do not know yet whether this lady is pleased or not that I should be her lover. I shall find out at once whether she has felt anything of what I feel. I shall now stop and cease this silly sorrow which belongs to the folly and frenzy of love and which gives me so much grief and unrest that I get no rest or peace. And now it is long since I came here to hunt.” When it began to dawn, he got up at once and the powerful man and lord of all this kingdom, who had had great torment during the night, dressed immediately. He got up and went directly out hunting. But he came back quickly and said he was very sick and went at once to the innermost chamber and lay down on the bed. His seneschal and governor was sad and full of sorrow at the heaviness of his lord; but he does not know what illness he has because his own wife is the cause of his lord’s illness. She pricks him and goads him; she tortures him and he suffers. She is his fever, and can also be his cure. To give himself comfort and pleasure he sent for her to talk with him. He told her then and revealed to her all his desire, and informs her that he is dying for her sake. She can free him, and she can cure him, if she will; she can be his death if she has such an evil desire.

“My lord,” said the beautiful lady, “you ought to grant me a delay in answering, for I have not yet reflected or made my decision within these first moments. You are a ruler with great power and high esteem. I do not have such great power, nor am I descended from men so mighty and extensive in their authority. It is not fitting for you to turn your

love and affection toward me. If you should have your will with me, I know that you would certainly abandon and forsake me quickly. My fame would decline and my good name would be destroyed, and I would then have opponents where I now have kinsmen, enemies where I now have friends; for you are one of the most powerful rulers and my lord has his authority on loan from you. You would, I think, imagine that I would fail you and make it difficult to love me. But love is worth nothing unless it is loyal and firm. Much better is an indigent and handsome man, if he is intelligent and manly in deeds and courage, and there is greater pleasure in his nobility than in a powerful ruler and mighty man who has a changeable temperament, fickle in its unsteadfastness. He who loves a woman who is higher in birth and power than his lineage, or than befits and suits his status, fears constantly that she whom he loves will fail him, and therefore he serves her with full heart and consideration. But he who is mighty does not fear that anyone would dare to take his beloved, for he considers that everything is at his disposal and that he is secure because of his might and power; thus he loves very little or not at all, even though he should possess the most beautiful and excellent woman.”

Equitan answered her: “Have mercy, lady,” he said. “Don’t talk this way. He is not fully courteous who bargains for a woman like a town-dweller bargaining for wares in the street. A huckster invests his wealth in many a choice of ware in order to add to and increase his wealth. There is no lady under heaven, if she is clever and courteous, gracious and good-natured, if she is firm in love and not fickle—though she did not own anything at all except one cloak—whom it would not befit a lord with a splendid castle to cherish much for her own sake and love loyally. But those men who are fickle and unsteady in love and deceivers of women, skilled in making sport, ready to hide deception behind fair language—we have seen many of these, who are not worthy of the company of good people, for they lost all respect from carrying out evil and deception. But my dear sweetheart, I give myself up to you completely. Don’t consider me as your

lord and leader, but rather as your friend and your own man. Firmly I swear to you and truly I tell you that I shall do what pleases you. You be the lady and I the lord.⁴⁰⁹ You be proud and I the suitor begging for you.” The mighty lord and leader promised her so much and asked her so often to have pity on him that she pledged her love to him. He gave himself over to her, and each of them gave the other tokens of their relationship by exchanging rings, and each promised to the other firm loyalty based on trust. They kept to their bargain with faithful love. Their affection remained like this for a long time and in such a way that it did not become apparent to other men. Every time they planned a tryst, the mighty lord informed his courtiers that he was being bled. All the doors to the chambers were then shut, and no one was so bold that he dared to come in there unless he was sent for. She came to him at night, and she went away during the night from him whom she loved so much. The lord’s seneschal managed the court well and worthily and settled all the cases and suits that arose. He (Equitan) loved his lady for a long time so firmly that his heart was not on any other lady, for he did not want to marry anyone, and he said that no one should mention this. But this greatly displeased his advisers and friends, and they said that this was a very bad course. They talked this way so openly that the seneschal’s wife often heard their counsel and conversation. This displeased her quite a bit, for she feared that he would give her up and that she would lose his love and friendly favor.

Then, when she was able to come to talk with him and willingly give him such caresses as he desired—kisses and embraces and bodily pleasure—she was peevish with him and sad and became so sorrowful that she wept wondrously much, so that she

409 Whereas Equitan in Marie’s original *lai* swears to become the lady’s faithful servant (“Ne me laissez pur vus murir! Vus seiez dame e jeo servanz, Vus orguilluse e jeo preianz.” – Please don’t let me perish because of my love for you! You shall be the lady and I your servant, you shall be the proud and I the one to beg”), as was the rule for courteous love—*fin’amor*—in the spirit of the troubadours, the Norse translator does not challenge, at least not terminologically, the recommended relationship between the genders promoted by the Church.

sobbed from sorrow and distress. When Sir Equitan asked her why she behaved so sorrowfully and what was wrong with her and who had aroused so much grief in her, she answered: "I weep," she said, "because of you and our love, because our love will result in great grief and sorrow for me. I know for certain," she said, "that you will take a wife and I will then be despised and discarded. What will become of me when I am abandoned by you? I shall then destroy myself, because I see no comfort which will more quickly end my sorrow than death."

Then Equitan answered her with great love: "My very beautiful sweetheart," he said, "don't be frightened. Know for a fact and believe that if your lord closes his nostrils and his days, I should make you the lady and queen of all my realm, my dominion and court, all my property and castles." When she had heard this, she thanked him with great gratitude for his benevolence and said: "If you my lord, assure me that you will not abandon me for the sake of another, then I will quickly arrange it and bring it about that my lord will be dead, because there is little in the way if you will help me and agree to it." He answered her that he will gladly do whatever she pleases and whatever she will have asked him, according to his might, whether it turned out for ill or for good.

"Sir," she said, "if you please, go hunting in the forest in our region where I stay very frequently, and come to my lord's castle to rest. There you must let yourself be bled. After the third day of bloodletting, you are to bathe. My lord shall also bathe then and be bled with you. Tell him to keep close company with you in every way. I will have the baths prepared and the bathtubs brought into the bedchamber. I will have the water in his tub so hot and boiling that there is no man alive who, if he comes into a bath prepared this way, will not be boiled and destroyed when he had sat down in the tub. He will be dead and boiled. Send for your men and his friends and show them and tell them all in what way he died in the bath, without their expecting it, from a sudden death."

Sir Equitan assented and agreed with her to do for certain what her will desired. In the third month Equitan came there to the forest and let himself be bled, not for health and happiness, but rather for ill-luck and impending injury. To keep him company, his seneschal let himself be bled with him. After the third day of bloodletting he said he wanted to bathe, and his seneschal also wanted this. Then his lord spoke: "We shall," he said, "share our bathing as we did the bloodletting." "Lord," he said, "I have always followed your wishes." His wife saw to the preparation of the bath and had two tubs prepared, one with boiling water, which she intended for her husband, and the other for her lord, which had moderately warm water. The worthy seneschal had risen early and gone out to amuse himself, and the lady came then and spoke with her lord. The two of them lay in the seneschal's bed and amused themselves and played as they liked. They placed a guard at the entrance: a maiden watched the door. When the seneschal came back, he went there at once, and when he wanted to unlock the door, the maiden held on to the bolt, but he struck at it in his anger and unbolted the door with all his strength. Then he saw his lord and his wife, both in one bed. As soon as his lord saw him coming, in order to conceal his own sin and the disgrace to his seneschal, he did not take care to look ahead, but jumped at once into the tub containing the boiling water, dressed only in a shirt and without shoes. He died immediately and was thoroughly boiled. Now he is taken in his very own trap, and his evil has turned back on himself. And he whom he intended to kill is safe and sound. The seneschal realized then what his lord had been up to and knew for a fact that they had plotted death for him. He swiftly seized his wife and thrust her head-first into the tub. There they both ended their deceitful lives in an appropriate way.

He who knows how to comprehend correctly and who has the capacity to understand properly may be instructed by this story that one who performs deceit on another and plots his death may pay for his evil before he can destroy the one to whom he is eager to do evil.

He who put this book into Norwegian advises all who hear and have heard this story that they never covet that which others own by right, whether property or partner in marriage, and that they never envy another man's lot or luck. For God deals out his loans as he wishes; he gives to those to whom he wants to give, and he takes away from those who use them badly—or else to purge them and prove them like the holy Job. One should not wish to enrich himself by another's death, for many die first from an evil death who prepare and intend a swift death for others. For God watches over the misdeeds of men and he sees their malevolence; he turns against themselves the evils which they contrive for others. God is the shield and shelter, sufficient safety and secure keeping for the innocent and harmless. He swiftly rids and removes from them enemies and ambushes of all kinds. You should never seek to perform deceit or disgrace on those who bring you distinction and service, honor and esteem, because those who repay benevolence with evil in this life are the worst in this life and the most wretched in the other life. If you know and feel yourselves guilty before God in malice and misdeeds to those who have served you and honored you, make atonement with them or, if they have been taken away, with their nearest heirs, while you have time and freedom in this life. For in the eternal life nothing will avail those who refuse to atone in life. There was no help for the wealthy man who refused the crumbs of his table to the holy leper Lazarus, when he begged the holy Abraham to have mercy on him in his torments, that Lazarus should cool his burning tongue; he did not receive any mercy. He also wanted his brothers who survived him to be helped, but this too was of no avail. In the eternal life he got no help for what he asked for and wanted, because he refused to use the freedom of this life when he had it and was able to. To such men Saint Augustine said this: *Quia cum potuit homo bene facere noluit inflictum est ei non posse cum velit.*⁴¹⁰

410 "Since man did not do good (things) when he was able to, it has been imposed upon him that he cannot do good when he wants to."

Be friends with God. Equitan, the powerful lord and excellent leader, deceived and disgraced his best friend, his own servant, the seneschal of all his country, who served him and honored him with good advice and correct counsel and conversation, with his labor and his legislating. He (the seneschal) relieved him of all difficulties; following just laws and the customs of the land, he settled all complicated cases, that his lord might be free from all worries. But his lord deceived him and dishonored his wife and conspired in his death. But his false wife, who broke her agreement with God and with him for the sake of the greater glory which she coveted and looked for, prepared deception and death for her own husband. But our mighty Lord protected the innocent and turned the deceit back on those who had practiced deceit and were guilty. For God had uttered this decree before and declared it in the words of the holy men, as Holy Scripture witnesses: *Quia iniquitas in suum redibit auctorem*.⁴¹¹

Now although this happened long ago, and although this is an old story, it threatens all those living and to come who like to live in deceit and evil, because everything that is evil can renew itself, even though it happened long ago. Therefore this was soundly said, with sagacious skill:

Rumor e veteri faciet ventura timeri

Cras poterunt fieri turpia sicut heri.⁴¹²

And here he who translated this book concludes his message. The Bretons in Brittany, where it happened as the book has reported, composed the “Lai of Equitan” for

411 “Because injustice comes back to its author.”

412 “The rumor from the past makes one fear the future, Tomorrow, depravities may take place just like yesterday.”

stringed instruments—about how he ended his life, along with her whom he loved so much, to his death and hers.

Equitanus rex fuit sed silenda est dignitas

Ubi nulla bonitas sed finis iniquitas.⁴¹³

413 “Equitan was king, but dignity must be silenced. Since there (was) no honesty, only dishonest end.”

Marie de France: The *Lai of Chevreuille*

The French text has been extracted from Rychner (1971) *Les lais de Marie de France*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion: 151-154.

Of all the *lais* attributed to Marie de France, this is the shortest. The text is not part of the chivalric *matière de Bretagne*, but rather belongs to the Tristan legend, the first *roman* in the French language, also of the Anglo-Norman tradition of Celtic derivation. The Norwegians enjoyed close relations with the English society and especially the English church, which had given them their first missionaries. The Tristan legend came to Norway in 1226, when a certain monk named Robert translated the story from French for the Norwegian King Håkon Håkonsson. The legend may, however, have been known in an oral tradition for some time, even in Norway.

The *Lai of Chevrefoil* recounts a minor incident, of Tristan carving a short message for his beloved Queen Isolde on a twig of hazel and leaving it on the road for his sweetheart to pick up. Probably, many stories, oral tales, and songs existed independently of the Tristan legend, as peripheral fairy tales over a similar theme of passionate but impossible love. In *Chievrefoil*, Tristan returns clandestinely from exile, and discovers the Queen, Isolde, with her escort of courtiers in the middle of a forest, on the way to Tintagel. The opposition between true love—the often non-consumed *fin'amor*—and marriage is emphasized, and the emotions of the lovers and the jealousy (and ire) of the (absent) husband brings the narrative forward. Love brings life, but also death, or at least the possibility of death. True love is a sinister and dangerous feeling, something uncontrollable, a liaison that cannot bear fruit, in which the protagonists can find reconciliation only in the hereafter. The twig of hazel left on the road becomes a symbol of the protagonists' impossible love, a cryptic message between the two lovers in the old Irish tradition of Ogham.

Ogham is an alphabetic script tradition dating back to the 4th century, used by the Celtic peoples of the British Isles and Brittany for writing on stone monuments and sending cryptic messages on wooden staves. In Ireland the inscriptions were mainly Celtic, whereas in Wales, the Ogham were usually bilingual Celtic-Latin. In form and usage the Ogham alphabet was akin to the runic letters of the Germanic tribes, but had a more explicit magic function, as it was also used for divinations. The Ogham was used well into the 14th century, and was well known by medieval French and English writers.⁴¹⁴

Marie de France, at least, seems to have been familiar with the Ogham tradition, which was common in England where she lived, and uses the hazel twig as the central “actor” in this short anecdote, in which the exiled and now “savage” Tristan (cf. the “folly of Tristan”) tries to communicate with Isolde, by using a cryptic message reflected in “Bele amie, si est de nus : ne vus sans mei, ne jeo sanz vus” (My beloved, with us it is like this: you cannot live without me, and I not without you), and which the lady was able to decode (Tutes les lettres i conut – She understood everything in the message), as they had used this method of communication before (“Autre feiz li fu avenu”). The knowledge of the code resulted in a brief rendez-vous in the woods, a reconciliation before yet another separation.

The French text

Asez me plest e bien le voil,
Del lai qu’hum nume *Chievrefoil*,
Que la verité vus en cunt

414 The 14th century *Book of Ballymore* provides a key for translation of Oghamic scripture (*Britannica* 2000). For more on Marie de France and the Ogham tradition, see Marchello-Nizia (1995).

Pur quei fu fez, coment e dunt.

Plusur le m'unt cunté e dit

E jeo l'ai trové en escrit

De Tristram e de la reïne,

De lur amur ki tant fu fine

Dunt il eurent meinte dolur,

Puis en mururent en un jur.

Li reis Marks esteit curuciez,

Vers Tristram sun nevu iriez;

De sa tere le cungea

Pur la reïne qu'il ama.

En sa cuntree en est alez,

En Suhtwales u il fu nez.

Un an demurat tut entier,

Ne pot ariere repeirier ;

Mes puis se mist en abandun

De mort e de destructiun.

Ne vus esmerveilliez neënt,

Kar cil ki eime lealment

Mut est dolenz e trepensez

Quant il nen ad ses volentez.

Tristram est dolenz e pensis,

Pur ceo s'esmut de sun païs.

En Cornwaille vait tut dreit

La u la reïne maneit.

En la forest tuz suls se mist :
Ne voleit pas qu'hum le veïst.
En la vespree s'en eisseit,
Quant tens de herbergier esteit.
Od paï sanz, od povre gent,
Perneit la nuit herbergement ;
Les noveles lur enquireit
Del rei cum il se cunteneit.
Ceo li diënt qu'il unt oï
Que li barun erent bani,
A Tintegel deivent venir :
Li reis i veolt sa curt tenir ;
A Pentecuste i serunt tuit ;
Mut i avra joie e deduit,
E la reïne i sera.
Tristram l'oï, mut se haita :
Ele n'i purrat mie aler
K'il ne la veie trespasser.
Le jur que li reis fu meüz,
Tristram est el bois revenuz.
Sur le chemin que il saveit
Que la rute passer deveit,
Une codre trencha par mi,
Tute quarreie la fendi.
Quant il ad paré le bastun,
De sun cutel escrit sun nun.

Se la reïne s'aperceit,
Ki mut grant garde s'en perneit —
Autre feiz li fu avenu
Que si l'aveit aparceü —
De sun ami bien conustra
Le bastun, quant el le verra.
Ceo fu la summe de l'escrit
Qu'il li aveit mandé e dit
Que luges ot ilec esté
E attendu e surjurné
Pur espïer e pur saveir
Coment il la peüst veeir
Kar ne poeit vivre sans li.
D'euls deux fu il tut autresi
Cume del chievrefoil esteit
Ki la codre se perneit :
Quant il s'i est laciez e pris
E tut entour le fust s'est mis,
Ensemble poënt bien durer,
Mes ki puis les voelt desevrer,
Li codres muert hastivement
E li chievrefoilz ensement.
"Bele amie, si est de nus :
ne vus sans mei, ne jeo sanz vus."

La reïne vait chevachant.

Ele esgardat tut un pendant,
Le bastun vit, bien l'aparceut,
Tutes les lettres i conut.
Les chevaliers ki la menoent
E ki ensemble od li erroent
Cumanda tus a arester :
Descendre voet e reposer.
Cil unt fait sun commandement.
Ele s'en vet luinz de sa gent ;
Sa meschine apelat a sei,
Breguein, ki mut ot bone fei.
Del chemin un poi s'esluina,
Dedenz le bois celui trova
Que plus amot que rien vivant :
Entre nus meinent joie mut grant.
A li parlat tut a leisir
E ele li dit sun pleisir ;
Puis li mostra cumfaitement
Del rei avrat acordement,
E que mut li aveit pesé
De ceo qu'il l'ot si cungée :
Par encusement l'aveit fait.
A tant s'en part, sun ami lait.
Mes quant ceo vint al desevrer,
Dunc comencierent a plurer.
Tristram a Wales s'en rala

Tant que sis uncles le manda.

Pur la joie qu'il ot eüe
De s'amie qu'il ot veüe
E pur ceo k'il aveit escrit
Si cum la reïne l'ot dit,
Pur les paroles remembrer,
Tristram, ki bien saveit harper,
En aveit fet un nuvel lai ;
Asez briefment le numerai :
Gotelef l'apelent Engleis,
Chievrefoil le nument Franceis.
Dit vus en ai la verité
Del lai que j'ai ici cunté.

Old Norse Version

The Old Norse version has been extracted from Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*. *Norrøne Tekster* 3. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitut: 196-198.

Bretar calla Gotulæf en ver kollum Geitarlauf

Mioc licar mér ok giarna vil ec syna yör þann strengleic er heitir i volsku chefre.fuillenn. Geitarlauf [i norr]æno. hvar þessi strengleicr var gor [ok kveðenn] með hverium hætti þat heui ec a boc [leset þat sem m]argir segia ok sanna um tristram ok um drotneng ok vm hina tryggazto ast þeirra. af hverio þau fengo margan harmulegan harm. ok um siðir do þau bæðe a einum degi. Marhæs konungr var reiðr tristram frennda

sinvm ok firir bauð honum ríki sitt sacar þes at hann unni drotningenni. ok for hann i fístr lannd sitt. Suðvales þar sem hann var fœddr. ok var hann fulla tolfmanaðe sva at hann fecc ei leyui aftir at fara. Siðan lagðe hann sec i abyrgð lifs eða dauða. En þer latet yðr ei kynlect þyckia. Þui at sa er ann trygglega er harms fullr mioc þa er hann fær ei vilia sinn. ok fyst. Tristram var mioc ryggr ok firir þui for hann or fostrlande sino. ok stefndi i kornbretalannd. Þannog sem drotning var firir. ok fals einnsaman i skogum. En þa er kvellda tóć þa fór hann ór ok tóć sér herbyrgi. ok spurðe hvat tit var með konunge. Þa sagðu þeir honum er fregit hafðu. at allir lenndir menn. ok hafðingiar skolu safnazc i tintaíol. Þuiat konungr vill hallda þar hatið. ok veita ollu hirðliði sinu ok hofðingivm a pikis dogum skolu allir þar vera. ok man þar ei skorta skemtan ok ríkan fagnað. ok skal þar þa drottningen vera. Sem tristram hafðe heyrť þat. Þa huggadiðzc hann mioc. Þui at han man ei fara sva sem um veginn at hann se hana ei. Nu þann dag sem hann vissi at konungr skyldi þangat fara. Þa kom tristram i morkena þa i hia vegenum sem hann vissi at drotning skyldi vm riða. Þa hio hann niðr einn hesli vonnd ok telgdi ferstrenndan⁴¹⁵ med knifi sinum. ok reist nafn sitt a stavenom. ef sva kann at bera at drotning ser stafenn. Þa man hon ihuga unnasta sinn. Þui at sva hafðe henni oðru sinni atborit. Nu var ristið a stavenom at tristram hafðe þar lengi beðit hennar ok umlyz at spyria til hennar ok vita með hverium hætti hann mætti sia hana. Þui at hann ma engum kosti liva on hennar. Sva ferr með ocr kvað hann sem viðundil⁴¹⁶ sa er binnz um hæslivið. Meðan þessir tveir viðir bua baðar saman. Þa déyr haslenn ok þui nest viðvinndillenn ok berr hvarki lauf. nema þorna ok firir verðaz bæðe. Hin friða unnasta min. sva ok eftir þeim hætti ero vit. Ei ma ec lifa on þin. ok ei þu on min. drotning kom þa riðannde ok leit stafenn er stoð i veginum. ok toc stafenn. ok upp las þat er á var ristit. Riddara þa er

415 He cuts "squares" (Ogham letters) into the stave and adds his name.

416 The Old Norse term for Goatleaf. In the title, the loanword Geitarlauf has been used.

fylgdo henni let hon nema stað. ok bauð þeim at biða sin. hon kvaz vilja stiga af hesti sinum. ok huilazc þar nokkura stund. ok gerðo þeir sem hon mællti. En hon gec þa mioc fjarre liði sinu. ok kallaðe hon þa þionasto mey sina. sem Brengveinn [het] er henni var iafnan holl ok trygg. Oc gec hon þa af vegenom at hon fann þann er hon mioc elskaðe. yuir alla livannde. ok var i þeim funndi mikill fagnaðr hvarstveggia ok mællti við hann i goðo tome allt þat er henni licaðe ok hann til hennar. Siðan sagðe hon honum með hverivm hætti hann ma fa sætt ok samræðe af herra sinum konungi. ok at konungrinn mioc iðraðezc at hann visti honum i brott . ok trvði vandra manna uraðom. Þui nest skildizc hon við unnasta sinn. En þa er at kom skilnaðe þeirra. Þa greto þau bæðe. Tristram dvaldizc i vales allt til þess er konungrinn moðor broðer hanss sendi eftir honum ok uppgaf honum reiði sina. Nv af þeim fagnaðe er hann fec í morkinni af huggan drotningarennar ok af syn hennar ok funndi. at mvna þau orð er hon mællti. Tristram er fullkominn var allzkonar strengleica er i horpu gerazc. fann þa nyian strengleic. Bretar kalla Gotulæf. Valskir menn chæfrefuill. En ver megum kalla Geitarlauf. En nv heui ec yör sagt þat sem ec veit sannazt um þessa skemtan.

Geitarlauf er her.

English Translation

Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*. *Norrøne Tekster* 3. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitut: 197-199.

The English call (this) "Gotulæf," but we call (it) "Geitarlauf."

It greatly pleases me and I want very much to present to you the lai which is called the Chæfrefuill in French and Geitarlauf in Norse, and where this lai was composed and told in that way. I have read in a book those things which may tell and testify about

Tristram and the Queen and their very true love, from which they had much tragic grief; and in time they both died on the same day. King Mark was angry at his nephew Tristram and banished him from his kingdom on account of the fact that he loved the Queen. He went to his native country, South Wales, where he had been born. He stayed there a full twelve months and did not get permission to go back. Then he put his life and death in the balance. Do not let this seem strange to you, for he who loves faithfully is full of sorrow when he does not achieve his will and desire. Tristram was very sad, and because of this he left his native country, South Wales, and made for Cornwall, where the Queen reigned, and hid himself all alone in the forest. When evening fell, he came out and took lodging and asked for the news was concerning the King. They told him—those who had heard—that all the barons and nobles are to assemble at Tintagel, because the King wants to celebrate a holiday there and entertain all his followers and nobles. At Pentecost they are all to be there, and there will be no lack of entertainment and lavish feasting; and the Queen is to be there then also. When Tristram heard that, he was greatly comforted, because she will not travel such a way that he will not see her. Now on the day when he knew that the King was to travel that way, Tristram went into the forest to a place beside the road along which he knew the Queen would ride. Then he cut off a hazel branch and made it four-sided with his knife and carved his name [on] the stick. If it can happen that the Queen sees the stick, then she will think of her sweetheart, because it happened to her this way once before. Now it was carved on the stick that Tristram had long been waiting for her there and listening to detect her approach and to know how he might see her, because he can by no way live without her. “It goes with us,” he said, “as with the honeysuckle that fastens itself around the hazel tree. As long as these two trees are together they live and produce foliage, but if anyone should separate these trees from each other, the hazel will die and then the honeysuckle, and neither of them will produce foliage; instead, they will both dry up and

perish. My beautiful sweetheart, such and in the same way are we. I cannot live without you, nor you without me.” Then the Queen came riding and saw the stick standing in the road. She took the stick and read what was carved on it. She had the knights who were accompanying her make a stop and told them to wait for her. She said that she wanted to get off her horse and rest there for a while, and they did as she said. Then she went very far away from her followers and called her serving maiden Brengveinn, who was always loyal and faithful to her. Then she left the road so that she met the one whom she loved greatly above all living things. There was a great joy in that meeting on both sides, and she spoke to him in good ease about everything she pleased and he to her. Then she told him in what way he may gain reconciliation and recognition from her lord the King, and she said that the King sorely regretted having sent him away—he had trusted the bad counsel of evil men. Then she parted from her sweetheart. And when it came to their parting, they both wept. Tristram stayed in Wales until the King, his mother’s brother, sent for him and gave up his anger toward him. Now from the joy which he had in the forest from the comforting of the Queen, and from the sight of her and the meeting, and in order to remember the words which she spoke, Tristram, who was perfect in all sorts of lais that are composed for the harp, made a new lai. The English call it “Gotulæf” and the French “Chefrefuill,” and we call it “Geitarlauf.” I have now told you what I know to be most true concerning this entertainment.

Geitarlauf ends here.

Chrétien de Troyes: *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*

The French text has been extracted from Foerster, Wendelin (1965) *Der Löwenritter (Yvain) von Christian von Troyes*. Amsterdam, Rodopi.

Chrétien de Troyes (c.1135-1190) was a contemporary of Marie de France. He was in the service of Marie of Champagne and her husband, Philippe of Alsace, as court poet. The social status of the French vernacular had by now increased, and the vernacular literature flourished on both sides of the Channel, explaining why Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France could be part of the same literary tradition, using almost the same vernacular expression. Chrétien was greatly inspired by the Latin culture, especially by Ovid and his *Ars amatoris* (which in *Cligès* he claims to have translated).

In many ways Chrétien epitomizes the notion of *translatio studii* of the emerging French national literature. However, his greatest source of influence was the Celtic legends of King Arthur, in which the fantastic and the heroic went hand in hand. The first *romans* derives from the Celtic literary traditions. By importing and adapting the Arthurian stories and combining them with the literary ideals of the ancient Romans, Chrétien managed to create a new literary genre, the *roman*, a genre deeply rooted in the national vernacular.

His themes were, like those of Marie de France, centering around the medieval notion of *fin'amor*, and the opposition between the obligations of true love and the chivalric duties of knighthood. Yvain's problem is that he has not been able to establish a balance between the two: the knightly duties absorb him to such a degree that he forgets the promise he gave to his lady. Whereas Tristan meets his destiny in the form of a magic love potion and loses control of his life in this way, Yvain and the other knight of Chrétien's imagination have a will of their own that they can either use or waste. They are themselves the architects of their lives. The broken promise and the

ensuing separation of the lovers can only be atoned for through a series of trials, either psychological or physical. Love must be tested and found worthy.

Three of Chrétien de Troyes' *romans* were translated into Old Norse in the 13th century: *Eric et Enide*, *Yvain ou le chevalier du lion*, and *Le conte du graal* (*Perceval and Gawain*). I have tried to make a selection from the text that somehow illustrates the different trials and the complicated psychology involved in the reconciliation between the two lovers.

Introduction: Lines 1 – 174:

ARTUS, li buens rois de Bretaingne,
La cui proesce nos anfaingne,
Que nos soient preu et cortois,
Tint cort si riche come rois
A cele feste qui tant coste.
Qu'an doit clamer la Pantecoste.
La corz fu a Carduel an Gales.
Aprés mangier parmi les sales
Li chevalier s'atropelerent
La ou dames les apelerent
Et dameiseles et puceles.
Li un racontoient noveles,
Li autre parloient d'amors,
Des angoisses et des dolors
Et des granz biens qu'an ont sovant
Li deciple de son covant
Qui lors estoit riches et buens ;

Mes or i a mout po des suens,
Que a bien pres l'ont tuit leissiee,
S'an est amors mout abeissiee;
Car cil qui soloient amer
Se feisoient cortois clamer
Et preu et large et enorable,
Or est amors torneee et fable
Por ce qui rien n'an santent
Dient qu'il aimment, mes il mantent.
Et cil fable et mançonge an font
Qui s'an vantent et droit n'i ont.
Mes por parler de çaus furent,
leissons çaus qui an vie durent!
Qu'ancor vaut miauz, ce m'est a vis,
Uns cortois morz qu'un vilains vis.
Por ce me plect a raconter
Chose qui face a escouter,
Del roi qui fu de tel tesmoing
Qu'an an parole pres et loing;
Si m'acort de tant as Bretons
Que toz jorz mes durra ses nons,
Et par lui sont ramanteü
Li buen chevalier esleü
Qui an enor se traveillierent,
Mes cel jor mout s'esmerveilleirent
Del roi qui d'antr'aus se leva,

S'i ot de teus cui mout greva
Et qui mout grant parole an firent
Por ce que onques mes nel virent
A si grant feste an chanbre antrer
Por dormir ne por reposer;
Mes cel jor ainsi li avint
Que la reïne le detint,
Si demora tant delez li
Qu'il s'oblia et andormi.
A l'uis de la chanbre desors
Fu Dodinez et Sagremors
Et Keus et mes sire Gauvain
Et avuec aus mes rire Yvains,
Et si i fu Calogrenanz.
Uns chevaliers mout avenanz,
Qui lor ot comancié un conte,
Non de s'enor, mes de sa honte
Que que il son conte contoit
Et la reïne l'escoutoit,
Si s'est de lez le roi levee
Et vint sor aus si a anblee,
Qu'ainz que nus la poïst veoir
Se fu leissiee antr'aus cheoir,
Fors que Calogrenanz sanz plus
Sailli an piez contre li sus.
Et Keus qui mout fu ranponeus.

Fel et poignanz et afiteus.
Li dist : «Par Deu, Calogrenant,
Mout vos voi or preu et faillant,
Et certes mout m'est bel que vos
Estes li plus cortois de nos;
Et bien sai que vos le cuidiez,
Tant estes vos de san vuidiez;
S'est droiz que ma dame le cuit
Que vos aiez plus que nos tuit
De cortisie et de proesce.
Espoir, que nos ne nos levames,
Ou por ce que nos ne deignames.
Par ma foi, sire, non feïmes,
Mes por ce que nos ne veïmes
Ma dame, ainz fustes vos levez.»
«Certes, Keus, ja fussiez crevez.»
Fet la reïne, «au mien cuider,
Se ne vos poïssiez vuider
Del venin don vos estes plains.
Enuieus estes et vilains
De ranponer voz compaignons.»
«Dame, se nos ne gaeignons,»
Fet Keus, «an vostre compaignie,
Gardez que vos n'i perdiens mie!
Je ne cuit avoir chose dite
Qui me doie estre a mal escrete,

Et je vos pri, teisiez vos an!
Il n'a cortisie ne san
An plet d'oiseuse maintenir.
Cist plez ne doit avant venir,
Ne l'an nel doit plus haut monter.
Mes faites nos avant conter
Ce qu'il avoit comancié.
Que ci ne doit avoir tancié.»
A ceste parole s'apont
Calogrenanz et si respont:
«Sire,» fet il, «de la tançon
N'ai je mie grant cusançon;
Petit m'an est et po la pris.
Se vos avez vers moi mespris,
Je n'i avrai ja nul damage;
Qu'a plus vaillant et a plus sage,
Mes sire Keus, que je ne sui,
Avez vos dit sovant enui
Et bien an estes costumiers.
Toz jorz doit puïr li fumiers
Et taons poindre et maloz bruire,
Enuieus enuiier et nuire.
Mes je n'an contrai hui mes,
Se ma dame m'an leisse an pes,
Et je li pri qu'ele s'an teise,
Que ja chose qui me despleise

Ne me comant soe merci.»
«Dame, trestuit cil qui font ci,»
Fet Keus, «buen gre vos an savront,
Que volantiers l'escouteront;
Ne n'an feites vos rien por moi!
Mes foi que vos devez le roi,
Le vostre seignor et le mien,
Comandez li, si feroiz bien.»
«Calogrenanz,» fet la reïne,
«Ne vos chaille de l'ataïne
Mon seignor Keu, le seneschal!
Costumier est de dire mal
Si qu'an ne l'an puet chastier;
Comander vos vuel et prier
Que ja n'an aiez au cuer ire,
Ne por lui ne liessiez a dire
Chose qui nos pleise a oïr
Se de m'amor volez joïr,
Si comanciez tot de reschief! »
« Certes, Dame, ce m'est mout grief
Que vos me comandez a feire;
Ainz me laissasse un des iauz treire,
Se correcier ne vos dotasse,
Que hui mes nule rien contasse;
Mes je ferai ce qu'il vos siet,
Comant que il onques me griet.

Des qu'il vos pleft, or antandez!
Cuer et oroilles me randez!
Car parole oïe est perdue
S'ele n'est de cuer antandue.
De çaus i a que ce qu'il öent
N'antandent pas et si le loent;
Et cil n'an ont mes que l'oïe.
Des que li cuers n'i antant mie,
As oroilles vient la parole
Aussi come li vanz qui vole;
Mes n'i areste ne demore,
Ainz s'an part an mout petit d'ore
Se li cuers n'est si esveilliez
Qu'au prandre soit apareilliez;
Que cil la puet an son venir
Prandre et anclorre et retenir.
Les oroilles sont voie et doiz
Par ou s'an vient au cuer la voiz;
Et li cuers prant dedanz le vandre
La voiz qui par l'oroille i antre.
Et qui or me voudra antandre
Cuer et oroilles me doit randre;
Car ne vuel pas parler de songe,
Ne de fable ne de mançonge,
Don maint autre vos ont servi,
Ainz vos dirai ce que je vi.

Yvain discovers that he has forgotten his promise to Laudine. Yvain's folly (Lines 2695 – 2855)

Tant que ancomança
A panser, que des lors an ça,
Que a sa dame ot congié pris,
Ne fu si de panser surpris
Con de celui, que bien savoit
Que covant manti li avoit
Et trespassez estoit li termes.
A grant painne tenoit ses lermes,
Mes honte li feisoit tenir.
Tant pansa que il vit venir
Une dameisele a droiture,
Et venoit mout grant anbleüre
Desor un palefroi bauçant;
Devant le paveillon desçant,
Que nus ne fu a son desçandre
Ne nus n'ala son cheval prandre.
Et lués que ele pot veoir
Le roi, si leissa jus cheoir
Son mantel et desafublee
S'an est el paveillon antree
Et tres devant le roi venue
Et dist que sa dame salue
Le roi et mon seignor Gauvain
Et toz les autres fors Yvain,

Le desleal, le traïtor,
Le mançongier, le jangleor,
[Qui l'a leissiee et deceüe.
Bien a sa jangle aparceüe.]
Qui se feisoit verais amerre,
S'est faus et traïtres et lerre.
«Ma dame a cist lerre souduite,
Qui n'estoit de nul mal recuite,
Ne ne cuidoit pas a nul fuer
Qu'il li deüst anbler son cuer.
Cil n'anblent pas les cuers, qui aiment,
Si a teus qui larrons les claimment,
Qui en amor vont faunoiant
Et si n'an sevent tant ne quant.
Li amis prant le cuer s'amie
Einsi qu'il ne li anble mie,
Ainz, le garde que ne li anblent
Larron qui prodome resanblent.
Et cil sont larron ipocrite
Et traïtor qui metent lite
As cuer anbler, don aus ne chaut;
Mes li amis, quel part qu'il aut,
Le tient chier et si le raporte.
Mes Yvain sa ma dame morte,
Qu'ele cuidoit qu'il gardast
Son cuer et si li raportast

Einçois que fust passez li anz.
Yvains, mout fus or oblianz,
Que ne te pot resovenir
Que tu deüsses revenir
A ma dame jusque'a un an.
Jusque'a la feste saint Jehan
Te dona ele de respit,
Et tu l'eüs an tel despit
Qu'onques puis ne t'an remanbra.
Ma dame paint an sa chanbre a
Trestoz les jorz et toz les tans;
Car qui aime, il est an orpans,
N'onques ne puet prandre buen some,
Mes tote nuit conte et asome
Les jorz qui viennent et qui vont.
Sez tu come li amant font?
Content le tans et la seison.
N'est pas venue sanz reison
Sa complainte ne devant jor,
Si ne di ge rein por clamor,
Mes tant di que traï nos a
Qui a ma dame t'esposa.
Yvains, n'a mes cure de toi
Ma dame, ainz te mande par moi
Que ja mes vers li ne revaingnes
Ne son anel plus ne detaingnes.

Par moi que ci an presant voiz
Te mande que tu li anvoiz.
Rant li, que randre le t'estuet. »

Yvains respondre ne li puet,
Que sans et parole li faut.
Et la dameisele avant saut,
Si li oste l'anel del doi
Puis si comande a Deu le roi
Et toz les autres fors celui
Cui ele leisse an grant enui.
Et ses enuiz tot adés croist,
Quanque il ot tot li ancroist
Et quanqu'il voit tot li enuie.
Mis se voudroit estre a la fuie
Toz seus an li sauvage terre
Que l'an ne le seüst ou guerre,
N'ome ne fame n'i eüst,
Ne nus de lui rien ne seüst
Nient plus que s'il fust an abïsme
Ne het tant rien con lui meïsme
Ne ne set, a cui se confort
De lui qu'il meïsme a mort;
Mes ainz voudra le san changier
Que il ne se puisse vangier
De lui qui joie s'est tolue.

D'antre les barons se remue,
Qu'il crient antr'aus issir del san,
Et de ce ne se gardoit l'an.
Si l'an leissierent seul aler.
Bien sevent que de lor parler
Ne de lor siecle n'a il soing.
Et il va tant que il fu loing
Des tantes et des paveillons.
Lors li monta uns torbeillons
El chief si granz que il forsane;
Lors se descire et se despane
Et fuit par chans et par arees,
Si leisse ses janz esgarees,
Qui se mervoeillent ou puet estre.
Querant le vont par trestout l'estre,
Par les osteus as chevaliers
Et par haies et par vergiers,
Sel quierent la ou il n'est pas.
Fuiant s'an va plus que le pas
Tant qu'il trova delez un parc
Un garçon qui tenoit un arc
Et cinc saietes barbeles
Qui mout ierent trenchanz et lees;
s'ot tant de san que au garçon
Est alez tolir son arçon
Et les saietes qu'il tenoit.

Pour ce mes ne li sovenoit
De nule rien qu'il eüst faite.
Les bestes par le bois agueite
Si les ocit, et si manjue
La veneison trestote crue.
Et tant conversa el boschage
Com hon forsenez et sauvage
Qu'une meison a un hermite
Trova, mout basse et mout petite.
Et li hermites essartoit.
Quant vit celui qui nus estoit,
Bien puet savoir sanz nul redot
Qu'il n'avoit mie le san tot;
Et si fist il, tres bien le sot.
De la peor que il en ot
Se feri an sa meisonete.
De son pain et de s'iaue nete
Par charité prist li prodon,
Si li mist fors de sa meison
Desor une fenestre estreite.
Et cil vient la, qui mout covoit
Le pain, et si le prant et s'i mort.
Ne cuit que onques de si fort
Ne de si aspre eüst gosté.
N'avoit mie cinc souz costé
Li sestier don fu fez li pains

Qui plus iert egres que levains,
d'orge pestriz atot la paille.
Et avuec ce iert sans faille
Moisiz et ses come une escorce.
Mais li fains l'angoisse et efforce;
Tant que le pou li sot li pains;
Qu'a toz mangiers est fauce fains
Bien destranpree et bien confite.
Tot manja le pain a l'ermite
Mes sire Yvains, que buen li sot,
Et but de l'iaue froide au pot.
Quant ot mangié, si se refiert
El bois et cers et biches requiert.
Et li buens hon desoz son toit
Prie Deu, quant aler l'an voit,
Qu'il le defande et qu'il le gart,
Que mes ne vaingne cele part.

Encountering the lion. The lion and the serpent (Lines 3340-3565)

Mes sire Yvains pansì chemine
Par une parfonde gaudine
Tant qu'il oï anmi le gaut
Un cri mout dolereus et haut.
Si s'adreça lors vers le cri
Cele part ou il l'ot oï.
Et quant il parvint cele part,

Vit un lion an un essart
Et un serpent qui le tenoit
Par la coe et si li ardoit
Trestoz les rains de flame ardant.
N'ala pas longues regardant.
Mes sire Yvains cefte mervoille.
A lui meismes se consoille,
Au quel des deus il eidera,
Et dit qu'au lion secorra;
Qu'a venimeus et a felon
Ne doit l'an feire se mal non.
Et li serpanz est venimeus,
Si li saut par la boche feus,
Tant est de felenie plains.
Por ce panse mes sire Yvains
Qu'il ocirra premieremant.
L'espee tret et vient avant
Et met l'escu devant sa face
Que la flame mal ne li face,
Que il gitoit parmi la gole
Qui plus estoit lee d'une ole.
Se li lions après l'asaut.
La bataille ne li refaut.
Mes que que l'an avaingne après,
Eider li voudra il adés;
Que pitiez le semont et prie

Qu'il face secors et aïe
A la beste jantil et franche,
A l'espee qui soef tranche
Va le felon serpent requerre,
Si le tranche jusqu'an la terre
Et an deus mitiez le tronçone,
Fiert et refiert et tant l'an done
Que tot le demince et depiece.
Mes il li covint une piece
Tranchier de la coe au lion
Por la teste du serpent felon
Qui par la coe le tenoit;
Tant con tranchier an convenoit
An trancha, qu'onques mains ne pot.
Quant le lion delivré ot,
Cuida qu'a lui le convenist
Conbatre et que sor lui venist;
Mes il ne le se pansa onques.
Oez que fist li lions donques!
Il fist que frans et deboneire,
que il li comança a feire
Sanblant que a lui se randoit.
Et ses piez joinz li estandoit
Et vers terre ancline sa chiere,
S'estut sor les deus piez derriere
Et puis si se ragenoilloit

Et tote sa face moilloit
De lermes par humilité.
Mes sire Yvains par verité
Set que li lions l'an mercie
Et que devant lui s'umilie
Por le serpent qu'il avoit mort
Et lui delivré de la mort,
Si li plest mout ceste aventure.
Por le venin et por l'ordure
Del serpent essuie s'espee,
Si l'a el fuerre rebotee
Puis si se remet a la voie.
Et li lions lez lui costoie;
Que ja mes ne s'an partira,
Toz jorz mes avuec lui ira;
Que servir et grader le viaut.
Devant a la voie s'aquiaut
Tant qu'il santi desoz le vant,
Si com il s'an aloit devant,
Bestes sauvages an pasture,
Si le semont fains et nature
D'aler an proie et de chacier
Por sa vitaille porchacier;
Ce viaut nature qu'il le face.
Un petit s'est mis an la trace
Tant que son seignor a mostré

Qu'il a santi et ancontré
Vant et fler de sauvage beste.
Lors le regarde, si s'aresté,
Que il le viaut servir an gre;
Car ancontre sa volanté.
Ne voudroit aler nule part.
Et cil parçoit a son esgart
Qu'il li mostre que il l'atant.
Bien l'aparçoit et bien l'antant
Que s'il remaint il remandra,
Et se il le siut il prandra
La veneison qu'il a santie.
Lors le semont et si l'escrie
Ausi com uns brachez feïst.
Et li lions maintenant mist
Le nes au vant qu'il ot santi,
Ne ne li ot de rien manti;
Qu'il n'ot pas une archiee alee,
Quant il vit an une valee
Tot seul pasturer un chevruel.
Cestui prandra il ja son vuel,
Et il si fist au premier saut.
Puis si an but le sanc tot chaut.
Quant ocis l'ot, si le gita
Sor son dos et si l'an porta
Tant que devant son seignor vint,

Qui puis an grant chierté le tint
[Et a lui a pris conpaignie
A trestoz les jorz de sa uie]
Por la grant amor qu'an lui ot.
Ja fu pres de nuit, si li plot
Qu'ilueques se herbergeroit
Et del chevruel escorcherait
Tant com il an voudroit mangier.
Lors le comance a escorchier,
Le cuir li fant desor la coste,
De la longe un lardé li oste
Et tret le feu d'un chailllo bis,
Si la de seche busche espris
Et met an une broche an rost
Son lardé cuire au feu mout tost,
Sel rosti tant que toz fu cuiz.
Mes del mangier fu nus deduiz;
Qu'il n'i ot pain ne vin ne sel,
Ne nape ne coutel ne el,
Que qu'il manja, devant lui jut
Ses lions, qu'onques ne se mut,
Ainz l'a tot adés regardé
Tant que il ot de son lardé
Tant mangié que il n'an pot plus.
Del chevruel tot le soreplus
Manja li lions jusqu'as os.

Et cil tint son chief a repos
Tote la nuit sor son escu
A tel repos come ce fu;
et li lions ot tant de sans
Qu'il veilla et fu an espans
Del cheval garder, qui peissoit
l'erbe qui petit l'angreissoit.

Au matin s'an revont ansamble

Et itel vie, ce me sanble,
Com il orent la nuit menee,
Out ansamble andui demenee
Pres trestote cele semaine
Tant qu'avanture a la fontaine
Desoz le pin les amena.
La por un po ne forsena
Mes sire Yvains autre foiiee
Quant la fontaine ot aprochiee
Et le perron et la chapele.
Mil foiz las et dolanz s'apele
Et chiet pasmez, tant fu dolanz;
Et s'espee qui fu colanz
Chiet del fuerre, si li apointe
As mailles del hauberc la pointe
An droit le col pres de la joe.
N'i maille qui ne descloie,

Et l'espee del col li tranche
La pel desoz la maille blanche
Si qu'ele an fist le sanc cheoir.
Li lions cuide mort veoir
Son compaignon et son seignor.
Ainz de rien nule duel greignor
N'oïstes conter ne retreire,
Qu'il comança tantost a feire!
Il se devoutre et grate et crie
Et a talant que il s'ocie
De l'espee don li est vis
Que son seignor avoit ocis.
A ses danz l'epee li oste
Et sor un fust gisant l'acoste
Et derrier a un tronc l'apuie,
Qu'ele ne ganchisse ne fuie
Quant il i hurtera del piz.
Ja fust ses voloirs aconpliz
Quant cil de pasmeisons revint,
Et li lions son cors retint
Qui a la mort toz acorsez
Coroît come pors aorsez
Qui ne prant garde ou il se fiere.
Mes sire Yvains an tel meniere
Dejoste le perron se pasme,
Au revenir mout fort se blasme

De l'an que trespasé avoit,
Por quoi sa dame le haoit,
Et dit : «Que fet que ne se tue
Cist las qui joie s'est tolue ?
Que faz je, las, qui ne m'oci ?
Comant puis je demorer ci
Et veoir les choses ma dame ?
An mon cors por qu'arreste m'ame ?
Que fet ame an si dolant cors ?
S'ele s'an iert alee fors,
Ne seroit pas an tel martire.
Haïr et blasmer et despire
Me doi voir mout et je si faz.
Qui pert la joie et le solaz
Par son mesfet et par son tort,
Mout se doit bien haïr de mort.
Haïr et ocirre se doit;
Et je, tan con nus ne me voit,
Por quoi s'esparng que ne me tu ?
Don n'ai je cest lion veü
Qui por moi a si grant duel fet
Qu'il fe vost m'espee antrefet
Parmi le cors el piz boter ?
Et je doi la mort redoter
Qui a duel ai joie changiee ?
De moi s'est la joie estrangiee —

Joie ? La ques ? N'an dirai plus;
Que ce ne porroit dire nus,
S'ai demandee grant oiseuse.
Des joies fu la plus joieuse
Cele qui m'iert aseüree;
Mes mout par m'ot corte duree.
Et qui ce pert par son mesfet,
N'est droiz que buone aventure et.»

QUE QUE il einsi se demante,
Une cheitive, une dolante
Estoit an la chapele anclose,⁴¹⁷
Si vit et oï cele chose
Par le mur qui estoit crevez...

**Yvain revealed as the Lion-Knight. Reconciliation between Yvain and Laudine. End
of *roman* (Lines 6445-6815)**

Et li rois dit a son neveu,
Au chevalier vaillant et preu,
Que ses armes oster se lest,
Et mes sire Yvains, se lui plest,
Se relest les soes tolir;
Car bien s'an pueent mes sofrir.

417 An anchorite or anchoresse, a recluse withdrawn permanently, usually in a closed cell adjacent to a church. Many recluses were sought out for advice and guidance, talking through a small opening in the wall (Larrington 1995).

Lors se desarment li vassal,
Si se departent par igal;
Et que que il se desarmoient,
Le lion corant venir voient
Qui son seignor querant aloit.
Tot maintenant que il le voit,
Si comance grant joie a feire.
Lors veïssiez janz arriers treire :
Trestoz li plus hardiz s'an fuit.
«Estez,» fet mes sire Yvains, «tuit!
Por quoi fuiiez? Nus ne vos chace.
Ne dotez ja que mal vos face
Li lion que venir veez!
De ce, s'il vos plect, me creez
Qu'il est a moi et je a lui,
Si somes conpaignon andui.»
Lors sorent trestuit cil de voir
Qui orent oï mantevoir
Les aventures au lion,
De lui et son conpaignon,
Qu'onques ne fu autre que cist
Qui le felon jaïant ocist.
Et mes sire Gauvain li dit :
«Sire conpainz, se Deus m'aït,
Mout m'avez hui avileni!
Mauveisement vos ai meri

Le servise que me feïstes
Del jaïant que vos oceïstes
Por mes neveuz et por ma niece.
A vos ai je pansé grant piece,
Et por ce estoie angoisseus
Que l'an disoit qu'antre nos deus
Avoit amor et acointance.
Mout i ai pansé sanz dotance;
Mes apanser ne me savoie,
N'onques oï parler n'avoie
De chevalier que je seüsse,
An terre ou je esté eüsse,
Que li chevaliers au lion
Fust nus apelez an son non.»
Desarmé sont einsi parlant,
Et li lions ne vint pas lant
Vers son seignor la ou il sist.
Quant devant lui fu, si li fist
Grant joie come beste mue.
An anfermerie et an mue
Les an covient andeus mener;
Car a lor plaies resener
Ont mestier de mire et d'antret.
Devant lui mener les an fet
Li rois qui mout chiers les avoit.
Un chirurgien qui savoit

De chirurgie plus que nus
Lor fet mander li rois Artus.
Et cil del garde se pena
Tant que lor plaies resena
Au miauz et au plus tost qu'il pot.
Quant anbedeus garis les ot,
Mes sire Yvains qui sanz retor
Avoit son cuer mis an amor
Vit bien que durer ne porroit,
Mes par amor an fin morroit
Se sa dame n'avoit merci
De lui; qu'il se morroit por li;
Et pansa qu'il se partiroit
Toz feus de cort et si iroit
A la fontaine guerroiier
Et s'i feroit tant foudroiier
Et tant vanter et tant plovoir
Que par force et par estovoir
Li covandroit a feire pes,
Ou il ne fineroit ja mes
De la fontaine tormanter
Et de plovoir et de vanter.

MAINTENANT que mes sire Yvains
Santi qu'il fu gariz et sains,
Si s'an parti que nus nel sot;

Mes avuec lui son lion ot,
Qui onques an tote sa vie
Ne vost leisser sa compaignie.
Puis errent tant que il virent
La fontainne et plovoir i firent,
Ne cuidiez pas que je vos mante,
Que si fu fiere la tormante
Que nus n'an conteroit la disme;
Qu'il sanbloit que jusqu'an abisme
Deüst fondre la forez tote!
La dame de son chastel dote
Que il ne fonde toz ansamble;
Li mur crollent et la torz tranble
Si que por po qu'ele ne verse.
Miauz vosist estre pris an Perse
Li plus hardiz antre les Turs,
Qu'il fust leanz antre les murs.
Tel peor ont que il maudient
Lor ancessors et trestuit dient:
« Maleoiz soit li premiers hon
Qui fist an cest païs meison,
Et cil qui cest chastel fonderent!
Qu'an tot le monde ne troverent
Leu que l'an deüst tant haïr;
Qu'uns seus hon nos puet anvair
Et tormanter et traveillier. »

«De ceste chose conseilher
Vos covient, Dame!» Fet Lunete.⁴¹⁸

«Ne troveroiz qui s'antremete
De vos eider a cest besoing
Se l'an nel va querre mout loing.

Ja mes voir ne reposerons

An cest chastel ne n'oserons
Les murs ne la porte passer.

Qui avroit toz fez amasser
Vos chevaliers por cest afeire,
Ne s'an oseroit avant treire
Toz li miaudres, bien le savez.

S'est or einsi que vos n'avez
Qui defande vostre fontainne,
Si sanbleroiz fole et vilainne.

Mout bele enor i avroiz ja
Quant sanz bataille s'an ira
Cil qui si vos a asaille.

Certes, vos estes maubaillie
S'autremant de vos ne pansez.”

«Tu,» fet la dame, «qui tant sez,
Me di comant j'an panserai
Et je a ton los an ferai.»

«Dame, certes, se je savoie,

418 The lady's maid

Volantiers vos conseilieroie;
Mes vos avriiez grant mestier
De plus resnable conseilier.
Por ce si ne m'an os mesler
Et le plovoir et le vanter
Avuec les autres sofferrai
Tant, se Deu plest, que je verrai
An vostre cort aucun preudome
Qui prandra le fes et la some
De ceste bataille sor lui;
Mes je ne cuit que ce soit hui,
Or si vaudra pis a vostre oes.»
Et la dame li respont lués:
«Dameisele, car parlez d'el!
Leissiez la jant de mon ostel,
Qu'an aus n'ai je nul atandue
Que ja par aus soit defandue
La fontaine ne li perrons.
Mes, se Deu plest, or i verrons
Vostre consoil et vostre san;
Car au besoing, toz jorz dit l'an,
Doit an son ami esprover.»
«Dame, qui cuideroit trover
Celui qui le jaïant ocist
Et les trois chevaliers conquist,
Il le feroit buen aler querrer;

Mes tant com il avra la guerre;
Et l'ire et le mal cuer sa dame,
N'a il el mont home ne fame
Cui il servist, mien esciant,
Jus que il li jurt et fiant
qu'il fera tote sa puissance
De racorder la mefestance
Que la dame a si grant a lui
Qu'il an muert de duel et d'ennui.»
Et la dame dit: «Je sui preste
Ainz que vos antroiz an la queste,
Que je vos plevisse ma foi
Et jurerai, s'il vient a moi,
Que je sanz guile et sanz feintise
Li ferai tot a sa devise
Sa pes se je feire la puis.»
Et Lunete li redit puis:
« Dame, de ce ne dotez rien
Que vos ne li puissiez mout bien
Sa pes feire se il vos siet;
Mes del seirement ne vos griet,
Que je le prandrai tote voie
Ainz que je me mete a la voie. »
«Ce,» fet la Dame, «ne me poise.»
Lunete qui mout fu cortoise
Li fist tot maintenant fors treire

Un mout precieus santueire
Et la dame a genouz s'est mise.
Au geu de verité l'a prise
Lunete mout cortoisement.
A l'eschevir del seirement
Rien de son preu n'i oblia
Cele qui eschevi li a.
«Dame,» fet ele, «hauciez la main!
Mes ne voel pas qu'après demain
M'an metoiz sus ne ce ne quoi;
Que vos n'an faites rien por moi.
Por vos meïmes le feroiz!
Si il vos pleist, si jureriez
Por le chevalier au lion
Que vos an buone antanion
Vos peneriez tant qu'il savra
Que le buen gre sa dame avra
Tot aussi bien com il ot onques. »
La main destre leva adonques
La dame et dist: «Trestot ainsi
Con tu l'as dit, et je t'otrie,
Einsi m'aït Deus et li sainz,
Que ja mes cuers ne sera fainz
Que je tot mon pooir n'an face.
L'amor li randrai et la grace
Que il siaut a sa dame avoir,

Se je an ai force et pooir. »
 OR A BIEN Lunete exploitié;
De rien n'avoit tel covoiitié
 Con de ce que ele avoit fet.
 Et l'an li avoit ja fors tret
 Un palefroi soef anblant.
 A bele chiere, a lié sanblant
 Monte Lunete, si s'an va
 Tant que desoz le pin trova
 Celui qu'ele ne cuidoit pas
 Trover a si petit de pas;
 Ainz cuidoit qu'il li covenist
 Mout guerre ainz qu'a lui parvenist.
 Par le lion l'a coneü
 Tantost com ele l'a veü,
 Si vient a lui grant aleüre
 Et desçant a la terre dure.
 Et mes sire Yvains la connut
 De si loing com il l'aparçut
 Si la salue et ele lui
 Et dit: «Sire, mout liee sui
 Quant je vos ai trové si pres.»
 Et mes sire Yvains dit aprées:
 «Comant? Me querriez vos donques?»
 «Oïl voir, et si ne sui onques
 Si liee des que je fui nee;

Que j'ai ma dame a ce menee,
S'ele parjurer ne se viaut,
Que tot aussi com ele siaut
Iert vostre dame et vos ses sire;
Par verité le vos os dire.»
Mes sire Yvains formant s'esjot
De la novele qui il ot,
Qu'il ne cuidoit ja mes oïr.
Ne pot mie assez conjoïr
Celi qui ce li a porquis
Les iauz li beise et puis le vis
Et dit: «Certes, ma douce amie,
Ce ne vos porroie je mie
Guerredoner an nule guise.
A vos feire enor et servise
Criem que pooirs et tans me faille.»
«Sire,» fet ele, «ne vos chaille,
Ne ja n'an soiez an espans.»
Qu'assez avroiz pooir et tans
A bien feire moi et autrui.
Se je ai fet ce que je dui,
Si m'an doit an tel gre savoir
Con celui qui autrui avoir
Anprunte et puis si li repaie.
Ancor ne cuit que je vos aie
Randu ce que je vos devoie.»

« Si vos avez fet, se Deu me voie,
A plus de cinc çanz mile droiz.
Or an irons quant vos voudroiz.
Mes avez li vos dit de moi
Qui je sui ? » « Nenil, par ma foi!
Ne ne fet comant avez non
Se chevaliers au lion non. »

EINSI parlant s'an vont adés
Et li lions toz jorz après
Tant qu'au chastel vindrent tuit troi.
Ainz ne distrent ne ce ne quoi
El chastel n'a home ne fame
Tant qu'il vindrent devant la dame.
Et la dame mout s'esjoï
Tantost con novele oï
De la pucele qui venoit,
Et de ce que ele amenoit
Le lion et le chevalier
Qu'ele voloit mout acointier
Et mout conoistre et mout veoir.
A ses piez s'est leissiez cheoir
Mes sire Yvains trestoz armez,
Et Lunete qui fu delez
Li dit : « Dame, relevez l'an
Et metez force et painne et san

A la pes querre et au pardon
Que nus ne li puet se vos non
An tot le monde porchacier! »
Lors le fet la dame drecier
Et dit : « Mes pooirs est toz suens!
Ses volantez feire et ses buens
Voudroie mout que je poïsse. »
« Certes, dame, ja nel deïsse, »
Fet Lunete, «se ne sust voirs.
Toz an est vostre li pooirs
Assez plus que dit ne vos ai;
Mes des or mes vos an dirai
La verité, si la savroiz :
Ainz n'eüstes ne ja n'avroiz
Si buen ami come cestui.
Deus qui viaut qu'antre vos et lui
Et buene pes et buene amor
Tel qui ja ne faille a nul jor
Le m'a hui fet si pres trover.
Ja a la verité prover
Ne covient autre reison dire :
Dame, or li pardonez vostre ire!
Car il n'a dame autre que vos.
C'est mes sire Yvains, vostre espos. »

ACEST mot la dame tresaut

Et dit: «Se Damedeus me saut,
Bien m'avez au hoquerel prose!
Celui qui ne m'aimme ne prise
Me feras amer maugré mien.
Or as tu exploitié mout bien,
Or m'as tu mout a gre servie!
Miauz vosisse tote ma vie
Vanz et orages andurer!
Et se ne fust de parjurer
Trop leide chose et trop vilainne,
Ja mes a moi por nule painne
Pes ne acorde ne trovast.
Toz jorz mes el cors me covast
Si con li feus cove an la çandre,
Ce don je ne vuel or repandre
Ne ne me chaut del recorder
Puis qu'a lui s'estuet acorder. »

MES sire Yvains ot et autant
Que ses afeires bien li prant,
Qu'il avra sa pes et l'acorde,
Et dit: «Dame, misericorde
Doit an de pescheor avoir,
Comparé ai mon sol savoir
Et je le dui bien comparer,
Folie me fist demorer,

Si m'an rant corpable et forfet.
Et mout grant hardemant ai fet
Quant devant vos osai venir;
Mes s'or me volez retenir,
Ja mes ne vos messerai rien.»
«Certes,» fet ele, «je vuel bien
Por ce que parjure seroie
Se tot mon pooir n'an feisoie
De pes feire antre vos et moi.
S'il vos pleist, je la vos otroi.»
«Dame,» fet il, «cinc çanz merciz!
Einsi m'aït sainz Esperiz,
Que Deus an cest siegle mortel
Ne me porroit lié feire d'el!»

OR a mes sire Yvains sa pes,
Si poez croire qu'onques mes
Ne fu de nule rien fi liez,
Comant qu'il et esté iriez.
Mout an est a buen chief venuz;
Qu'il est amez et chier tenuz
De sa dame et ele de lui.
Ne li sovient de nul enui,
Que por la joie les oblie
Qu'il a de sa tres douce amie.
Et Lunete rest mout a eise;

Ne li faut chose qui li pleise
Des qu'ele a faite pez sanz fin
De mon seignor Yvain, le fin,
Et de s'amie chiere et fine.

DEL CHEVALIER au lion fine
Chrestiens son roman ainsi;
Qu'onques plus conter n'an oï
Ne ja plus n'an orroiz conter
S'an n'i viaut mançonge ajoster.

Old Norse version

Ívens saga

The text has been extracted from Blaidsell, Foster W. (1979) *Ívens saga* in *Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, Series B*, Vol. 18. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Boghandel, in which three manuscripts are published in parallel.

The version reproduced here corresponds largely to Holm 9, 4^o from the early 15th century, a large codex containing, amongst others: *Amicus saga ok Amilius*, *Ívens saga*, *Parcevals saga*, *Valvens þáttur*, *Flóvents saga*, *Möttuls saga* and *Cláruss saga*. The saga was translated at the request of King Håkon Håkonsson in the 13th century, as stated at the very end of the Old Norse version. The extant texts are not from Håkon's own time, but have survived in later copies. To what degree the surviving texts have been shortened and adapted in relation to the original translation is highly uncertain. Yet, it is fairly safe to emphasize the fact that if not the content then at least the orthography has been altered in order to comply with the spelling conventions of later centuries. The

orthography in the extant Old Norse version of Chrétien de Troyes' *roman courtois* clearly demonstrates the rapid evolution of the Old Norse language following the collapse of the royal Norwegian court in the early 14th century—a collapse that was accentuated by the Black Death.

The orthography of the present text shows features of the Danish language used in the nation's administration from the end of the 14th century. There are traces of Icelandic influence as well, probably because the copyist may have been an Icelander. The Norse language of the text reveals significant evolution when compared with the rather archaic form of *Humliúbók*, for example. By the beginning of the 15th century, we perceive the coming Danish-influenced orthography of the 16th century Norwegian humanists, and see a marked reduction in the frequency of the sounds Ð and Þ, which are replaced with regular Ds and aspirated Ts (th). As is often the case with medieval vernacular texts, the spelling is not consistent throughout the text, indicative of a relative degree of uncertainty on the part of the late medieval copist(s). The Old Norse versions of Chrétien's *romans*—as they have survive—are all considerably shorter than Chrétien's chivalric narrative. I have added quotation mark, to indicate direct speech.

Introduction (pp. 3-6)

He[r byri]ar upp sógo hins agæta Jve[nt] er uar einn af Artus kóppum.

[Chapter 1]

HIN agæti kongr Artvrvs red firir Eínglandi sem morgum monnum er kunnikt hann var vm sidir yfir Roma borg. hann <var> þeirra konga frægazstr er verith hafua þanuegh fra hafinu ok vinsælastzr annar enn Karlamagnus. hann hafdi þa rósuzstu Riddara er Jvoru Kristinní. Þat var einn tíma sem Jafnann ath hann hafdi stefnt til sinn óllum sinum vinum ok hellt hatith áá pikis dogum er vær kóllum huíta sunnu. ok sem kongrin sátt jsínu hasæti ok folkít var sem gladazst þa fell suo mikil þungi áá kongin. ath hann vard

firir huathuetna fram ath ganga vtt jsítt herbergí ok sofa fara. Þetta vndruduzst aller menn þui ath aldri fyr hafdi hann þetta giort. Drottningín var hiá honum j herberginu enn firir suefnhus durum satu kongs riddarar þessir. Lancelot ok Sigamor herra Valuen Ivent ok Kæí. suo sem þeim leiddizst þar ath sittia. Þa hlutudu þeir vm huer þeirra skyldi seggia ævæntyr. ok hlaut Kalebrant. hann hof upp eina sógu þa er honum var helldr til vanvirðingar enn sæmdar. Þetta heyrdi drottninginn ok gekk vtt til þeirra ok bad þa segia eventyrít suo ath hon heyrdi. Kalebrant sv[arar] «fyrri vildi ek þola mikil meínlæti enn nókkut ydr fra þessu segia. enn þa vil ek eigi angra ydr ok skal ek giora ydvart bod ef þer giorer sem ek segir. verit vel skiliandi ok eyru til legiandi þui ath heyrd ord eru þegar tynd nema hugar hirdi þat er eyra vid tekr. Þeir verda margir optlegha er þat lofa er þeir eigi gáa ath skilia ok hafua eigi meira af enn þeir heyra medann hugar gleymir ath skilia þui likt sem vind[r] flúgandi ok nemr huergi stadar. suo fara þau ord er heyrd eru nema hugar vakr vid ath taka. Þui ath þeir er minn ord vilia skilia leggi badi til eyru ok hiarta. Þui ath ek vil eigi tína. eim draum ne hegoma ne þat sem efann er j ath trua helldr þat sem ek reynda ok sáa.»

Yvain discovers that he has forgotten his promise to Laudine. Yvain's folly

Jv[ent] ... harm ok sutt (pp. 83-88)

SEM hann sat med harmi slikt Jhuganndi. Þa kom riddandi einn frid mæf firir landtialdit. Hon ste þegar nidr af sinum hesti ok gek hon jnn J landtialtít firir kongin ok heilsadi honum ok herra Val[uens] ok ollum þeim Riddurum er jnni voru ok bar þeim kuediu sinnar fru. Vtan Iv[ent] hann kalladi hon sannan suikara ok lygi mann ok falsara, kuat hon opinberligha liost ath hann væti órugr lastar tryggd holir J heitum sannr J ordum. enn þu ert vndir hyggiu madr svikal ok þiofr. «Minn fru ætladi þik heilhugadann ok kom henni þat aldri Jhugg ath þu mundir stela ast hennar ok suika hana. Enn þu Iv[ent] hefir drepit fru mína. Þuiath sidan lidnir voru viii dagar ok xii Man[udir]. sem þu

hetz henní aptur ath koma. Þa hefir hon legit Jsuefnhusi sínu hugsotta ok fær huorkí huild nott ne dag. nu sendi hon þer þau ord. ath þv vitir hennar alldri optar ok send henni fingur gull sitt.» Herra Iv[ent] þagnadi ok vissi eigi hueriu hann skyldi svara. Þuiath badi huarf honum ord ok vizska. Mærin hliop ath honum ok þreif af honum fingur gullit. ok bad kongin heilann vera ok gudi signadann ok allt hans herlid. vtann Iv[ent] einn. enn hann angradizst af harmi ok vildi nu þangat fara sem eingi madr þektí hann. hatadi hann þa ekki sem sialfan sik ok fell þa áá hann suo mikil ædi ath hann vildi hefna áá sialfum ser þui ath hann hefir nu tyntt alldri sinni huggan. hann for þa einn saman. Þui ath hann vildi eigi huggaz af þeirra ordum. hann hliop or landtialdínu til skogar. tyndi hann þa miok suo aullu vítinu ok reif af ser klædin. ok er hann hafdi lengi hlaupit þa mætti hann einum sveini er for med boga ok órvar .v. hann tok af sveininum bogan ok órvarnar ok hliop áá skoginn ok skaut ser dyr ok áát hratt kiott þeirra. ok er hann hafdi leingi hlaupit hittí hann hus eins heremita. ok er einsetu madrin sáá hann ok vissi ath hann hafdi ekki fullt vitt sitt. Han gaf honum braud ok vatn þui ath hann hræddizst hann. ok uisadi honum áá brot ok bad þes Gud. ath hann kuæmi þar alldri optar. Iv[ent] áátt brauditt. Þo ath þat væri illa bakat þui ath þat uar blautt ok sadukt. alldri ath hann verra braud ok þegar hann var metr hliop hann aptr Jmórkína. hann mundi giorla huat gott einnsætu hafdi giort honum. ok kom eingin sáá d[agr] sidann er hann gaf honum eigi eitt huert dyr. sía godi madr giordi honum þat til matar ok gaf honum þar med vatn ath drekka ...

Yvain's encounter with the lion (pp. 100-104)

Herra Iv[ent] ridr nu þar til er hann kom J einn díupan dal ok þykkann skogg. hann heyrði hormulikt opp ok læti. hann stefndi þegar þangat. hann sáá þa eitt mikit leon þar jhrisínu ok einn orm er hellt vm hala hans ok brendi hann af eitriu ok eldi er hann bles áá hann. suo ath lendar leonsins suidnudu ok brunn[u] af eitri ok eldi ormssins. Sem

herra Ív[ent] saa þenna hinn kynligga hlut. Þa hugsaði hann með sér huorum þeirra hann skyldi hialpa. hann stóð nú af hesti sínum ok bað hann ath eigi skyldi ormrín náá honum. hann bra þá sverdi sínu ok huldí sík skildínum ath eigi skyldi eldrín gíora honum meínn. enn ormrínn bles or kioptum sínum er suo voru mikler sem ofns munní. enn huersu þeir leo skipta með sér ok Ív[ent] þá vill þó hialpa honum þuiath hann vndír stóð ath leo æpti áá hann til hialpar. hann hógr þá ormrín sundr J midíu ok síðan Jsundr J sma stykkí ok er leo verðr lauss. Þa hugði herra Ív[ent] ath hann mundi vilía hlaupa áá hann ok bíoz ath vería sík. Enn leo snýr þegar vpp áá maganum ok skreid ath honum sem hann vildí bidía sér fridar með tarum ok gaf sík suo Jvalld herra Ív[ent]. Enn hann tok þui gladdiga ok þakkadí gudí er hann hafdí sent honum þuilika fylgd. Reid nú herra Íu[vent] fram Jvegínn enn leo hans ræn firir honum. Þeir voru vtí halfan manud J skoginum. ok veiddi leonít þeim dyr til matar. hann kom þá fram ath einum hafum vin vídí ok þar sa hann vndír fyr nefnda keldu ok kapellu ok kendí stolpann ok þegar fell áá hann suo mikil ædí ath hann fell naligna Jvuit. enn suerdít ný huatt fell or slidrum ok j ærslum hans ok umbrotom skeindizst hann bædí ahalsínum ok vndír geiruortu. Enn þegar leonít sér þetta þá teckr hann suerdít með tónnunum ok dregr brott ok setr þat J einn stofn suo ath þat stóð fast. ok hlíop síðann vm kringís hann ok hugdí daudan vera ok vildí giarna drepa sík ok heyrdí eingi madr verri læti enn þat let. Þui ath þat þottiz með ollu hafa tapat sínum herra ok jþui vitkadiz hann. enn leonít sa þat þá nam hann stadar. Síra Ív[ent] kærðí hæimsku sína er hann hafdí rofit trú sína víð fruna ok æpti með miklum harmi ok mælti : «Til huers skal ek lífa vesal madr var ek suo v geymín. huat skal ek vtann drepa mik sialfr. Ek hefi tynt huggan minní ok fagnadí ok um snuít af sialfs míns glæp virdíng minní ok vent tign minní jtyning yndí mítt J angurssemi. líf mitt J leidíndí. hiarta mítt J huggsott. vnnustu mína J[o]vín. frelsi mitt J fridleysí. e[da] húi duel ek ath drepa mik.» þetta heyrðí einn vesol kona er jnní var byrgd J kapellunni ...

Reunion between Yvain and Gauvain. Yvain revealed as the Lion-Knight.

Reconciliation between Yvain and Laudine. End of *roman* (pp. 140-147)

... Ridu þeir þa heim til herbergis ok voru dreginn af þeim klædinn. J þessv kom leonít hlaupanda ok vrdu menn hræddir miok. Enn herra Iv[ent] bad þa eigi hrædaz þui ath þetta er minn kumpan ok ek skal borga firir hann. Leonít hliopp ath herra Iv[ent] ok fagnadí honum sem hann kunní. Nu vndír stod herra Val[uen] ath þetta var sa madr er leons Riddari var kalladr ok mesta frægdi hafdi vnnit ok frelsat hafdi systur bornn hans. «Ok hefi ek þui,» s[agdi] herra Val[uen], «alla vega urett uid þik gortt ok þui bidr ek þik firir lata mer þat.» Sidann voru bundinn saar þeirra ok feíngnir til hinir bezstu læknar. ok sem þeir voru badir heiler ok vel færir s[agdi] kongrin upp sæt þeirra. Þat fyrst ath herra Val[uen] ok herra Iu[ent] skyldu vera brædr sem fyr hofdu þeir verit. Enn meyiarnar skyldu skipta til helmíngs allt þat er þær erfdu eptir fodur sinn. Enn þeir Iv[ent] ok Val[uen] skyldu ok vera jafnir Riddarar kalladir vm alla veroldína sidann.

Jvent sæt[t]iz víd fru sín

NV sem herra Iv[ent] hafdi leingí uerith med kongs hírd. Þa kom honum Jhug sáá samí harmr sem fyr hafdi boritt firir sína fru ok hugsadí þa enn ath fara brott or kongs hírd áá launungu ok rida til kelldunnar ok giora þar mikinn gny. ok storm suo ath fru hans skyldi verda at sættaz víd hann. ella skal ek alldri af lata ath giora henni or keldunní eldingar. ok þuinæst for hann brott or hírd kongs suo ath eíngí vissí. enn leon hans fylgdí honum. Þui ath aldri medann hann lifir vil hann lata hans felagskap ok foru þeir þar til er þeir komu til kelldunar. ok giordí hann þa suo miklar eldingar ath aller ottuduzst þeir er J borginní voru med fru hans. ok hugdu ath óll mundu hon nidr hrapa. ok vildu helldr vera áá Persida landi enn Jnnan þeirra veggía er suo miok voru skialfandí. suo voru hræddir um lif sítt ath þeir bólfudu sínu forellrí ok mæltu. «Vei se þeim er fyrstir settu J þessu fylkí bygd ok hus. Þui at Iollum heímínum er eíngí saa

stadr er monnum samí meir ath hata enn þenna. Þar sem einn madr maa suo þína oss ok skelfa.» þá m[ælti] Luneta. «Fru,» s[agdi] hon. «Ydr samir ath leita ok god rad til gefa. Þer munuth ónguan þan finna ath ydr megí hialpa J þessi þrautt nema fiarí se leitat. Þui ath onguann hafi þer þann Jydru ríki ath hiarta hafi til ath vería kelduna ok hallda vpp sæmd yduarri. » Fruinn mælti. «Ekki þarf þess ath geta er her er. Ok af þui ath þu ert vítr þa gef nu god rad til þui ath Jþorf skal vinar neyta.» Hon s[agdi], «Gud gefi ath vær mættim þann vaska Riddara finna er Jotuninn drap ok sigradizst einn áá iij Riddurum ok leonit fylgir ok vildi þer hann sætta vid fru sína er hann er o satr vid ok hann elskar frammar enn lif sitt ok ef hann væri her mundi hann frialsa ydr ok yduart ríki.» Fruinn s[agdi] þa med harmi, «Ek bid þik ath þu farer ath leita hans. ok skal ek þa festa þer ath allt skal ek þat halda er nu hefir þv talatt.» Mærin m[ælti], «Minn fru kunnit mik eigi er ek vil tala suo ath ek vil þessi heitt ydr hafa stadfost ath ek segi honum eigi lygi ok vil ek heyra eid yduarn þar vm.» «Þat giorí ek giarna,» s[agdi] fruín. Luneta tekr þa helga doma ok fær fru sinni ok m[ælti], «Eigi vil ek ath þer kennit mer Jmorginn ath þer sverith þenna eid sakir mín helldr sakir sialfrar ydrar naudsyniar.» Sidan stafadi hon fru sinni eid aa þann háatt ath saa Riddari er leon fylgir skal sættaz vid fru sína ok huort þeirra vid annat sem þa er blidaz var med þeim. ok sem þessi eidr var vnnin þa var sódladr einn hægr ganggarí ok þegar Jstad ste hon upp aa hann ok reid til er hon kom til keldunnar. Þar saa hon herra Iv[ent] ok leon hans. ste hon þegar af hesti sínum ok fagnadi honum med mikilli gledi ok huort odru. «Suo feginn em ek ydrum fundi ath alldri sidann ek var fæd vard ek Jafnneginn, utann þa er ek sáa þik rida ath balínu. Þui att ek hefi eid feingít af minni fru ath hon skal vera þinn fru enn þu hennar herra.» Ok er hann heyrdi þetta þa vard hann suo vndarligha feginn. Þui at hann hugdizt alldri þessi spyria ok m[ælti]: «Þat rhædums ek ath ek faí alldri launat þer þinn godvilía ok þionusto,» ok kysti hana oppt sinnis. Mærin mælti: «Lóngu adr hafi þer þessa þionusto af mer skyldat.» Sidan stiga þau aa hesta sína ok

ridu til kast[alans]enn er fruín spurdi ath mærin var kominn ok med henni sáá Riddari
 er leon fylgir. var hon hardla feginn þui ath hon girntiz miogg ath sia hann. Ok sem sira
 Iv[ent] leitt hana. Þa lagdiz nidr firir fætr henni herklædr enn Luneta stod hia ok
 m[ælti]. «Fru,» s[agdi] hon. «Halldit vel eid yduarn ok samþykkít hann vid fru sína.
 enn þui maa eingi leid koma nema þu einn.» Hon tok til hans ok reisti hann vpp ok
 sagdiz allt þat skyldu gíora er hon mætti honum til sæmdar. «Gud veitt,» s[agdi]
 Luneta, «hans sok er vndir ydrum vilía ok valdí ok alldri fá þer vildara enn þessi er.
 Gud vilí ath med ydr buí fridr ok vbrigdiligg astsemd su er alldri huerfi medan þitt lifit
 bædi. Firir gefit honum fru mín nu reidi ydra þui ath hann áá óngua fru nema ydr.
 Þessi er ath sónnu herra Iv[ent] yduar husbandi.» Fruín hliopp þa vpp vid ok mælti:
 «Jilla hefir þu suikít mik med vælum þinum þuiath þu hefir naudgat mik til ath vnna
 þeim er alldri vnní ok einskis virði mik. nu hefir þu daligha syst ok illa mer þionat.
 helldr vilda ek alla mína lífs daga vpp neyta vid vatnn ok vánd eldingum ok ill vidrí.
 Enn ef eigi væri mer hropp e[da] brigzli ok synd ath svería meínn eída þa skyldi hann
 alldri med mer fáa sætt ne samþykkí frid ne fagnath sakir einskis þess er hann mætti
 ath gíora. firir þann harm er enn sítr Jhug mer ok hann giordi mer af sinum suikum lygi
 ok hegoma. enn huersu mikit mer þikkir ath þui vera. Þa þarf þat nu eigi vpp ath telia
 þui ath ek verd vid hann ath sættaz ok samþykkiaz.» Ok sem herra Iv[ent] heyrði þetta
 þa m[ælti] hann: «Fru miskunn beidaz misverkar. Ek hefi dyrt keyptt heimsku mínu ok
 v vizsku þui gef ek mik sekíann ydr jvalld. ok ef þu vil nu taka vid mer. Þa skal ek
 alldri optar midgíora vid þigg.» Hon sv[arar], «Giarna vil ek taka vid þer þui ath ek vil
 eigi riufa eid mín ok vil ek nu gíora orugga sætt med okkr ok samþykkí ok
 ospillileghann frid ok vndarlighann fagnath.» Þa m[ælti] sira Iv[ent] þat: «Veitt ek ath
 eingi þessa heíms hlutr giorir mik fegnara. » Nv hefir herra Iv[ent] fengit þann fagnath
 er hann hefir leingi til lyst. ok maa þui nu huer madr trua ath alldri sidann hann var
 fædr vard hann Jafn feginn. Hefir hann nu godri lykt komit [aa] sítt þui ath hann elskar

nu fru ok hon hann. ok gleymir hann nu aullum volkum ok vandrædum af þeim mikla fagnadí er hann hafði af unnosto sinni. Ok lykr ger sögu herra Ivent. er Hakon kongr gamlí lett snua or franzeisu J norenu.

English Translation

Here begins the tale of the famous Ivent who was one of King Arthur's men.

As many people are aware of, the famous King Arthur ruled over England, and later also over the town of Rome. He was the most illustrious of kings on this side of the ocean, and as popular as Charlemagne. He had the most manly and valiant knights of Christendom. Then upon a time he summoned all his friends and held a feast for Pentecost or what we call Whitsun. As the King sat on his throne, and the people were at their happiest, he felt so drowsy that he needed to go to his quarters and get some sleep. All his men wondered greatly at this because he had never before done such a thing. The Queen was with him in his sleeping quarters, and before the door the following knights were sitting: Lancelot, [Calogrenant], Sagramor, sir Gawain, Yvain and Kay. When they were getting bored at sitting there, they drew lots for which of them should tell an adventure. Calogrenant drew the lot. He then began a story that was more to his disgrace than to his honor. The Queen heard this, and went out to them and asked him to tell the story to her as well. Calogrenant answered, "I would rather suffer great pain than tell you anything from this story, but as I do not wish to sadden you I will do as you please if you do as I tell you. Be very discerning and listen carefully, because the word you hear is immediately lost if not the mind guards that which the ears receive. Many people often praise that which they care not to understand and get no more from it than what they hear as the mind forgets to take it in, like the fleeing wind that stops nowhere. In this way, the words that are heard will move on if the mind is not vigilant and ready to receive them. And those who wish to understand my words must

put both their ears and heart to the task, because I will not recount a dream nor a lie nor that which is difficult to believe, but rather that which I have heard and seen.

Yvain discovers that he has forgotten his promise to Laudine. Yvain's folly

Yvain [is filled] with sorrow and grief [by his broken promise] As he sat there, his mind filled with sorrow, a beautiful maiden came riding to the (royal) tent. She descended from the horse and entered the tent and stood before the King and greeted him and sir Gawain and all the knights who were present and brought them all her lady's greeting, except Yvain, whom she called a true betrayer, liar and deceiver. She said: "It is clearly evident that he (Arthur) is dependable in love, faithful to his promises, and true in words, but you (Yvain) are a cunning and deceitful thief. My lady believed you to be honest and kind, and never imagined that you could steal her love and let her down. You, Yvain, have killed my lady. For twelve months and eight days have passed since you promised to return to her, and she has lain unhappy in her bedchamber and cannot find rest either day or night. Now she sends you these words, that you never seek her again, and that you send her ring back." Sir Yvain fell silent, not knowing what to answer, as he had lost both word and wit. The damsel ran to him and pulled the ring from his finger, and asked that the King be firm and God bless him and his regiment, except Yvain. The latter was full of anguish and sorrow and wanted to leave now that no one stood up for him. He hated himself the most, and such a madness fell over him that he wanted to take revenge upon himself, as he had lost his reason. Alone he departed for he did not want to be comforted by their words, and he ran out of the tent and to the forest. He then lost all his wit and tore off his clothes. When he had run for a long while he met a boy carrying a bow and five arrows. He took the bow from the boy and the arrows and dashed into the forest and shot himself a big game and ate its meat raw. When he had roamed for a long time he came upon a hermit's retreat.

When the hermit saw him, he understood that he had lost his reason completely. He offered him bread and water, because he was scared of him, and then ordered him away, and prayed to God that he would not come again. Yvain ate the bread even though it was (so) badly baked (that it was) soggy and full of bran. Never he had eaten such unappetizing bread, and as soon as he was satiated, he ran away in the dark. (However) He thought about the hermite and the good he had done for him, and not a day passed without him (Yvain) giving him (the hermit) some animal, that the good man prepared as food for him and gave him with water to drink...

Yvain's encounter with the lion. Yvains second fit of madness

Sir Yvain rode until he came to a deep valley and a thick forest. He heard a dreadful cry and sound, and immediately steered in that direction, and saw a mighty lion in the brush and a serpent that held its tale and burned it with its venom and blew fire on it, so that the lion's flanks were cinged and burned from the serpent's poison and fire. As sir Yvain saw this strange thing, he wondered to himself which one of them he should help. He descended from his horse and tied him so that he should not be reached (harmed) by the serpent. He then pulled his sword, and held his shield up to protect him from the fire that the serpent blew from the mouth as if it were as big as the orifice of a furnace. Be that as it may, he and the lion would deal with one another (later), and anyway he wanted to help it because he seemed to understand that the lion asked him for help. He chopped the serpent in two in the middle and then cut it into small pieces in order to free the lion. Then Yvain thought that it would run to (attack) him and prepared to defend himself. However, the lion crawls up to him and immediately turns upon its back⁴¹⁹ as if it asked for peace with its tears and put itself into the hands of sir Yvain,

419 The two are reversed in the text... but this is the logical sequence.

who received him happily and thanked God who had sent him such a companion. Now sir Yvain rode on his way with the lion running before him. They remained half a month in the forest, and hunted game for food. Then he (Yvain) came to a large meadow and saw there the above mentioned fountain and chapel and recognized the pillar. He instantly fell sick with such a great madness that he almost fainted, and his newly sharpened sword again fell out of the sheath and in his witless convulsions he cut himself in the neck and under the nipples. As soon as the lion saw this, it took the sword in the mouth and pulled it away and placed it firmly in a tree stump, and rushed around him (Yvain) believing that he was dead, wanting to kill itself. Never has man heard a worse sound than that which it let out, because it thought that it had lost its master and because it blamed itself. As the lion said this, he (Yvain) came too. Sir Yvain bemoaned his (own) clumsiness and that he had broken the promise to his lady and cried with much sorrow and spoke: "For what reason do I live, miserable man, I (who) was so thoughtless. What can I do but kill myself? I have lost my mind and my joy, and by my own device turned my reputation into misdeed, my honor into destruction, my happiness into despondency, my life into constant worry, my heart into desolation, my sweetheart into an enemy, and my freedom into bannishment. So why do I hesitate to kill myself?" A poor woman, enclosed into the chapel (an anchorite) heard this and...

Yvain exposed as the Lion-Knight. Reconciliation between Yvain and Laudine. End of roman (Lines 6445-6815)

Then they rode home to their sleeping quarters and their clothes were pulled off them. Soon afterwards the lion came running and the men became terribly frightened. But sir Yvain told them not to be afraid, because "this is my companion and I guarantee for him." The lion ran to sir Yvain and greeted him in his own way. Now sir Gawain understood that this was the man known as the Knight with the Lion, who had earned a

great reputation and saved his sister's children. "Therefore I have," claimed sir Gawain, "in every way wronged you and ask you now to forgive me for that." Afterwards, the best doctors were fetched and their wounds were dressed. As they both had healed (from their wounds and become quite well again), the King pronounced their settlement: First that sir Gawain and sir Yvain should be brothers as they had been before, next that the girls should receive half of their fathers' inheritance, and Yvain and Gawain should be recognized as equal knights throughout the whole world.

Yvain settles with his lady.

As Yvain now had been in the King's service for a long time, his mind was stricken with the same grief as that which had aggrieved him before on account of his lady, and he thought about leaving the court in secret and ride to the fountain and make much noise and storm there in order that his lady should settle with him. "If not, I shall never stop making lightening flashes for her from the fountain." Thereafter he departed from the King's court furtively and his lion followed him, because in no way he wanted to give up their companionship. They traveled until they reached the fountain, and there he made so much fire and lightening that those who were in the castle with his lady started worrying, thinking that it (the castle) would crumble and fall down, and would rather have been in Persia than within the castle walls which trembled terribly. So frightened were they for their lives that they cursed their ancestors and said: "Woe to those who first built a house in this county, for in the whole world there is no place that men hate more justly than this, where one man (alone) is able to torment us this much and make us tremble." Then Lunete spoke: "My Lady," she said, "it behooves you to seek good advice. You will find no one here that may help you in this trial, if not far way, for there there is no one here in your realm who has the courage to protect the fountain and defend your honor." The lady answered: "It is not necessary to mention who is here. And because you are wise, give

now good counsel, since in need one shall consult one's friends." She (Lunete) said: "Gud give that we must find the valiant knight who killed the giant (jotun) and vanquished three knight singlehandedly, and whom a lion follows. If you wish to reconcile him with his lady, with whom he is in disagreement, and if he loves her more than his own life, and if he is here, then he would free you and save your realm." The lady spoke with sorrow: "I beg you to go looking for him, and I promise to do everything that you now have said." The maiden said: "My lady, do not be angry if I ask you to repeat this promise, that I shall not be forced to tell him a lie. I wish to hear your oath (repeated)." "That I will do gladly," answered the lady. Luneta then took the holy relics and brought them to her mistress and said: "I do not want you to blame me tomorrow that you swore for my sake and not for your own necessity." Afterwards, she dictated (spelled) the oath to her lady to the effect that the Knight with the Lion should settle with his lady, and each of them with the other, in friendship as before. When the oath had been given, an easy horse was saddled and she immediately mounted and rode off until she came to the fountain. There she saw sir Yvain and his lion. She dismounted her horse and greeted him with much joy (and each other). "I am so glad to have found you that not since I was born have I felt such joy, except when I saw you riding towards the stake. For I have obtained from my mistress an oath that she will be your lady and you her lord." When he heard this, he became so wonderfully happy, because he had thought that he would never hear these words, and said: "I fear, that I will never be able repay your good-will and service." And he kissed her several times. The damsel spoke: "A long time ago I owed you this service." Then they mounted their horses and rode to the castle. When the lady heard that the maiden had arrived, and saw that the Knight with the lion accompanied her, she became immensely happy and she very much wanted to see him. And sir Yvain turned to her and prostrated himself before her feet in his armor. Luneta, standing next to him, said: "My Lady, keep your oath and reconcile him with his lady,

there is no one who can do this but you.” She touched him and made him stand up and told her what she should do to meet him in a settlement. “God knows,” Luneta said, “his case depends on your will and power, and you will never get a more suitable than him. God wants you to live together in peace and constant love, indestructible for as long as you both live. Forgive him now my Lady, forget your anger, because he has no lady but you. This is truly your husband Yvain.” The lady now jumped up and said: “You have betrayed me badly with your scheming, for you have forced me to love (a man) who does not love me and who does not esteem me. You have done poor work and served me badly. I would rather use the rest of my days with only water and wind, lightening and bad weather. If I had not considered it loathsome, reprehensible, and a sin to perform perjury, he would not get settlement with me, nor reconciliation, nor peace, nor welcome for whatever he might do, because the sorrow which he caused me by his teachery, lies, and deception is still in me. However, no matter what I think of it—and it does not need to be told now—I prepare to settle with him and be reconciled.” When sir Yvain heard this he spoke: “Lady, (my) misdeeds beg for forgiveness. I have paid dearly for my lack of judgment and witlessness, and I therefore put my guilty self in your hands, and if you now will accept me, I will do you no more wrong.” She answered: “I will gladly have you because I will not break my promise and I want us to make a lasting settlement and reconciliation, and (have) unbreakable peace and wonderful joy.” Then sir Yvain claimed: “I know that nothing else in the whole world can make me happier.” Now sir Yvain had found the joy he had been longing for so long, and (everyone shall believe that) he had never been so happy since the day he was born. He had now come to a good conclusion, for he loved his lady and she (loved) him, and he forgot the difficulties and tribulations because of the great joy that he had from his sweetheart. And thus ends the story of sir Yvain, which King Hakon the Elder had translated into Norse from the French.

Thomas: *Tristan et Yseult*

The French text has been taken from the Thomas version—"La fin longue du roman"—in Marchello-Nizia, Christiane (Ed.) (1995) *Tristan et Iseut: Les premières versions européennes*. Paris : Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.

The romance of Tristan and Isolde figures amongst the first texts of the so-called *matière de Bretagne*, which inspired a number of medieval authors, amongst others Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes. There are a number of anonymous and identified fragmentary manuscripts dealing with the theme. Bérout, a Norman poet, wrote his version in the second half of the 12th century. However, the more known is the Thomas version, named after its author, an Anglo-Norman poet working at the court of Henry II of England.⁴²⁰ Thomas wrote his Anglo-Norman *roman* in the 1170s, and based his narrative on an ancient Celtic legend about a Pict king. Thomas's original manuscript (the Carlisle version) is highly defective: the whole beginning or the equivalent of 7000 lines are missing. However, his version of the legend has been partially reconstructed from five extant Thomas fragments, the Old Norse adaptation and an Old German translation.⁴²¹

The legend of Tristan was probably the first *roman* of the *matière de Bretagne* to be translated into Old Norse. According to the introduction, Robert, a monk or cleric in the service of Håkon Håkonsson, translated the text in 1226. Given the close ties

420 Henry II (1133-1189), duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, became king of England in 1154. His wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204).

421 Gottfried of Strasbourg's 1210 translation.

between the British Isles and the Norwegian court, it is reasonable to believe that some of the legend's material may have been known in its oral form for some time.

The central theme is the passionate but definitely *involuntary* love between the two protagonists. This element of “coercion” is what sets the book apart from the other *romans* of the 12th century. The magic potion launches the narrative and frees the main characters from any responsibility that they might otherwise have had. The potion—an entirely external element—is what attracts the two lovers to one another. The potion causes the unmanageable passion—a purely physical attraction between a man and a woman, whose desire knows only one solution: death and destruction. The story is about a very special and inevitably fatal attraction, about a couple for whom the usual norms of courtly behavior and seduction have been discarded. The story about Tristan and Isolde remains a basically tragic story, as there is nothing Tristan can do to reverse his fate. The main characters have been deprived of both judgment and will, victims of a fatal mistake (the potion was destined for King Mark).

The tale of two love triangles—with the jealous husband (King Mark) and the discontented wife (the second Isolde, whom Tristan married)—develops not only the theme of passionate and irresistible love, but also the theme of love being possible only outside of marriage. In introducing the main characters' respective spouses, Thomas embraces the theme of the “*mal mariée*” so central to the chivalric romances. Of course, in a time when marriages were arranged, the passion between true lovers was opposed to the respect and loyalty between legal spouses.

The story of Tristan and Isolde is not a story about a valiant chivalrous hero in pursuit of a lady's approval. In Thomas' romance, no series of trials and heroic challenges can change the outcome of the liaison. The power of seduction and the trappings of physical attraction—symbolized by the love potion—are dangerous, and succumbing to desire only leads to disloyalty and betrayal, first to King Mark, then to

Tristan's wife, the second Isolde. There is no solution but death, and of this fact the two lovers are aware. Isolde calls the potion the «venim de la navreüre.»⁴²² Tristan lucidly explains: “El beivre qu’ensemble beuimes, En la mer, quant surpris en fumes, El beivre fud la nostre mort. Nus n’en avrum ja mais confort. A nostre mort l’avrum buë.”⁴²³

Old French text

Kardin is Tristan's messenger. He implores Isolde to return to Brittany to heal Tristan's wounds. Death of Tistan and Isolde. End of *roman* (pp. 191-212).

(En sun quer merveille Ysolt... ⁴²⁴

Dehors la chambre vait ester,
Car lur conseil volt escuter...)

Tristran Kaherdin en apele,
Dit li: “Entendez, beal amis,
Jo sui en estrange païs,
Jo ne ai ami ni parent,
Bel compaing, fors vus sulement.
Unc n’i oi dedut ne deport,
Fors sule par vostre confort.
Ben crei, s’en ma terre fuce,

422 The poison on the ship.

423 “The drink we drank together, at sea, when we were surprised (which surprised us). The drink became our demise. And from it we will never find solace and comfort. We drank to our death.”

424 The wife, the other Isolde.

Par conseil garir i puce.
Mais pur ço que ci n'ad aïe,
Perc jo, bels dulz compainz, la vie.
Senz aïe m'estut murir,
Car nuls hume ne me put garir,
Fors sulement reïne Ysolt,
Et le puet fere, sil volt,
La mecine ad e le poeir,
E se le seüst, le vuleir.
Mais, bels compainz, n'i sai que face,
Par quel engin ele le sace,
Car jo sai ben, s'ele le seüst,
De cel mal aider me peüst,
Par sun sen ma plai garir.
Mais coment i puet ele venir?
Se jo seüse qui i alast,
Mun message a li portast,
Acun bon conseil moi freit,
Des que ma grant message oreit.
Itant la crei que jol sai ben
Qu'ele ne larreit pur nul ren
Ne m'aidast a ceste dolur :
Emvers mei ad si ferm amur!
Ne m'en sai certes conseiller,
E pur ço, compainz, vus requer,
Pur amisté e pur franchise,

Enprenez pur moi ceste service.
Ceste message faites pur moi,
Par cumpanie e sur la fei
Qu'afiastes de vostre main
Quant Ysolt vus dona Brengvein.
E jo ci vus afei la meie :
Si pur mei emprenez la veie,
Vostre liges en devendrai,
Sur tut ren vus ameraï. »
Kaherdin veit Tristran plurer,
E ot le pleindre, deconforter.
Al quer en ad mult grant dolur,
Tendrement respunt par amur :
Dit lui : « Bel compaing, ne plurez,
E jo frai quanque vus volez.
Certes, amis, pur vus garir
Me metrai mult pres de murir,
E en aventure de mort
Pur conquer vostre confort.
Pur la lealté que vus dei,
Ne remaindrai mie pur moi
Ne pur choce que fere paise,
Pur destrece ne pur anguisse,
Que jo ne mete mun poër
A faire vostre vuler.
Dites que li vuliez mander,

E jo m'en irrai aprester. »
Tristran respunt : « Vostre merci!
Ore entendez que jo vus di.
Pernez cest anel ov vus,
Ço sunt enseingnes entre nus.
E quant en la terre venez,
En curt marcheant vus frez,
E porterez bon draz de seie.
Faites qu'ele cest anel veie,
Car des qu'ele l'avrad veü
E de vus s'iert aparceü,
Art e engin après querra
Que a leisir i parlera.
Dites li saluz de ma part,
Que nule en moi senz li n'a part.
Du cuer tanz saluz li emvei
Que nule ne remaint od moi.
Mis cuers de salu la salue,
Senz li ne m'ert santé rendu!
Emvei li tute ma salu.
Cumfort ne m'ert ja mais rendu,
Salu de vie ne santé
Se par li ne sunt aporté.
S'ele ma salu ne m'aporte
E par buche ne me conforte
Ma santé od li dunc remaine,

E jo murray od ma grant peine.
En fin dites que jo sui morz
Se jo par li ne ai les conforz.
Demustrez li ben ma dolor
E le mal dunt ai la langur,
E qu'ele conforter moi venge.
Dites li qu'ore li suvenge
Des emveisures, des deduiz
Que humes ja diz jors e nuiz,
Des granz peines e dé triturs,
E dé joies e dé dusurs
De nostre amur fine et vrai,
Quant ele jadis guarri ma plai :
Del beivre qu'ensemble beuimes
En la mer, quant surpris en fumes
El beivre fud la nostre mort,
Nus n'en avrum ja mais confort.
A tel ure duné nus fu,
A nostre mort l'avrum beü.
De mé dolurs li deit membrer
Que suffert ai pur li amer.
Perdu en ai tuz mez parenz,
Mun uncle le rei e ses gens.
Vilment ai esté congeiez
En altres terres eiseilleiez.
Tant ai suffert peine e travail

Qu'a peine vif e petit vail.
La nostre amur, nostre desire,
Ne poet unques hume partir;
Anguise, peine de dolur
Ne porent partir nostre amur.
Cum il unques plus s'esforcerent
De partir, mains epleiterent.
Noz cors feseint desevrer,
Mais l'amur ne porent oster.
Menbre li de la covenance
Qu'ele me fist a la deseverance,
El gardin, quant de li parti,
Quant de cest anel me saisi.
Dit mei qu'en quel terre qu'alasse,
Altre de li ja mais n'amasse :
Unc puis vers altre n'oi amur,
N'amer ne puis vostre serur,
Ne li ne altre amer ne porrai
Tant cum la reïne ameraï.
Itant aim Ysolt la reïne
Que vostre serur remaint mechine.
Sumunez la en sur sa fei,
Que ele a cest besunge venge a moi;
Ore i perge s'unques m'ama.
Quanque m'ad fait poi me valdra
S'al buisingn ne me volt aider,

Cuntre tel dolur conseiller.
Que me valdra la sue amur,
Se ore me defalt en ma dolur?
Ne sai que l'amisté me valt
S'a mun grant besuing ore falt.
Poi m'ad valu tut sun confort,
S'ele ne m'aït cuntre mort.
Ne sai que l'amur ait valu,
Se aider ne moi volt a salu.
Kaherdin, ne vus sai preier
Avant d'icest que vus requer.
Faites la melz que vus poëz,
E Brengvein mult me saluëz.
Mustrez li le mal que jo ai;
Se Deu ne pense, jo murray.
Ne puz vivre lungement
A la dolur, al mal que sent.
Pensez, cunpaing, de l'espleiter,
E de tost a moi repeirer.
Car se plus tost ne revenez,
Sachez ja mais ne me verrez.
Quarant jurs seit le repiz;
E se ço faites que jo ai diz,
Que Yselt se venge ov vus,
Gardez nuls ne sache for vus.
Celez l'en vers vostre seur,

Que susses iun n'ait de l'amur.
Pur mire la ferez tenir,
Venue est ma plai guarir.
Vus en merrez ma bel nef,
Porterez i duble tref :
L'un est blanc e l'autre neir.
Se vus Ysolt poëz aver,
Qu'ele venge ma plai garir,
Del blanc siglez al revenir.
E se vus Ysolt n'amenez,
Del neir sigle idunc siglez.
Ne vus sai, amis, plus que dire.
Deu vus conduie, nostre sire,
E sein e salif il vus remaint. »
Dunc suspire e plure e plaint,
E Kaherdin plure ensement;
Baise Tristan, e congé prent,
Vait s'en pur sun ere aprester.
Al primer vent se met en mer,
Halent ancres, levent lur tref,
E siglent amunt al vent suëf,
Trenchent les wages e les undes,
Les haltes mers et les parfundes.
Meine bele bachelerie,
De seie porte draperie,
Danré d'estrangle colurs,

E riche veissele de Turs,
Vin de Peito, oisels d'Espaine,
Pur celer e covrer s'ovrainge,
Coment venir pusse a Ysolt,
Cele dunt Tristan tant se dolt.
Trenche la mer ove sa nef,
Vers Engleterre a plein tref.
Vint jurz, vint nuz i a curu,
Einz qu'il seit en l'isle venu,
Eint qu'il puisse la parvenir
U d'Ysolt puisse ren oïr.

Ire de femme est a duter,
Mult s'en deit chaschuns garder.
Car la u plus amé avra,
Iluc plus tost se vengera.
Cum de leger vent lur haïr,
E plus dure lur enemisté,
Quant vent, que ne fait l'amisté.
L'amur ne sevent amesurer,
E la haïr nent atemperer,
Itant cum eles sunt en ire.
Mais jo nen os mun ben dire,
Car il n'afert nient a mei.
Ysolt estoit suz la parei,
Les diz Tristan escute e ot :

Ben ad entendu chaüm mot.
Aparceüe est de l'amur
El quer en ad mult grant irrur,
Qu'ele ad Tristran tant amé,
Quant vers altre s'est aturné.
Mais ore li est ben descovert
Pur quei la joie de li pert.
Ço qu'ele ad oï ben retent,
Semblant fait que nel sace nent.
Mais tres qu'ele aise en avra,
Trop cruelement se vengera
De la ren del mund qu'aime plus.
Tres que overt furent li us,
Ysolt est en la chambre entrée;
Vers Tristran ad s'ire celee;
Sert le e mult li fait bele semblant,
Cum amie deit vers amant.
Mult ducement a li parole,
E sovent le baise e acole,
E mustre lui mult grant amur,
E pense mal en cele irrur
Par quel manere vengé ert;
E sovent demande e enquert
Kant Kaherdin deit revenir
Od le mire quil deit guarir.
De bon curage pas nel plaint,

La felunie el cuer li maint
Qu'ele pense faire, s'ele puet,
Car ire a ço la comuet,
Kaherdin sigle amunt la mer,
E si ne fine de sigler
De si la qu'il vent a l'atre terre,
U vait pur la reïne quere :
Ço est l'entrée de Tamise.
Vait en amunt a marchandise,
En la buche, dehors l'entrée,
En un port ad sa nef ancree.
A sun batel en va amunt,
Dreit a Lundres, desuz le punt.
Sa marchandise iloc descovre,
Sas dras de seie pleie e ovre.

Lundres est mult riche cité,
Meliur n'ad en christienté,
Plus vaillante ne melz aisee,
Melz guarnie de gent preisee :
Mult aiment largesce e honur,
Cunteinent sei par grant baldur.
Le recovrer est de Engleterre,
Avant d'iloc ne l'estuet quere.
Al pé des mur li curt Tamise,
Par la vent la marchandise

De tutes les teres qui sunt,
U marchēant cristien vunt.
Li hume i sunt de grant engin.
Venuz i est dan Kaherdin,
Ove ses dras, a ses oisels,
Dunt il ad dé bons e dé bels.
En sun pung prent un grant ostur
E un drap d'estrage culur
E une cupe ben ovree,
Entaillé e neelee.
Al rei Markes en fait present,
E li dit raisnablement
Qu'od sun avoir vent en sa terre
Put altre guainier e conquere;
Pais li doinst en sa regiūn,
Que pris n'i seit s achaisun
Ne damage n'i ait ne hunte
Par chamberlens ne par vescunte.
Li reis li dune ferm pes,
Oiant tuz iceus del palés.
A la reïne vait parler,
Des ses avers li volt mustrer.
Un afixail ovré de or fin
Li porte en sa main Kaherdin.
Ne qui qu'ele secle melliur seit,
Presen a la reïne em fait.

“Li ors est mult bon,” ce dit.
Unques Ysolt melliur ne vit.
L’anel Tristan de sun dei oste,
Just l’altre le met encoste.
E dit: “Reïne, ore veiez!
Icest or n’est plus colurez
Que n’est li ors de cest anel,
Nequident cestu tenc a bel.”
Cum la reïne l’anel veit,
De Kaherdin tost s’aparceit.
Li quers li change e la colur,
E suspire de grant dolur.
Ele dute a oïr novele;
Kaherdin une part apele,
Demande si l’anel vult vendre
E quel avoir il en vult prendre,
U s’il ad altre marchandise.
Tut iço fait ele par cuintise,
Car ses gardes decevre volt.
Karherdin est suz a Ysolt:
«Dame,» fait il, «ore entendez,
ço que dirrai si retenez.
Tristan vus mande cum druz
Amisté, service e saluz,
Cum a dame, cum a s’amie
En qui main est sa mort e sa vie.

Liges hume vus est e amis,
A vus m'ad busuig tramis.
Mande a vus ja n'avrat confort,
Se n'est par vus, a cest mort,
Salu de vie ne santez,
Dame, si vus n'i li portez.
A mort est navré d'un espé
Li acers fud entusché.
Nus ne peüm mires trover
Ki sachent sun mal meciner.
Itant s'en sunt ja entremis
Que tuit sun cors unt malmis.
Il languist e vit en dolor,
En anguise e en puür.
Mande a vus qu'il ne vivrad mie
Se il nen ad la vostre aïe,
E pur ço vus mande par mei,
Si vus sumunt par cele fei
E sur icels lealtez
Que vus, Ysolt, a li devez,
Pur ren del monde ne laissez
Que vus a lui ore ne vengez,
Car unques mais n'en ot mester,
E pur ço nel devez lasser.
Ore vus membre dé granz amurs
E des peines e des dolurs

Qu'entre vus dous avez suffert!
Sa vie e sa juvente pert,
Pur vus ad esté eissillez,
Plusurs feiz del rengne chachez;
Le reis Markes en ad perdu;
Pensez dé mals qu'il ad eü!
Del covenant vus dest remembrer
Qu'entre vus fud al desevrer,
Einz el jardin u le baisates,
Quant vus cest anel li dunastes.
Pramistes li vostre amisté.
Aiez, dame, de li pitié!
Si vus ore nel sucurez,
Ja mais certes nel recovrez.
Senz vus ne puet il pas guarir!
Pur ço vus i covent venir,
Car vivre ne puet autrement.
Iço vus mande lealment.
D'enseingnes cest anel emveie,
Gardez le, il le vus otreie. »
Quant Ysolt entent cest message,
Anguice est en sun curage,
E peine e pitié e dolur :
Unques uncore n'ot maür.
Ore pense forment e suspire,
E Tristran sun ami desire,

Mais ele ne set coment aler.
Ov Brengvein en vait parler,
Cunte li tute l'aventure
Del venim de la navreüre,
La peine qu'ad e la dolur,
E coment gist en sa langur,
Coment e par qui l'a mandee,
U sa plaie n'ert ja sanee.
Mustré li a tute l'anguise,
Puis prent conseil que faire puisse.
Ore comence le suspirer
E le plaindre e le plurer,
E la peine e la pesence
E la dolur e la gravance,
Al parlement qu'eles funt
Pur la tristur que de lui unt.
Itant unt parlé nequedent,
Conseil unt pris a le parlement
Qu'eles lur eire aturnerunt
E od Kaherdin s'en irrunt
Pur le mal Tristan conseiller
E a sun grant bosuig aider.
Aprestent sei contre le seir.
Prenent ço que vuolent avoir.
Tres que li altre dorment tuit,
A celé s'en vunt la nut

Mult cuintement, par grant eür,
Par une posterne de le mur
Que desur Tamise estoit.
Al flod muntant l'eve i veneit.
Le batel esteit tut prest,
La reïne entrée i est.
Nagent, siglent od le trait,
Ysnelement al vent s'en vait.
Mult par s'esforcent de l'espleiter;
Ne finent unques de nager
De si la qu'a le grant nef sunt,
Levent les tres e puis s'en vunt.
Tant cum li venz puet porter,
Curent la lungure de la mer,
La terre estrange en costeiant,
Par devant le porte de Wизant,
Par Buluigne e par Treisporz.
Li vent lur est portanz e fort,
E la nef legere kis guie.
Passent par devant Normendie,
Siglent joius e leement,
Kar oré unt a lur talent.

Tristran, qui de sa plaie gist,
En sun lit forment languist.
De ren ne puet confort avoir,

Mecine ne li put vailler.
Ren qu'il face ne li aüe,
D'Ysolt desire la venue.
Il ne coveite altre ren,
Senz li ne puet avoir nul ben.
Pur li est ço qu'il tant vit,
Languist, atent la en sun lit.
En espeir est de sun venir,
E que sun mal deïve guarir,
E creit qu'il senz li ne vive.
Tut jurs emveie a la rive,
Pur ver si la nef revent.
Autre desir al quer nel tent.
E sovent se refait porter,
Sun lit faire just la mer,
Pur attendre e ver la nef,
Coment ele sigle a e quel tref.
Vers nule ren n'ad il desir,
Fors sulement de le sun venir.
En ço est trestut sun pensé,
Sun desir e sa volenté.
Quandqu'ad el mund mis ad a nent,
Se la reïne a lui ne vent.
E raporter se fait sovent,
Pur la dute qu'il en atent,
Kar il se crent qu'ele n'i venge

E que lealté ne li tenge.
E volt melz par altre oïr,
Que senz li veie la nef venir.
La nef desire purveer,
Mais le faillir ne vult saveir.
En sun quer en est angussus,
E de li veer desirus.
Sovent se plaint a sa muiller,
Mais ne li dit sun desirer,
Fors de Kaherdin qui ne vent.
Quant tant demure, mult se crent
Qu'il n'at espleite sa fesance.
Oiez pituse desturbance,
Aventure mult doleruse
E a trestuz amanz pituse!
De tel desir, de tel amur
N'oïstes unc greniur dolor.
La u Tristran atent Ysolt,
E la dame venir i volt
E pres de la rive est venue,
Eissi ke la terre unt veü
Balt sunt e siglent leement.
Del sud lur salt dunques un vent,
E fert devant en mi cel tref;
Refrener fait tut la nef.
Curent al lof, le sigle turnent :

Quel talent qu'aient s'en retournent.
Li venz s'eforce e leve l'unde,
La mer se muet qui est parfunde,
Truble li tens, l'air epessist,
Levent wages, la mer nercist,
Pluet e grisille e creist li tenz,
Rumpent bolines e hobens.
Abatent tref e vunt ridant,
Od l'unde e od le vent wacrant.
Lur batel orent sen mer mis,
Car pres furent de lur païs;
A mal eür l'unt ublié,
Une wage l'ad depescé;
Al meins ore i unt tant perdu;
Li orage sunt tant creü
Que eskipre n'i ot tant preize
Qu'il püest estre sur ses pez.
Tuit i plurent e tuit se pleinent,
Pur la poür grant dolur maingnent.
Dunc dit Ysolt : « Lasse, chaitive!
Deus ne volt pas que jo tant vive
Que jo Tristan mun ami veie!
Neié em mer volt que jo seie.
Tristan, s'a vus parlé eüsse,
Ne me calsis se puis moruse.
Beals amis, quant orét ma mort,

Ben sai, puis n'avrez ja confort.
De ma mort n'avrez tel dolur,
A ce qu'avez si grant langur,
Que ja puis ne purrez guarir.
En mei ne remaint le venir;
Se Deus volsit, jo venise,
De vostre mal m'entremeïsse,
Car altre dolur n'ai jo mie
Fors de ço que n'avez aïe.
Ço est ma dolur e ma gravance
E al cuer en ai grant pesance
Que vus n'avrez, amis, confort,
Quant jo muer, contre vostre mort.
De la meie mort ne m'est ren.
Quant Deu la volt, jol vul ben.
Mais tres que vus, amis, l'orrez,
Je sai ben que vus en murrez.
De tel manere est nostre amur,
Ne puis senz vus sentir dolur.
Vus ne poëz senz moi murrir,
Ne jo senz vus ne puis perir.
Se jo dei em mer periller,
Dun vus estuet a terre neier.
Neier ne poëz pas a terre :
Venu m'estes en la mer quere.
La vostre mort vei devant mei,

E ben sai que tost murrir dei.
Amis, jo fail a mun desir,
Car en vos bras quidai murrir,
En un sarcu enseveilez;
Mais nus l'avum ore failliz.
Uncore puet il avenir si,
Car jo dei neier ici,
E vus, ço crei, devez neier,
Uns peissuns peut nus dous manger,
Eissi avrum par aventure,
Bels amis, une sepulture.
Tel hume prendre le purra
Ki noz cors i reconuistera,
E fra en puis si grant honur
Cume covent a nostre amur.
Ço que jo di estre ne puet!
E se Deu le vult, si estuet.
En mer, amis, que querreiez?
Ne sai que vus i feïssez.
Mais jo i sui, si i murray,
Senz vus, Tristan, i neerai.
Si m'est, beal dulz, suëf confort
Que ne savrez ja ma mors.
Avant d'ici n'ert mais oïe,
Ne sai, amis, qui la die!
Apreuf mei lungement vivrez,

E ma venue atendrez.
Se Deu plaist, vus poës garir,
Ço est la ren que plus desir.
Plus coveit la vostre santé
Que d'ariver n'ai volenté,
Car vers vus ai si fine amur!
Amis, dei jo aveir poür,
Puis ma mors, si vus en guarissez,
Qu'en vostre vie m'ubliez
U d'autre femme aiez confort,
Tristran, apreuf la meie mort.
Amis, d'Ysolt as Blanches Mains
Certes m'en crem e dut al mains.
Ne sai se jo duter en dei,
Mais se mort fussez devant moi,
Apreuf vus curt terme vivreie.
Certes ne sai que faire deie,
Mais sur tute ren vus desire.
Deus nus doinst ensemble venir,
Que jo, amis, guarir vus pusse,
U nus dous murrir d'un anguisse. »
Itant cum dure la turmente,
Ysolt se plaint, si se demente.
Plus de cinq jurs en mer dure
Li orages e la laidure.
Puis chet li venz e bels tens fait,

Le blanc sigle unt amunt trait,
E siglent a mult grant espleit,
Que Kaherdin Bretaine veit.
Dunc sunt joius e lé e balt,
E traient le sigle ben halt,
Que hum se puise aparcever
Quel ço seit, le balnc u le neir.
De lung volt mustrer la colur,
Car ço fud al derein jur
Que Tristran lur aveit mis,
Quant il turnerent del païs.
A ço qu'il siglent leement,
Leve li chalz e chet li vent,
Eissi qu'il ne poënt sigler.
Mult suëf e pleine est la mer,
Ne ça ne la lur nef ne vait
Fors itant cum l'unde la trait,
Ne lur batel n'unt il mie.
Or i est grant l'anguserie!
Devant eus pres veient la terre,
N'unt vent dunt la puisent requerre.
Amunt, aval vunt dunc wacrant,
Ore arere, e puis avant.
Ne poënt lur eire avancer,
Mult lur avent grant encumbrer.
Ysolt est mult enuiee,

La terre veit qu'ad coveitee,
E si n'i pot mie avenir.
A poi ne muert de sun desire.
Terre desirent en la nef,
Mais il lur vente trop suëf.
Sovent se claime Ysolt chative.
La nef desirent a la rive,
Uncore ne la virent pas.
Tristrans en est dolenz e las,
Sovent se plaint, sovent suspire
Pur Ysolt que tant desire,
Plure dé oilz, sun cors detuert,
A poi que del desir ne muert.
En cel anguisse, en cel ennui,
Vent sa femme Ysolt⁴²⁵ devant lui,
Purpensä de grant engin.
Dit : «Amis, ore vent Kaherdin!
Sa nef ai veü en la mer.
A grant peine l'ai veü sigler,
Nequident jo l'ai si veüe
Que pur la sue l'aie coneüe.
Deus duinst que tel novele aport
Dunt vus al quer aiez confort. »
Tristran tresalt de la novele,

425 The second Isolde, Tristan's wife

Dit a Ysolt : « Amie bele,
Savez pur veir que c'est sa nef?
Or dites quel est le tref.»
Ço dit Ysolt : «Jol sai pur veir,
Sachez que le sigle est tut neir.
Trait l'unt amunt e levé halt,
Pur ço que li venz lur falt.»
Dunt a Tristan si grant dolur,
Unques n'out n'avrad maür;
E turne sei vers la pareie,
Dunc dit : «Deus salt Ysolt e mei!
Quant a moi ne volez venir,
Pur vostre amur m'estuet murrir.
Jo ne puis plus tenir ma vie.
Pur vus muer, Ysolt, bele amis.
N'avez pitié de ma langur,
Mais de ma mort avrez dolur.
Ço m'est, amie, grant confort
Que pitié avrez de ma mort.»
«Amie Ysolt,» treis feiz dit,
a la quarte rent l'esprit.
Idunc plurent par la maisun
Li chevaler, li compaignun.
Li criz est halt, la plainte grant;
Saillient chevaler e serjant,
E portent li hors sur sun lit,

Puis le chuchent sur un samit,
Covrent le d'un palie roie.
Li venz est en la mer levé
E fert sei en mi liu del tref,
A terre fait venir la nef.
Ysolt est de la nef issue,
Ot les granz plaintes en la rue,
Les seinz a musters, as chapeles;
Demande as humes quels noveles,
Pur quei il funt tel soneïz,
E de quei seit li plureïz.
Uns anciens dunc li dit :
«Bele dame, si Deu m'aït,
Nus avum issi grant dolur
Que ungques genz n'orent maïr.
Tristran li pruz, li francs, est mort.
A tut ceus del rengne ert confort,
Larges estoir as bosungius,
A grant aïe as dolerus.
D'une plaie que sun cors ut
En sun lit ore endreit murrut.
Unques si grant chaitivesun
N'avint a ceste regiün.»
Tres que Ysolt la novele ot,
De dolur ne puet suner un mot.
De sa mort ert si adolee,

La rue vait desafublee,
Devant les altres, el palés.
Bretun ne virent unques mes
Femme de la sue bealté.
Mervellent sei par la cité
Dunt ele vent, ki ele seit.
Ysolt vait la ou le cors veit,
Si se turne vers orïent.
Pur lui prie pitusement;

(Short ending)

« Amis Tristan, quant mort vus vei,
Par raisun vivre puis ne dei.
Mort estes pur la mei amur,
E jo muer, amis, de tendrur,
Quant a tens ne poi venir. »
Dejuste lui va dunc gesir,
Embrace le e si s'estent,
Sun esprit a itant rent.

(Long ending)

« Mort estes pur la meie amur,
E jo murc, amis, par tendrur,
Que je a tens n'i poi venir
Vos e vostre mal guarir.
Amis, amis, pur vostre mort

N'avrai je mais pur rien confort,
Joie ne hait ne nul deduit ;
Icil orages seit destruit
Que tant me fist, amis, en mer
Que n'i poi venir, demurer!
Se jo fusse a tens venue,
Vie vos oüse, amis, rendue,
E parlé dulcement a vos
De l'amur qu'ad esté entre nos.
Plainte oüse la mei aventure,
Nostre joie, nostre emveisure,
La paine a la grant dolur
Que ad esté en nostre amur,
E oüse iço recordé,
E vos baisé e acolé.
Se jo ne puisse vos guarir,
Que ensemble poissum dunc murir!
Quant a tens venir n'i poi,
E jo l'aventure n'oi,
E venue sui a la mort,
De meismes la bevre avrai confort.
Pur mei avez perdu la vie,
Et jo frai cum veraie amie :
Pur vos voil murir ensement! »
Embrace le, si s'estent,
Baise la buche e la face

E molt estreit a li l'enbrace,
Cors a cors, buche a buche estent,
Sun espirit a itant rent,
E murt dejuste lui issi,
Pur la dolur de sun ami.
Tristrant murut pur sun desir,
Ysolt, qu'a tens n'i pout venir.
Tristrant murut pur su amur,
E la bele Ysolt pur tendrur.

Tumas fine ci sun escrit,⁴²⁶
A tuz amanz saluz i dit,
As pensis e as amerus,
As emvius, as desirus,
As enveisiez, as purvers,
A tuz ces ki orunt ces vers.
Si dit n'ai a tuz lor voleir.
Le milz ai dit a mun poeir.
E dit ai tute la verur
Si cum jo pramis al primur.
E diz e vers i ai retraits,
Pur essample issi ai fait
Pur l'estorie embelir,
Que as amanz deive plaisir,

426 Thomas names himself as the author of the text.

Et que par lieus poissent trover
Choses u se puissent recorder.
Aveir em poissent grant confort
Encuntre change, encontre tort,
Encuntre paine, encuntre dolur,
Encuntre tuiz engins d'amur.

Old Norse version

The Old Norse text has been extracted from *Saga af Tristram ok Ísönd samt Möttuls saga* (1878), Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri (Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab), pp. 191-199.

The Old Norse *Saga af Tristram ok Ísönd* of 1226 and Gottfried of Strasbourg's German translation of 1210—two medieval almost complete translations of Thomas' *roman*—have been used to reconstruct the Thomas version of *Tristan and Isolde*. The Thomas version is, like all the extant French manuscripts, highly defective and lacks not only the whole beginning, but other parts of the manuscripts as well. Consequently, it is not possible to set the Old Norse translation in contrast to the introductory part of the French text, and I have decided to render the end of the *roman* only. As the reader will see, Robert's translation is rather faithful to the original; however, the cleric does suppress passages that he deems peripheral to the tale's progress, and adds devotional material and admonishing passages to his audience, especially in the epilogue. For clarity I have identified direct speech with quotation marks.

Kardin is Tristan's messenger. He implores Isolde to return to Brittany to heal Tristan's wounds. Death of Tistan and Isolde. End of *roman*.

(Tristram sýkist nú dag frá degi—því engi er sá þar, er hánunum kunni at hjálpa—enn eitrit dreifðist um allan líkama hans ok limu, ok af því spillist hann allr. Ok kærði hann nú, ef ekki veittist hánunum bráðar hjálpir, at hann mundi brátt deya. Nú hugleiðir hann, at engi mætti bœtr um þat ráða, nema Ísönd drottning, unnasta hans, ef hón kvæmi. Enn hann mátti ekki láta flytja sik þangat til hennar.)

Þá sendi hann orð Kardin, at hann skyldi einn saman til sín koma. Enn Ísödd, kona Tristrams, undraðist þat mjök, hvaða ráðagörð þat mundi verða—hvárt hann mundi vilja vera kanúkr eða múkr eða klerkr. Ok vill hón vita, hvaða ráðagörð þeir hafa. Ok stóð hón út við vegginn, at heyra orðræður þeirra, gegnt því er Tristram lá í hvilunni, ok setti menn til at gæta, at engi yrði varr við. Því næst reistist hann upp at högendinu, enn Kardin sat hjá hánunum—ok kærðu þá harma sína ok ræddu mart um ást ok félagskap, er þeir höfðu báðir saman átt lengi, ok mikla hreysti ok atgörð, er þeir höfðu gört. Ok nú sér hvárrtveggi þat, at skilnaðr þeirra muni brátt górast; ok grétu þeir þá báðir í sinni samvist, enn nú um skilnað. Ok segir þá Tristram: “Ef ek væra í minu landi, þá mundu ek fá þar hjálpraði af nökkurum manni. Enn hér kann engi svá gott í þessu landi. Af því mun ek deya af hjálpleysa. Enn ek veit öngvan þann lifanda mann, er mik kunni at græða eðr hjálp veita, nema Ísönd drottning á Englandi. Ok ef hón vissi þetta, þá mundi hón nökkurt ráð til leggja; því hón hefir beztan vilja til ok mesta kunnáttu. Enn nú veit ek eigi, hversu hón má þessa vís verða. Enn ef hón vissi þetta, þá mundi hón sannliga koma með nökkur högendi. Engi maðr í þessum heimi er jafnvel kunnandi í læknisdómi ok allrar kurteisrar listar, er kvennmanni sómir at hafa. Nú vil ek biðja þik, Kardin félagi minn, með ástar böen, at þú farir til hennar, ok seg henni þenna atburð; því engi er sá, (er) ek trúi jafnvel sem þær—ok öngri ann ek jafnmikit sem henni, ok engi hefir gört jafnmikit fyrir mínar sakir sem hón—ok því héztu mæð með svörnum eiði, er Ísönd

drottning gaf þér Bringvet með mínum bænastað. Nú gör þetta, sem ek bið þik, sem mik væntir. Enn ek skal, ef ek lifi, umbuna þér, sem ek em maðr til ok verðugt er.”

Nú sér Kardin, at hann er mjök hryggr, ok kunni illa um þetta allt saman ok mælti til hans: “Ek vil gjarnsamliga fara til hennar ok göra allan þinn vilja, ef guð vil, (at) ek koma því fram.” Enn Tristram þakkaði hánun ok sagði, at hann skyldi hafa skip hans ok kallast kaupmaðr, er hann kvæmi þar: “Fingrgull mitt skaltu bera til jartegna, ok sýn henni sem fyrst. Ok þá veit hón, hvaðan þú ert kominn; ok mun hón vilja tala við þik einmæli. Ok seg henni þau tíendi ok tilfelli mín, sem orðin eru, ok at hón göri nökkut rað gott fyrir ok skjótt, ef hón vill mæð nökkut hjálpa.”

Nú býr Kardin ferð sína bæði skjótt ok vel, með svá marga menn, sem hann vildi. Tristram bað þess lengsta orði, áðr enn þeir skildu, at skunda at öllu ok bera Ísönd drottningu kveðju guðs ok sína margfalda. Síðan minntist hvárr við annan, ok fær Kardin góðan byr ok siglir í haf. Nú þóttist Ísodd, kona Tristrams, vita, at hann unni annarri meir enn henni, af því at hón hafði nú heyrt alla viðræðu þeirra. Enn hón lét sem hón vissi þat ekki. Nú siglir Kardin yfir hafit ok kemr þar at, sem hann vildi, í Englandi. Ok kallast þeir nú kaupmenn ok görðu bæði at kaupa ok selja—höfðu bæði hauka ok aðra hluti. Kardin tók einn gáshauk í hönd sèr, ok hit fríðasta pell, ok gekk svá til konungs garðs. Kardin var maðr snjallr ok kurteiss ok vel siðaðr ok kvaddi konunginn hæverskliga með blíðum orðum ok mælti: “Vèr félagar erum kaupmenn ok viljum biðja yðr um höfn ok góðan frið, meðan vèr erum hér í landi.” Konungr játaði hánun því þegar ok segir, at þeir skyldu vera velkomnir ok hafa góðan frið. Síðan gaf hann konungi þrjár fórnir. Eptir þat gekk hann til drottningar ok heilsaði henni vel ok kurteisliga ok gaf henni eit gullnisti, þat er fríðast mátti verða. Því næst tók hann tvau fingrgull ok sýnir henni ok bað hana kjósa hvárt hón vildi. Enn hón sá á fingrgullin ok kennir þegar fingrgull Tristrams, ok skalf hón þegar öll—ok um snèrist hugr hennar—brá lit ok andvarpaði mjök þungliga; því hón þóttist vita, at hón mundi spyrja nökkur

þau tíendi, er ekki væri henni huggan at. Enn sakir annarra manna, er hjá váru, þá lézt hún vilja kaupa enn ekki þiggja. Því næst fóru þau Kardin á einmæli. Enn hann berr henni kveðju Tristrams með fögnum orðum ok mikilli ástsemd ok segir, at í hennar valdi se líf hans ok dauði: “Hann er tryggur yðarr unnasti í alla staði.” Hann segir í fám orðum þau tíendi, er váru meðr þeim, um hans hagi ok sjúkleika, at hán um lá ekki annat fyrir, enn dauðinn, ef hún kvæmi eigi til hans, sem hún mætti því fyrst við koma. Sem Ísönd skildi þessi tíendi, písl ok harm beggja þeirra, þá var hún full sorga ok vandræða. Því næst kallaði hún til sín Bringvet ok segir henni þat, er hún hefir fregit um Tristram— hversu hann var staddr í dauða sárum, ok engi var sá þar í landi, er hann kynni græða— ok spurði hana, hvat til ráðs væri. Hún segir, at hún skyldi búast sem skjótast, er kvelda tæki, ok fara með Kardin ok hafa þat sem hún þurfti. Ok sem nóttin var komin ok öll hirðin var í svefn, þá gengu þær út um leynidýrr, er þær vissu þar vera. Ok þegar var þá Kardin fyrir þeim—ok gengu síðan skyndilega til sjóvar ok á skip ok undu segl sitt ok sigldu braut af Englandi hinn beinsta byr, sem þau vildu kjósa. Ok váru þeir allir glaðir ok kátir ok hugðu nú til annars, enn fram kvam.

Nú er at víkja sögunni til Tristrams, at hann sýkist nú mjök bæði af verk sársins ok angri, er hann bar um Ísönd drottning, at hún kvam ekki, ok engi kunni hán um bót at vinna í því landi. Hann lét menn sína optliga vera við sjó ok vita ef nökkut færa at landi. Stundum lét hann bera sik til sjóvarstrandar, þegar hann trúði varla öðrum til. Enkis fýsti hann svá í þessarri veröldu, hvárki matar nè drykkjar nè annarra hluta—nema at sjá ok tala við Ísönd drottning. Ok mátti hér nú heyra harðan atburð, at þá (er) þau Ísönd ok Kardin váru til lands komin, þá kvam mikill stormr í móti þeim, ok rak þau undan landi aptr í hafn út—ok váru úti mörg dægr, svá harðliga haldin, at þau væntu varla lífs. Þá kærði Ísönd drottning harma sína ok mælti: “Nú vill ekki guð, at ek sjá Tristram lifanda nè hans harma huggandi, svá sem ek vilda. O hó, minn soeti vin ok unnasti! ef ek

týnumst í þessarri ferð, þa er engi sá lifandi maðr í þessum heimi, er þér megi hjálp veita af þínu sári nè af þínum dauða þik hugga. Nú vilda ek, at guð vildi sem ek, ok ef ek dœ hér, þá yrði ok þinn dauði okkr saman komandi.” Slika hluti ok marga aðra kærði Ísönd. Enn hennar skipverjar váru mjök hræddir af þeim stormi, at þau mundu týnast.

Ísönd var nú mjök syrgjandi, meir Tristram enn sjálfa sik. Í tíu daga váлкуðust þau úti í þessum mikla stormi. Því næst högðist stormrinn, ok görði fagrt veðr, ok rann byrr á. Drógu þeir þá upp segl sitt ok sigldu næsta dag at landi, sem fyrr. Ok þá féll af byrinn, ok rak þá skipit aptr ok fram með landinu, ok var þá engi bátrinn; því hann hafði brotit fyrir þeim. Ok vaxa nú þegar vandræði þeirra ok angr, er þau máttu ekki at landi komast. Svá kunni Ísönd þessu illa, at hón var næsta farin af. Enn þeir, er á landi váru, sá ekki skipit, ok langaði þá mjök þó eptir þeim, er í braut fóru.

Svá mikinn harm ok ógleði hefir nú Tristram, at hann er nú allr megnlauss, andvarpandi, enn stundum vissi hann ekki til sín, sakir Ísöndar drottningar, er hann vildi gjarna at kvæmi. Þá kvam Ísodd kona hans til hans, sem af illri list hugsaði ok sagði: “Unnasti,” kvað hón, “nú er Kardin kominn: ek sá at vísu skip hans—ok hafir lítinn byr. guð láti þat bera góð tíendi ok þér til huggunar.” Sem Tristram heyrði þat, er hón sagði, þá reisti hann þegar upp, sem hann væri heill, ok mælti til hennar: “Unnasta,” kvað hann, “muntu þá vera sannfróð, at þat er hans skip? Gör mēr kunnigt, ef satt er, með hverju segli hann siglir.” Enn hón svarar: “Ek kenni þar görla, ok með svörtu segla þeir ok hafa byr öngvan—nema rekr aptr ok fram fyrir landinu.” Enn hón laug at hánúm: því Kardin sigldi með hvítum ok blám blankandi seglum, stöfuðum: því Tristram hafði svá beðit hann, til merkis, ef Ísönd kvæmi með hánúm. Enn ef Ísönd kvæmi ekki með hanum, þa skyldi hann sigla með svörtu segli. Enn Ísodd, kona Tristrams, hafði heyrt allt þetta, þá (er) hón leyndi sèr á bak við þílit. Enn sem Tristram heyrði þat, þá var hann

svá mjök syrgjandi, at aldri beið hann slíkan harm. Ok snèrist hann þegar upp til veggjar ok mælti þá með harmfullri röddu: “Nú ertú Ísönd mik hatandi. Ek em nú syrgjandi, er þú vilt ekki til mín koma—enn ek sakir þín deyjandi, er þú vildir ekki miskunna sótt minni. Ek em nú syrgjandi sótt mína ok harmandi, er þú vildir ekki koma at hugga mik.” Þrysvar kallaði hann Ísönd unnostu sína ok nefndi á nafn, enn hit fjorða sinn gaf hann upp önd sína með lífi sínu.

Enn riddarar ok sveinar, er hjá váru, hörmuðu þetta allir mjök; ok allr borgarlýðr grét hann með miklum harmi. Síðan tóku þeir hann ór rekkju sinni ok lögðu yfir hann ríkuligt pell. Enn þá tók byrr at vaxa þeim (er) á sjónum váru—ok lögðu þegar til hafnar. Sem Ísönd var nú af skipi gengin, þá heyrðe hón fólkit allt gráta með miklum harmi, öllum klukkum hringjandi. Hón spurði þá, því menn léti svá illa, eðr hvat tíðenda þeir hafði fengit. Einn gamall maðr svarar henni: “Fru,” kvað hann, “vèr höfum svá mikinn harm, at aldri kvam slíkr til handa oss. Tristram, hinn vaski ok kurteisi, er nú andaðr, liggjandi í rekkju sinni. Aldri var í þessu landi slíkr harmr komandi.” Sem Ísönd heyrði þetta, var hón svá mjök syrgjandi, at hón mátti ekki mæla, ok kastaði yfirklaði sínu af sèr. Enn Bretar undruðu mjök, hvaðan sú hin fríða frú var komin, eða ór hverju landi hón mundi vera.

Ísönd drottning gekk nú þangat, sem líkit lá á gólfínu, ok snèrist í austr ok bað böenar sinnar með þessum orðum: “Ek bið þik, guð allsvaldandi, ver þessum manni ok mèr miskunnandi, svá sem ek trúí því, at þú hafir verit borinn af mey Maria í þenna heim, öllu mannkyni til andrausnar—ok svá sem þú hjálpaðir Máriu Magdalenu ok þoldir dauða fyrir oss synduga menn – ok at þú lèzt negla þik á krossin ok leggja þik með spjóti í þína hægri síðu herjaðir til helvíta ok leystir þaðan alla þína menn í eilífan fögnuð. Þú ert skapari okkarr. Eilífr allsvaldandi guð, vertú nú syndum okkrum miskunnsamr, svá sem ek vil öllu þessu trúa. Ok ek vil gjarna öllu þessu trúa, ok ek vil þik gjarna lofa ok dýrka. Ok veit mèr þat, (er) ek bið þik, minn skapari, at þú fyrirgefir

mèr mínar syndir, einn guð, faðir, sonr ok heilagr andi. Amen.”⁴²⁷ “Tristram,” segir hón, “ek unna þér mikit. Enn nú (er) ek þik dauðan sè, sómir mèr nú ekki at lifa lengr, er ek sè, at þú dótt fyrir mínar sakir. Ok því skal ek ekki lifa eptir þik.” Hón talaði þá mörg orð um ást þeirra ok samvist ok um þeirra hörmuliga skilnað. Ok því næst lagðist hón niðr á gólfitt ok kyssti hann ok lagði hendr um háls hánun. Ok í því lét hón líf sitt. Af því dó Tristram skjótast, at hann hugði, at Ísönd drottning hefði gleymt hánun. Enn Ísönd dó því skjótast, at hón kvam of seint til hans. Síðan váru þau jörðuð. Ok er sagt at Ísodd, kona Tristrams, hafi látit jarða þau Tristram ok Ísöndu sitt hvárum megin kirkjunnar, svá (at) þau skyldu ekki vera nærri hvárt öðru framliðin. Enn svá bar til, at sín eik eða lundr vóx upp af hvars leiði, svá hátt, at limit kvíslaðist saman fyrir ofan kirkjubustina. Ok má því sjá, hversu mikil ast þeirra á milli verit hefir. Ok endar svá þessa sögu.

English Translation

(Tristan's health now deteriorated from day to day, as there were no one there who could help him with the poison that circulated in his body and limbs, and therefore he weakened rapidly. He complained that, if he did not receive help quickly, he was now going to die. He believed that no one could better advice (and cure) him than his beloved Queen Ísönd, if she would come to him, for he could not be brought to her.)

So he sent a word to Kardin, that he should come to him immediately. Ísodd, his wife, wondered a great deal what sort of counsel he was, whether he was a canon, a monk, or a cleric, and she wanted to know what they were talking about. She stood against the wall outside, and listened to their conversation, right opposite Tristan in his bed, who entreated his men not to breathe a word about this to anyone. Then he raised

427 Isolde's prayer is a mixture of *Pater Noster* and *Credo*, intended for the Norse audience.

himself upon his pillow, with Kardin sitting next to him, and lamented his anguish and talked extensively on love and friendship, (and said) that they had both been together for a long time, and talked about the travels and adventures they had been through together. And now both realize that they might be separated abruptly, and both wept in their soul when contemplating this separation. Tristan said: "Had I been in my own country, someone would have been able to help me. But here nobody has the (required) skills, and therefore I will die for lack of assistance. I know about only one living person who could bring help and recovery, namely Isolde, the Queen of England. If she knew about this, she would give valuable advice, for she has the best will and knowledge. But I do not know in what way she can be notified about this. If she knew (about my plight) she would truly come with help and support. No person in this world has more appropriate knowledge than she, and now I will ask you, Kardin my friend, with love and prayer, that you go to her, and explain to her the situation. Because there is no one whom I trust as much as I trust you—and no one that I value as much as her, for no one has done as much for my sake as she—because you swore when Queen Isolde gave you Bringven upon my entreaty. Now do what I ask you and what I hope for. And I shall, if I live, reward you abundantly and deservedly."

Kardin saw that he was in great pain and was distressed by it all and said: "I will gladly do as you wish and go to her, and if God is willing I will arrive (there safely)." And Tristan thanked him and said that he was to have his (Tristan's) ship and call himself a merchant upon arrival. "You shall wear my gold ring as a token and show (it to) her. Then she will understand why you have come, and she will want to talk to you alone. Tell her then about my situation and how it came about, so that she can quickly find a remedy if she wants to help me."

Kardin quickly and aptly prepared for his voyage with as many men as he deemed necessary. Tristan then begged him before they parted, that he promptly hasten to Queen

Isolde and bring her God's greeting and his own. Then they kissed each other and Kardin got a good wind and sailed to sea. Ísodd, Tristan's wife, now understood that he loved someone else more than he loved her, because she had heard the entire conversation. But she acted as if she didn't know. Kardin sailed across the sea and arrived in England as planned. There he called himself a merchant, interested in both selling and buying, peddling both hawks and other wares. Kardin took a chicken hawk in his hand, and a most exquisite cloth, and went to the king's castle. Kardin was an able man, courteous and well mannered. He talked courteously and amiably with the King, and said: "We are associated merchants and ask for a safe harbor and peace while we are in your kingdom." The King granted him his wishes and said that they were welcome. Then Kardin gave the King three gifts, and went to see the Queen. He greeted her courteously and gave her a most beautiful gold brooch. Then he took two golden rings and showed them to her and asked her to select the one she liked the most. Looking at the rings, she recognized Tristan's ring and started trembling all over, and as if choking, she blinked her eyes and breathed heavily, because she understood that she must ask for some disagreeable news. Because of the other people who were there present, she did as if she wanted to buy and not beg. When she got Kardin to herself, he brought her Tristan's greeting with warm words and much love, and told her that she commanded both his death and his life. "He is your true love for ever." In a few words he told her the news, of how Tristan fared, his condition and illness, and that before him there was only death if she did not come to him as quickly as she could. When Isolde heard these tidings, both painful and sad, she became full of grief and torment, and called for Bringven and told her that she had heard news of Tristan; how he was deadly wounded and that there was no one in his country who could treat him, and asked her for her advice. Bringven told her to get ready as quickly as possible and leave with Kardin that same night and do what was needed. When night fell and the whole court

was asleep, they left by a secret door that only they knew about and down to the ship, set sail, and quickly left England, choosing the shortest passage. And they were all in good spirits and thought about other things than that which lay in wait for them when they arrived.

Now back to Tristan's story: he weakened rapidly from the pain of his wounds and from sorrow because Queen Isolde did not come, and from the fact that no one in the country could heal him. He let his men repeatedly go down to the shore to see if someone was heading ashore. Sometimes he would let himself be carried down there, as soon as he thought someone had been sighted. He yearned for nothing else in this world—neither food nor drink nor other things—than to see and talk with Queen Isolde.

Now listen to the bad news that befell Isolde and Kardin: they had come close to land, but had encountered a great storm and hostile winds, so that they were repeatedly swept out to sea after having spotted harbor, and remained in the darkness of the day and barely saved their lives. Queen Isolde expressed her grief and said: "Now God does not wish that I see Tristan alive, nor alleviate his sorrow as was my wish. Alas, my sweetest friend and love! How I am pained by this journey! There is no man living in this world who can heal his wounds or release him from death! I wish, if God wants the same thing as I, that if I die here, that in death we may come together." With such words and many others Queen Isolde complained. But the ship's crew was more concerned about the storm, and (feared) that they all should perish.

Isolde was much aggrieved, more on account of Tristan than of herself. They had been drifting around in the great storm for ten days when the wind dropped and the good weather returned. They (finally) got favorable winds, hoisted the sails and sailed the next day towards land as planned. But then the wind calmed again and the boat drifted once

more between the shore and the sea, and there was no dinghy because it had been smashed. And their apprehension now increased and their sorrow, for fear that they would not be able to accost. Isolde took this so hard that she almost perished. And those who were on the shore could not see the ship and longed for those who were out there.

Tristan was now so aggrieved and pained that he was all but exhausted and breathing heavily. At times he fell unconscious, yearning for Queen Isolde, whom he wanted to see arriving. Then Ísodd, his wife, full of deception came to him and said: "My dearest," she said, "now Kardin has come, for certainly I saw his ship, but it has poor wind. With God's permission he will bring you good new." When Tristan heard what she said, he stood up as if he had been healed, and told her: "My dear," he said, "are you able to tell me truly that the ship was his? Tell me the truth. With what sail is he sailing?" And she answered: "I know it well, he has hoisted black sails and has no wind. He drifts to and fro land." But she lied to him: Kardin sailed under white and blue sails as Tristan had asked him, as a sign that Isolde was with him. If Isolde was not with him, he should hoist a black sail. Ísodd, Tristan's wife, had heard all this, when she had hidden behind the wall. When Tristan heard this, he became intensely aggrieved: never had he known such torment, and he turned grimly against the wall and said with a forlorn voice: "Now, Isolde, you hate me. And I am now aggrieved, for you would not come to me and for your sake I am dying, because you would not take pity on my illness. I wail and grieve in my illness, but you would not come and save me." Thrice he called Isolde by her name: the fourth time he expired and departed.

The knights and companions who were there were much pained and all the people in the town wept for him with great sorrow. Then they took him out of bed and covered him in rich garments. Then the wind increased for those who were at sea—and they were able to come ashore. As Ísodd came off the ship, she heard that people were sadly weeping, and that bells were tolling. She asked then why people were so

distressed, and what kind of bad news they had heard. An old man answered her: "My Lady," he said, "we have so much pain as we have never had before. Tristan, (a) valiant and courteous (knight), has now departed, and lies on his bed. There was never such a calamity in this country." As Isolde heard this, she too became greatly pained, and speechless, and threw her coat away. And the Bretons wondered where this beautiful lady came from, from which country she originated.

Queen Isolde hastened to where the deceased lay on the floor, turned to east and prayed with these words: "I beg of you, God almighty, have mercy with this man and myself, as I believe that you were borne into this world by the Virgin Mary for the salvation of all mankind, you, who helped Mary Magdalena, and died for our sins, that you let yourself be nailed to the cross and transpierced in your right side, that you devastated hell and released all your men to eternal bliss. You are our creator. Eternal almighty God, have mercy upon us sinners, as I believe you will have. I want to believe in all these things, and praise and glorify you. Give me that which I ask of you, my Creator, that you forgive me my sins, One God, Father and Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen." "Tristan," she said, "I love you so much. And now that I see you dead, I no longer wish to live, because you died because of me, and I shall not live when you are dead." In many words she described their love and union and their unhappy separation. Then she lay down next to him on the floor, kissed him and put her arms around his neck, and died. Tristan died so quickly because he thought she had forgotten him, and Isolde died suddenly because she arrived too late. Later they were buried. And it is said that Ísodd, Tristan's wife, let Tristan and Isolde be buried on either side of the church, so that they should not be close in death. But an oak or some other kind of tree grew out of their tomb so high that their branches touched and entwined over the roof of the church building, so that we all can understand how much love there was between them.

And here the story ends.

C. Religious (Philosophical) and Devotional Material

Alcuin: *De virtutibus et vitiis*

The Latin version of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis liber* has been extracted from Migne J. P. (1844-1891) *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*. Vol. 101. Paris: Migne, pp. 611-638.

Alcuin (c.730-804) was an English educator, theologian and scholar. He was in the service of Charlemagne in Aachen from 781, as the King's personal advisor and head of the palace school. In 786, he returned to England. Throughout his life, he worked relentlessly for the promotion of learning and education, and his writings reflect his concern for a greater understanding of the Scriptures, and greatly influenced the medieval notion of learning. He was amongst the first to organize classes according to subject matter, with specialized teachers for each subject. He wrote many treatises on the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, and did much for the establishment of a standardized curriculum in the various European cathedral schools.

Under Alcuin's leadership, the school at Aachen became a renowned center of knowledge and culture. Towards the year 800, Alcuin produced a new revision of *Vulgata*. At the time, uniformity in the various copies of the Scriptures was rare, and Saint Jerome's *Vulgata* existed in many not always accurate versions. The various orders and chapters often had their own interpretation of the Bible. Clarification, elucidation, and standardization of the Sacred Page were called for. Alcuin's intention was to reproduce *Vulgata* as it has been prepared by Saint Jerome as precisely as possible. *De virtutibus et vitiis* is one of three moral treatises commenting on the Holy Scripture prepared by Alcuin.

Opusculum quintum. De virtutibus et vitiis. Ad Widonem comitem

Epistola nuncupatoria

Dilectissimo filio Widoni comiti, humilis levita Alcuinus salutem.

Memor sum petitionis tuæ et promissionis meæ, qua me obnixe flagitasti, aliqua tuæ occupationi, quam te in bellicis rebus habere novimus, exhortamenta [aliquod ... exhortamentum] brevi sermone conscribere, ut habeas [haberes] jugiter inter manus manuales [in manibus] paternæ admonitionis sententias, in quibus teipsum considerare debuisse [potuisse], atque ad æternæ beatitudinis excitare studium: cui tam honestæ petitionis libenter me annuere fateor, optans meæ devotionis apices tibi ad perpetuam proficere salutem. Quos etiam, quamvis minus eloquenter videas esse compositos [videantur esse compositi], tamen certissime scito sanctæ charitatis vigore eosdem esse dictatos. Singulis siquidem hujus sermonis seriem distinxi capitulis, quatenus facilius vestræ [tua] devotionis memoriæ hæc mea dicta inhærere potuisse; sciens te in multis sæcularium rerum cogitationibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctam salutis vestræ [sanctæ salutis tuæ] desiderium ad haram sæpius, quasi ad quoddam recurrere solatium, litterarum lectionem; ut animus exterioribus fatigatus molestiis, ad seipsum reversus habeat, in quo gaudeat; et quo maxime festinare debeat, intelligat. Sicut meas [sicut ego a me has] diligenter flagitasti piæ exhortationis litterulas, ita te humiliter depono, ut easdem sæpius relegere digneris. Ob hoc tuam, dilectissime fili, dilectionem obnixe deprecor, ut plurima tibi ipse [ut optima tibi ipse] eleemosynarum largitione, et iudicium ac iudiciorum æquitate, et misericordiæ sedulitate, cœlestis gloriæ habitationem indefessa voluntate præparare studeas. In quo opere et desiderio te divina clementia semper ubique adjuvare dignetur [dilectissime fili].

Caput I: De sapientia (on wisdom)

Primum [primo] omnium quærendum homini est quæ sit vera scientia veraque sapientia: quia *sapientia hujus mundi stultitia est apud Deum* (1 Cor. III, 19). Scientia vera est a diabolo servitio, quod sunt peccata, recedere; et sapientia perfecta est Deum colere secundum mandatorum illius veritatem: quia in his duobus [mandatis] vita beata acquiritur, sicut Psalmista ait: *Diverte a malo et fac bonum* (Psal. XXXIII, 15). Non enim sufficit cuiquam mala non facere, nisi etiam et bona faciat: nec bona facere, nisi etiam et mala non committat [et mala amittat]. Omnis ergo qui sic sapiens est, procul dubio beatus erit in æternum; beata siquidem [vita] est cognitio divinitatis; cognitio [vero] divinitatis virtus boni operis est: virtus boni operis fructus est æternæ beatitudinis.

Caput II: De fide (on faith)

Sed hæc cognitio divinitatis et scientia veritatis per fidem catholicam discenda est; quia *sine fide impossibile est placere Deo* (Hebr. XI, 6). Vere beatus est, qui et recte credendo bene vivit, et bene vivendo fidem rectam custodit. Igitur sicut otiosa est fides sine operibus [bonis], ita nihil proficiunt opera bona sine fide recta. Unde et beatus Jacobus apostolus dixit: *Quid proderit, fratres mei, si fidem quis dico se habere, opera autem non faciat [habeat]? Nunquid poterit fides salvare eum? Fides sine operibus mortua est [otiosa est]. Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est* (Jac, II. 14 seqq): de cujus excellentia est alterius temporis disputare; quia breviarium, quod de mandatis Dei tibi petisti districto sermone fieri, profundissimas de fide catholica rationes [orationes, mendose] explicare non poterit.

Caput III: De charitate (on love)

In præceptis vero Dei charitas obtinet principitum, sine cujus perfectione nihil Deo placere posse Paulus testatur apostolus (I Cor. xiii), qui nec martirium nec sæculi

contemptum, nec ecclēmosynarum largitionem, sine charitaris officio quidquam proficere posse [prodesse] ostendit. Inde et ipse Dominus a quodam scriba interrogatus quod esset mandatum maximum, respondit: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua*. Addidit quoque: *Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum; in his duobus mandatis tota Lex pendet et prophetæ* (Matth. XXII. 36 seq.). Quod vero ait: *Ex toto corde, et tota anima, ex tota mente, id est, toto intellectu, tota voluntate, et ex omni memoria Deum esse diligendum*. Dei vero dilectio in observatione mandatorum ejus tota consistit, sicut alibi ait: *Si quis diligit me, sermones meos servat* (Joan. XIV, 23). Unde ipsa Veritas alibi ait: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem* (Ibid. XIII, 35). Item Apostolus: *Plenitudo legis est dilectio* (Rom. XIII, 10). Item Joannes evangelista: *Hoc mandatum habemus a Domino [Deo], ut qui dicit Dominum [Deum], diligat et proximum* (1 Joan. IV, 21). Si forte quislibet quærat quis sit proximus, sciat omnem Christianum recte proximum dici, quia omnes in baptismo filii Dei sanctificamur, ut fratres simus spiritualiter in charitate perfecta. Nobilior est generatio spiritualis quam carnalis, de qua in Evangelio ipsa Veritas ait: *Nisi quis renatus [natus] fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu [sancto], non potest introire in regnum Dei* (Joan III, 5). Discat homo quæ sunt præcepta Dei, et ea custodiat quantum valeat: et sic se cognoscat charitatem Dei habere. Quorum aliqua tuæ ostendere, dilectissime fili, devotioni nominatim curabo, ut paucis intellectis [perspectis] facilius aliorum virtutes intelligere valeas.

Caput IV: De spe (on hope)

Tria quidem [quædam] proposuit animæ nostræ necessaria egregius gentium doctor, dicens: *Spes, fides, charitas, tria hæc: major autem his est charitas* (1 Cor. XIII, 13). Nemo igitur, quamvis ingenti peccatorum pondere prematur, de bonitate divinæ

pietatis desperare debet: sed spe certæ [certa] misericordiæ illius indulgentiam sibi quotidianis deprecari lacrymis; quam recte sperare possunt, si ab actione pravi operis cessabunt. Ideo nec propter spem veniæ perseveranter peccare debemus, neque quia Deus juste peccata punit, veniam desperare debemus: sed utroque periculo evitato, et a malo declinemus, et de pietate Dei veniam speremus. Similiter et in omni tribulationum angustia, spe ad solatium supernæ pietatis currendum est, quia in illo solo omnis spes et salus sine dubio consistit, dicente Propheta: *In Deo salutare meum et gloria mea: Deus auxilii mei, et spes mea in Deo est* (Psal. LXII, 7).

Caput V: De lectionis studio (on diligent reading)

Sanctarum lectio Scripturarum divinæ est cognitio beatitudinis. In his enim quasi in quodam speculo homo seipsum considerare potest, qualis sit, vel quo tendat. Lectio assidua purificat anima, timorem incutit gehenne, ad gaudia superna cor instigat legentis. Qui vult cum Deo semper esse, frequenter debet orare [frequenter] et legere. Nam cum oramus, ipsi cum Deo loquimur: cum vero legimus, Deus nobiscum loquitur. Geminum confert donum lectio sanctarum Scriptorum, sive quia intellectum mentis erudit, seu quod a mundi vanitatibus abstractum hominem ad amorem Dei perducit. Labor honestus est lectionis [studium], et multum ad emundationem animæ proficit. Sicut enim ex carnalibus escis alitur caro, ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur et pascitur, sicut Psalmista ait: *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine! Super mel et favum ori mes* (Psal. CXIX, 103). Sed ille beatissimus est, qui divinas Scripturas legens, verba vertit in opera. Omnis plane Scriptura sancta ad nostram scripta est salutem, ut proficiamus in eis in veritatis cognitone. Sæpius cæcus offendit quam videns, sic ignorans legem Dei sæpius ignoranter peccat, quam ille qui scit. Sicut cæcus sine ductore, sic homo sine doctore viam rectam vix graditur.

Caput VI: De pace (on peace)

Salvator ad Patrem rediens, quasi speciale munus discipulis pacis dedit præcepta, dicens: *Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis* (Joan. XIV. 27). In pace vos dimitto, in pace vos inveniam. Proficisciens voluit dare, quæ desiderabat rediens in omnibus invenire. Cujus pacis ornamenta mirabiliter alio ostendit loco, dicens: *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur* (Matth. v. 9). En Filius Dei incipit vocari, qui pacificus esse jam cœpit. Non vult Filius Dei dici, qui pacem noluerit amplecti. Negat sibi Patrem Deum, qui pacificus esse contemnit. Sed hæc pax cum bonis et Dei præcepta servantibus custodienda est, non cum iniquis et sceleratis, qui pacem inter se habent in peccatis suis. Pax Christi ad salutem proficit sempiternam. Pax quæ in diabolo est, ad perpetuam pervenit [ducit] perditionem. Pax cum bonis, et bellum cum vitiis, semper habenda est. mala siquidem hominum impiorum odio habenda sunt, non homines ipsi, quamvis mali sunt, quia creatura Dei sunt. Pax vero, quæ in nobis [in bonis] est, concordam fratrum, et charitatem copulat proximorum. Pax spiritum Dei specialiter promeretur. Pax dilectionis mater est. Pax indicium est sanctitatis, de qua Deus per prophetam ait: *Pacem et veritatem diligite* (Zach. VIII. 19). Pax plebis est sanitas, gloria sacerdotis, et patriæ lætitia, et terror hostium sive visibilibus, sive invisibilibus. Omnibus viribus pax est custodienda, quia semper in Deo manet. Qui in pace sancta manet, cum sanctis Dei manet. Sacerdotis est in pace populum Dei admonere quid debeat agere: populi est in humilitate audire quæ monet sacerdos. Quidquid non licet, pastoris est prohibere ne fiat: plebis est audire, ne faciat.

Caput VII: De misericordia (on pity)

Præcipuum est misericordiæ bonum, de qua ipse Salvator ait: *Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur* (Matth. v. 7). Non postest peccator a Deo misericordiam sperare, qui misericordiam non facit peccantibus in se. Ergo dimittat

homo temporale debitum, ut mereatur recipere æternale bonum. Si animas nostras cupimus peccatorum sordibus emundari, misericordiam in nos peccantibus non negemus, ut in die retributionis ad promerendam Dei misericordiam misericordiæ operibus adjuvemur. Quomodo a Deo misericordiam exspectat [sperat], qui crudelis est in conservos suos? Sicut quis cupit Deum sibi misereri, ita et misereatur debitoribus suis. Certissime indulgentiam exspectare [sperare] poterit, qui aliis indulgere novit. Ad misericordiæ opus optimo nos in Evangelio Dominus exemplo roboravit, ubi ait: *Estote misericordes, sicut et Pater vester cælestis misericors est. Qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super justos et injustos* (Luc. vi. 36). Omnis misericordia faciet locum unicuique secundum meritam operum suorum. Qui facit misericordiam, Deo offert sacrificium salutis [satis] placabile. In iudice misericordia et disciplina debet esse; quia una sine altera bene esse non possit [poterit]. Nam misericordia sola si fuerit, securitatem facit peccandi subjectis. Iterum, si disciplina sola semper aderit, vertitur animus delinquentia in desperationem, et iudex non merebitur a Deo misericordiam, sed hanc misericordiam a seipso debet homo incipere. Quomodo in aliis est misericors, qui in seipso crudelis est? in seipso crudelis est, qui sibi perpetuas peccatis suis parat flammæ. Bene misericors est, qui a seipso incipit, et se diligenter custodit, ne puniatur cum diabolo, et sic aliis præstet, quod sibi bonum esse perspicit.

Caput VIII: De indulgentia (on forgiveness)

Dominus in Evangelio ait: *Dimittite, et dimittetur vobis*. Item: *Si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet et vobis Pater vester cælestis peccata vestra. Si non dimiseritis hominibus, nec Pater vester cælestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra*. (Matth. vi. 14, 15). Hæc vero Domini sententia magnam super nos misericordiam [clementiam] sonat his, qui eam recte intelligere possunt. Igitur ex nostro iudicio iudicat nos Deus, et quodammodo in potestate nostra est, quomodo iudicemur a iudice Deo. Si misericorditer

judicamus de in nos delinquentibus, misericorditer judicabit Deus de nobis in se peccantibus. Intendamus exemplum illius, sicut Doctor gentium ait: *Donate in vobismetipsis, si quis adversus aliquem habet querelam. Sicut Deus donat [donavit] vobis in Christo, ita et vos facite* (Coloss. iii, 13). Quomodo Deus in Christo nobis nostra peccata donavit: sic etiam nos his qui in nos peccant, dimittamus. Item: *Nulli malum pro malo reddentes*. Et alio loco: *Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum* (Rom. xii, 17, 21). Sciendum est certissime quod unusquisque talem indulgentiam accepturus est a Deo cito pervenit, si delinquentium [in nos] preces in nostris auribus acceptabiles sunt. Qui clementer peccantibus ignoscere novit, clementiam divinæ pietatis certissime accipiet. Sic enim remittetur nobis, ut nos remiserimus eis qui nobis quacunque malignate nocuerunt.

Caput IX: De patientia (on patience)

In patientia vestra, dicitur in Evangelio, possidebitis animas vestras (Luc. xxi, 19). In omni enim vita humana patientia necessaria est. Sicut itaque patienter sufferre debemus injurias ab aliis in nos delatas, ita et patienter tribulationes quæ nobis evenient, sufferre necesse est. Sæpissime in hoc sæculo boni a reprobis tribulationes patiuntur. Ideo si quislibet post bona opera tribulationes patitur, non debet in cogitatione dicere: *Perdidi opera mea bona quæ faciebam*. Qui enim hoc dixerit, non pro amore Dei, sed pro mercede felicitatis hujus vitæ, aut pro laude humana opus bonum fecisse cognoscitur. Probabitur enim homo flagellis Dei, quo animo benefaciat, vel qua foritudine sufferat tentationes sibi supervenientes. *Tentat enim vos Deus, dicit Apostulus, ut sciat si diligitis eum*. Prorsus, *tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem opus est perfectum*. *Beatus enim vir, qui suffert tentationem, quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ, quam repromisit Deus intelligentibus se* (Jac. i, 3, 4). Nemo bene sapiens est, qui patientiam non habet. *Fortior est dominator [domitor] animi sui*

expurgatore urbium (Prov. xvi. 32). In patientia vero quærenda est ignoscendi facultas, non vindicandi opportunitas. Tales sunt quidam, qui tempore injuriarum patienter sufferunt, ut subsequenter facilius vindicare valeant. Hi veram non habent patientiam. Patientia vera est in faciem fortiter sustinere injurias, et in futuro vindictam non quærere, sed ex corde ignoscere. Sine ferro vel flammis martyres esse possumus, si patientiam veraciter in animo servamus cum proximis nostris. Laudabilis est injuriam tacendo declinare, quam respondendo superare. Qui patienter tolerat mala, in futuro coronam merebitur sempiternam.

Caput X: De humilitate (on humility)

Quanta sit veræ humilitatis virtus, facile ex verbis Domini cognoscitur, qui ut superbiam Phariseorum damnaret, dixit: *Omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur* (Matth. xxiii, 12). Humilitatis passibus ad cœli culmina conscenditur; quia Deus excelsus non superbia, sed humilitate attingitur. De quo dictum est: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam* (Jac. iv, 6). Unde et in psalmis dicitur: *Excelsus Dominus et humilia respicit, et alta a longe cognoscit* (Psal. cxxxviii, 6). Alta posuit pro superbis, humilia vero pro humilibus [pro mansuetis]. Humilia respicit, ut attollat: alta, id est, superba cognoscit, ut dejiciat. Discamus igitur humilitatem, per quam Deo propinquare poterimus, sicut ipse in Evangelio ait: *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris* (Matth. xi, 29). Per superbiam mirabilis angelorum creatura cecedit de cœlo – per humilitatem [Dei] fragilitas humanæ naturæ ascendit ad cœlum. Honesta est enim inter homines humilitatis consuetudo, sicut Salomon ait: *Ubi fuerit superbia, ibi erit et contumelia. Ubi autem humilitas, ibi et sapientia* (Prov. xi, 2). Item alius [quidam] sapiens: *Quanto major es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam* (Eccli. iii, 20). Item Dominus dicit per prophetam: *Ad quem autem respiciam nisi ad humilem, et quietum, et*

tremementem verba mea (Isai. LXVI. 2)? Quicumque humilis et quietus non erit, non potest in eo habitare gratia Spiritus sancti. Deus humilis factus est nostræ salutis causa, ut erubescat homo superbus esse. Quantum humilitate inclinatur cor ad ima, tantum proficit in excelso. Qui enim humilis erit, exaltabitur in gloria [qui hic humilis fuerit in terra ... in gloria futura]. Primus humilitatis gradus est veritatis sermonem humiliter audire, memoriter retinere, voluntarie perficere. Eam quippe, quam non invenit humilem [veritas] fugit mentem. Quantum quis humilior erit de seipso, tanto major erit in conspectu Dei. Superbus vero quanto gloriosior apparet inter homines, tanto dejectior erit ante Deum. Qui enim sine humilitate bona opera agit, in ventum pulverem portat. Quid superbit terra et cinis, dum vento superbiæ dispergitur, quod jejuniis et eleemosynis congregare videtur? Noli, o homo, in virtutibus tuis gloriari; quia alterum habiturus es iudicem, non teipsum; in cuius conspectu teipsum in corde tuo humiliare oportet, quatenus ille te exaltet in tempore retributionis tuæ. Descende ut ascendas, humiliare ut exalteris, ne exaltatus humiliaris. Qui enim sibi vilis est, ante Deum magnus est [pulcher est]; et qui sibi displicet, Deo placet [et qui sibi placent, Deo displicent]. Esto igitur parvus in oculis tuis, ut sis magnus in oculis Domini. Tanto enim eris apud Deum pretiosior, quanto fueris ante oculos tuos despectior. In summo honore summa tibi sit humilitas. Honoris laus est, humilitatis virtus.

Caput XI: De compunctione corde (on the heart's compunction)

Compunctio cordis ex humilitatis virtute nascitur; de compunctione confessio peccatorum; de confessione pœnitentia; de pœnitentia vera proveniet delictorum indulgentia. Compunctio cordis est humilitas mentis, cum lacrymis, et recordatione peccatorum, et timore iudicii. Ex gemino fonte compunctionis solent profluere lacrymæ; id est, dum merita operum suorum diligentius [dum mens ... diligentius mala] considerat; altera dum desiderio æternæ vitæ suspirat. Unde Propheta ait: *Sitivit anima*

mea ad Deum vivum, quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem Dei? Fuerunt mihi lacrymæ meæ panis die ac nocte (Psal. XLI. 3,4). Item: *Concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini. Et: Cor meum, et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum* (Psal. LXXXIII, 3). Quatuor sunt quantitates affectionum [afflictionum], quibus cogitatio justi tædio salubri compungitur, hoc est, memoria præteritorum facinorum, recordatio futurarum pœnarum, consideratio peregrinationis suæ in hujus vitæ miseria, desiderium supernæ patriæ quatenus ad eam quantocius valeat pervenire. Quando ergo ista in corde hominis fiunt, sciendum est tunc esse Deum per gratiam suam cordi humano præsentem. Unde et in psalmo dicitur: *Deus vitam meam nuntiavi tibi; posui [posuisti] lacrymas meas in conspectu tuo, sicut et in promissione tua* (Psal. LV. 9). Promissio indulgentiæ quam habemus a Deo, lacrymas pœnitentiæ excitat cordi nostro. Thesaurus desiderabilis in corde hominis, compunctionis dulcedo. Anima hominis quæ in oratione compungitur, valde illi proficit ad salutem. Cum per orationem compunctio effunditur, Spiritus sancti præsentiam adesse cordibus nostris non dubium est.

Caput XII: De confessione (on confession)

Hortatur nos sæpius Scriptura ad medicamentum fugere confessionis: Non quod Deus indigeat confessione nostra, cui omnia præsto sunt quæ cogitamus, loquimur, aut agimus; sed nos aliter salvi fieri non possumus, nisi confiteamur pœnitentes quod inique gessimus negligentes. Qui seipsum accusat in peccatis suis, hunc diabolus non habet iterum accusare, in die iudicii: si tamen confitens pœnitendo diluit quæ fecit, nec iterum renovat quæ egit [revocat, quæ gemit]. *Confitemini*, dicit Jacobus apostolus, *alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem, ut salvimini* (Jac. v, 16). Item beatus Paulus apostolus: *Ore autem confessio fit ad salutem* (Rom. x, 10). Sed et Salomon de confessione peccatorum dixit: *Qui abscondit peccata [scelera] sua, non dirigitur: qui autem confessus fuerit, et reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur* (Prov. XXVIII,13).

Magnum est salutis medicamentum non iterare quæ prave [impie] gessimus, nec priorum cicatrices vulnerum resauciare. Sic autem dicit Joannes evangelista: *Si confiteamur peccata nostra, fidelis est Deus et justus, ut remittat nobis peccata, et mundet nos ab omni iniquitate* (I Joan. I, 9). Similiter et Psalmista ait: *Dixi: Confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam Domino: et tu remisisti iniquitatem [impietatem] peccati mei* (Psal. XXXI, 5). Vivens confiteatur peccator quæ fecit, quia non est fructuosa confessio apud inferos, nec pœnitentia ad salutem proficiens. Ecce nunc tempus salutis, ecce nunc tempus acceptabile Deo (II Cor. VI, 2). Tempus est nunc remissionis pœnitentibus; sed tempus erit post mortem vindictæ negligentibus confiteri scelera sua. Omnes enim impii amaram habent in tormentis pœnitentiam, sed non proficit eis pœnitentia ad salutem [remissionem]: sed conscientia torquet eos ad augmentum pœnarum quas patiuntur. Potuerunt enim sibi per confessionem præcavere tormentorum immanitatem, et neglexerunt. Ita sicut foras flammis, ita intus in conscientia propria torquentur. Quomodo potest medicus vulnus sanare, quod ægrotus ostendere erubescit? Deus enim confessionem nostram desiderat, ut justam habeat causam ignoscendi. Qui peccata sua occultat, et erubescit salubriter confiteri, Deum testem habet nunc, et iterum habebit eum ultorem. Optime se judicat homo in hac vita, ne judicetur a Deo damnatione perpetua. Duplicem habere debet fletum in pœnitentia omnis peccator, sive quia per negligentiam bonum non fecit, sed quia malum per audaciam perpetravit. Quod enim oportuit, non gessit, et quod non oportuit, egit. Confessio justificat, confessio veniam peccatis donat. Omnis spes veniæ in confessione consistit. Confessio opus est misericordiæ: salus ægroti unicum est viribus [vitiis] nostris medicamentum cum pœnitentia.

Caput XIII: De pœnitentia (on penitence)

Cujus ipse Salvator in Evangelio virtutem ostendit, dicens: *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquabit enim regnum cœlorum* (Matth. iii, 2). Et Johannes baptista ait: *Facite fructus dignos pœnitentiæ* (Luc. iii. 8). Fructus est dignus pœnitentiæ, transacta flere peccata, et eadem iterum non agere, sicut Scriptura ait: *Non adjicies peccatum super peccatum* (Eccli.v, 5). *Lavamini*, dicit Dominus per Isaiam Prophetam, *et mundi estote* (Isai. i, 16). Lavatur itaque et mundus est, qui præterita plangit, et iterum flenda non admittit [non committit]. Lavatur et non est mundus, qui plangit quod gessit, nec deserit: et post lacrymas hæc quæ fleverat, repetit. De his qui post lacrymas ad delicta revertuntur pejora [priora], beatus Petrus terribiliter ait: *Canis revertitur ad vomitum suum* (II Petr. ii, 22). *Fili, peccasti*, dicitur in Scriptura sancta, *non adjicias iterum, sed de pristinis deprecare, et remittentur tibi* (Eccli. xxi, 1). Pœnitentia vera non annorum numero consetur, sed amaritudine animi. Unde beatus Petrus mox a Domino indulgentiam recepit, quia amarissime flevit trinæ negationis culpam. Pœnitentia, quamvis sit exigui temporis; si intima cordis amaritudine agitur, non despicitur apud judicem Deum, qui cordis secreta considerat. Non enim longitudinem temporis tantum requirit Deus, quantum affectum sinceritatis [pœnitentis] pensat. Qui enim in Christum tota mente confidit, etiamsi in multis moriatur peccatis, fide sua vivit in æternum, sicut ipse Dominus in Evangelio ait: *Ego sum resurrectio et vita. Qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet: et omnis qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in æternum* (Joan. xi, 25). De morte animæ dixit, quia propter peccatorum ægritudinem [quæ pro ægritudine] eveniet illi. Deus autem natura misericors est, paratus est salvare per misericordiam, quos non veniet [invenit] salvare per justitiam, qui vult omnes salvos fieri, et neminem perire (I Tim. ii, 4): qui per prophetam ait: *In quacunque die conversus fuerit peccator, vita vivet, et non morietur* (Ezech. xviii, 21). Quamvis quisque sit peccator et impius, si ad pœnitentiam convertatur, consequi posse veniam se per Dei

misericordiam non dubitet. In hoc sæculo pœnitentiam facientibus Dei misericordia subvenit. In futuro autem pœnitentia non proficit, sed rationem nostrorum [operum] reddituri sumus. In hac vita tantum pœnitenti [pœnitentiæ] patet libertas, post mortem vero nulla correctionis est licentia.

Caput XIV: De non tardando converti ad Deum [De conversione ad Dominum]

Legitur in litteris divinitus inspiratis dictum: *Fili, ne tardes converti ad Deum* [Dominum] *quia nescis quid futura pariat dies* (Eccli.v, 8). Qui tardat converti, periculum facit animæ suæ, quia *mors non tardat* (Eccli. xiv, 12). Quæ si tardantem converti inveniet, ad tormenta deducit eum. Dissoluta et paralytica [periculosa] cogitatio est, de crastina cogitare conversione, et hodiernam negligere. Quid tu peccator [converti] dissimulas et non metuis, ne tibi mors repentina subripiat diem conversionis? Nonne hominis subito moriuntur? Si bonum est peccata dimittere, et ad Deum converti, cito fiat. Deus tibi promittit remissionem convertenti a peccatis, securitatem tibi non promisit diu vivendi . [Lege prophetas, lege Apostolum, et vide si tibi promissa sit hora aut dies.] Ideo convertat se citius unusquisque ad Deum, et cum invenerit eum, derelinquat impius viam suam. Si subito intrat dies extremus, perit dilatio, et restat damnatio. Perire non vis, redi ad Deum, et vives. Noli desperare [peccando sperare] de venia peccatorum, nec de vita longiori confidere. Convertere ergo, et pœnitentiam age. Cras, inquis, convertam. Quare non hodie? Quid mali, dicis, si cras dicam? Quid mali, si hodie? Forte dicis: Longa erit vita mea. Dicam, si longa sit [erit], bona sit; si brevis, et ipsa bona sit. Quis ferat malum longum? Prandium longum non vis habere malum, et vitam longam vis habere malam? Villam emis: bonam desideras. Uxorem vis ducere, bonam quæris. Filios tibi nasci vis: bonos optas. Et ut etiam de rebus vilissimis loquar, caligas emis, et non vis malas: et vitam amas malam? Quid te offendit vita tua, quam solam vis malam, ut inter omnia bona [tua] solus sis malus? *Neque tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne*

differas de die in diem (Eccli.v, 8). Verba Dei sunt, non mea. Non a me hæc audisti, sed ego tecum audio a Domino. Forte respondes: Cras, cras. O vox corvina! Corvus non redit ad arcam, columba redit. Si enim tunc vis pœnitentiam agere quando peccare non potes, peccata te dimiserunt, non tu illa. Satis alienus a fide est, qui ad agendam pœnitentiam tempus senectutis exspectat. Metuendum est, ne dum sperat misericordiam, indicat in iudicium. Neque enim tunc veniam inveniet, qui modo aptum veniæ tempus perdidit. Ibi jam a Deo non potest mereri quod petit, qui hic noluit audire quod jussit. Qui tempus pœnitentiæ datum [sibi] negligit, frustra ante tribunal Christi preces effundit. Festinare debet ad Deum convertendo unusquisque, dum potest, ne si, dum potest, noluerit, omnino cum tarde voluerit, non possit.

Caput XV: De timore Domini (on fearing God)

Initium sapientiæ timor Domini (Psal. cx, 10). Magna est cautela peccati Deum semper pœnitentem [Dei præsentiā] timere. Qui perfecte Deum timet, diligenter se a peccatis custodit. *Timere Deum in novissimuo die bene erit, et merces ejus in æternum permanet* (Eccli. i, 13). Qui erubescit in conspectu hominis peccare, quanto magis debet erubescere in conspectu Dei iniquitatem agere, qui non solum opera, sed et corda considerat. Qui timore sancto Deum metuunt, inquirunt quæ bona placita sunt illis. Alius est timor filiorum, alius est timor servorum. Servi enim propter tormenta dominos timent, filii vero propter amorem patres timent. Si filii Dei sumus, timeamus eum ex charitatis dulcedine, non de timoris amaritudine. Homo sapiens in omnibus operibus suis metuit Dominum, sciens se nunquam ejus præsentiā fugere posse, sicut Psalmista Deo dicit: *Quo ibo a spiritu tuo, et quo a facie tua fulgiam* (Psal. CXXXIX, 7)? Iterum: *Quia neque ab Oriente, neque ab occidente* (Psal. LXXIV, 1), subauditur, patet locus fugiendi Deum. *Qui timet Deum, accipiet doctrinam ejus, et qui vigilaverint in mandatis illius, invenient benedictionem sempiternam* (Eccli. xxxii, 18). Timentis Deum beata anima

(Eccli. XXXIV, 17), et a tentatione diabolica tuta remanet. *Beatus homo, qui semper est pavidus* (Prov. XXVIII, 14), et cui donatum est Dei timorem semper ante oculos habere. Qui timet Dominum, recedit ab itinere pravo, et ad virtutis semitam vias suas dirigit. Timor Domini repellit peccata, et adjicit virtutes. Timor cautum facit hominem et sollicitum ne peccet. Ubi vero timor Domini non est, ibi dissolutio vitæ est. Quisquis Deum in prosperis non timet, vel [saltem] in adversis refugiat ad illum, qui flagellat, ut sanet. *Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupit nimis* (Psal. CXI, 1). Timor Dei timorem gehennæ expellit. Sic [ergo] timeamus Deum, ut diligamus eum, *quia perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem servilem* (I Joan. IV, 18).

Caput XVI: De jejunio (On abstinence and fasting)

Perfectum est jejunium, quod in eleemosynis et operatione fit. Cœlum [orationibus in cœlum] transit, et ad thronum altissimi Dei pervenit. Tunc enim homo spiritualis effectus angelis conjungitur, Deoque liberius copulatur, si abstinencia carnis orationibus exaltatur. Per jejunia et orationes occulta mysteriorum cœlestium revelantur, divinique sacramenti arcana panduntur. Adam abstinuit, mansit in paradiso: manducavit, et expulsus est. Jejunia fortia tela sunt adversus tentamenta dæmoniorum; cito enim per abstinenciam vincuntur. Unde etiam Dominus et Salvator noster eorum incursus jejuniis et orationibus præmonet superare dicens: *Hoc genus non ejicitur, nisi in oratione et jejunio* (Matth. XVII, 21). Immundi enim spiritus ibi se fiducialibus immittunt, ubi videbunt frequenter comessationes et ebrietates exerceri. Abstinencia corpus macerat, sed cor impinguescit [impinguat]. Carnem debilitat, sed animam confortat. Sed sciendum est quod jejunia cum bonis operibus Deo optime sunt acceptabilia. Qui autem a cibis abstinent, et prave agunt, dæmones imitantur, quibus esca carnalis non est, et nequitia spiritualis semper inest. Ille enim bene abstinet a cibis, qui et a malitiæ actibus, et a mundi jejunat ambitionibus. Melius est prædicationis sanctæ convivio [et verbi Dei

pabulo] victuram in perpetuo mentem reficere, quam ventrem mortiferæ carnis [terreno pane et] deliciosis saturis epulis.

Caput XVII: De eleemosynis (on alms)

Sciendum est enim esse pietatis opus, ut de his quæ nobis cœlestis Pater misericorditer contulit, nos quoque alios adjuvemus. Sunt enim plurimi qui nullam in agris, nullam in vineis, nullam habent in sæculi divinis portionem. Quorum inopiæ de ea quam Dominus nobis dedit copia consulere debemus, ut et ipsi nobiscum Deo pro terræ fecunditate benedicant, et gaudeant possidentibus fuisse donata, quæ etiam pauperibus ac peregrinis facta fuerunt communia. Felix est illud horreum, et omnium fructuum multiplicatione dignissimum, unde egentium, et debilium, et peregrinorum saturatur esuries. Quos ideo sub diversis molestiis justitia Dei laborare permisit, ut et miseros pro patientia, et misericordes pro benevolentia coronaret. Efficacissima enim pro peccatis deprecatio est in eleemosynis atque jejuniis; et velociter ad divinas conscendit aures talibus oratio elevata suffragiis, quoniam scriptum est: *Animæ suæ benefacit vir misericors* (Prov. XI, 17). Pars enim corporalium facultatum, quæ indigentibus ministratur, in divitias largenti transit æternas. Ita misericordiam Dei et indulgentiam peccatorum nostrum, pauperum miseratione et eleemosynis meremur: quoniam qui suum ab inope non avertit animum, cito ad se Domini convertir auditum, dicente Domino: *Estote misericordes, sicut Pater vester misericors est* (Luc. VI, 36). Quod reddituram se promittit Veritas, secunda expendat [et tribuat] humanitas. Constans esto, Christiane largitor, da quod accipias, sere quod metas, sparge quod colligas. Noli metuere dispendium, noli de dubio suspirare proventu. Substantia tua cum bene erogatur, augetur. Remunerator tuus vult te esse beneficum. Et qui dat ut habeas, mandat ut tribuas, dicens: *Date, et dabitur vobis*. O avare, si aurum diliges, vel divitias sæculi, da, ne perdas. Si servaveris, sine dubio perdes: si erogaveris, omnino habebis eas

æternaliter, dicente ipsa Veritate: *Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in cælo, ubi nec ærugo, nec tinea demolitur; neque fures effodiunt, et furantur. Ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum* (Matth. vi, 29). Utique bene dispensantes temporalia acquiretis æterna. Noli timidus esse in largiendo, ne sis egenus in retributione: *quia qui parce seminat, parce et metet* (II Cor. ix, 6). *Qui autem miseretur pauperi, beatus erit* (Prov. xiv, 21). *Redemptio itaque animæ viri, divitiæ ejus* (Prov. xiii, 8). *Honorat Deum, qui miseretur pauperis. Absconde eleemosynam in sinu pauperis, dicit Scriptura sancta, et ipsa orabit pro te* (Eccli. xxix, 15). *Sicut aqua exstinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna exstinguit peccatum. Animam esurientem ne despexeris, et ne exasperes pauperem in clamore suo* (Eccli. iv, 2). Qui avertit aurem suam a clamore pauperis, illius oratio clementiam Dei non merebitur [meretur]. In vita tua benefac animæ tuæ, eleemosynas dans miseris, quia post mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendi. In conviviiis tuis pauperes vescantur, et Christus in illis. Tria sunt genera eleemosynarum: una corporalis, egenti dare quidquid potueris; altera spiritualis, dimittere ei a quo læsus fueris; tertia delinquentem corrigere, et errantes in viam reducere veritatis.

Caput XVIII: De castitate (on chastety)

Castitas angelica est vita. Castitas cum humilitate, Spiritus sancti merebitur habitationem, quem expellit immunditia libidinum, dicente Scriptura: *Corpus peccatis subditum Spiritus sanctus effugiet* (Sap. i, 5). Membra nostra Deo debent esse dicata, non fornicationi. Opponat homo desiderio carnis suæ æternorum flammæ tormentorum. Assuescat juvenis castigati, ut sit dignus sapientia Dei. Ubi immunditia est corporis, ibi habitatio diabolici spiritus; qui maxime gaudet in iniquatione carnis nostræ. Omnes immunditiæ Deo displicent, et maxime quæ non sunt naturales. Admonet itaque nos Scriptura sancta, dicens: *Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere. Si præstes animæ tuæ concupiscentias ejus, faciet te in gaudium inimicis tuis venire*

(Eccli. XVIII, 30, 31). Ejus quoque modi Salomon sapientissimus proferebat sententias de cavenda immunditia carnis, dicens: *Favus distillans labia meretricis, et nitidius oleo guttur ejus. Novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium, et acuta quasi gladius biceps. Pedes ejus descendunt ad mortem, et ad inferos gressus illius penetrant. Per semitam vitæ non ambulant, vagi sunt gressus ejus, et investigabiles. Nunc ergo, fili mi, audi me, et ne recedas a verbis oris mei, Longe fac ab ea vias tuas, et ne appropinques foribus domus ejus* (Prov. v, 3-8). Hoc siquidem non solum de meretricum immunditia dixit, sed etiam de omni carnis concupiscentia, quæ sollicitat animam suis consentire desideriis. Sed ratio mentis prohibere debet impetus carnis, et refrenare voluptates ejus iniquas. Item ille qui supra, prohibens cohabitationem feminarum, juvenibus dicit: *Nunquid abscondere potest homo ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta illius non ardeant? Aut ambulare super prunas, ut non comburantur plantæ ejus. Sic qui ingreditur ad mulierem proximi sui, non erit mundus, cum tetigerit eam* (Prov. VI, 27-29). Similiter et beatus Paulus admonet nos apostolus, inquiens: *Bonum est mulierem non tangere* (I Cor. VII, 1), quasi statim in tactu periculum esset. Pulchra est casta juvenum pudicitia, et Deo amabilis, et ad omne bonum utilis. Qui filios habet spirituales, vel carnales, nutriet illos in castitate Deo, non in fornicatione diabolo. Quid prodest homini filium habere, nutrire, amare, si æternis eum nutriet tormentis? Qui in castitate vivunt, angelicam habent in terris conversationem. Castitas hominem cœlo conjungit, angelis facit convivem. Qui mulierem habet legitimam, legitime utatur ea temporibus opportunis, ut benedictionem mereatur filiorum a Deo recipere. Nemo dicat a fornicatione se custodire non posse. *Fidelis est enim Deus, dicit beatus Apostolus, qui non permittit nos tentari supra id, quod portare non [omit. non] possumus: sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum* (I Cor. x, 13). Talis unicuique homini tentatio datur, sive in carnis desiderio, sive in ambitione sæculi, vel etiam in quacunque tentationis molestia, qualem aut cum laude vincere, aut cum opprobrio succumbere poterit. Omnibus enim castitas semper necessaria

est, sed maxime ministris Christi altaris, quorum vita aliorum debet esse eruditio, et assidua salutis prædicatio. Tales enim decet Dominum habere ministros, qui nulla carnis contagione [nullo ... contagio] corrumpantur; sed potius continentia castitatis splendeant et totius honestatis fulgeant in populo exemplis.

Caput XIX: De fraude cavenda (on avoiding dishonesty)

Dominus ipse, qui nos benignos admonet de nostra substantia pauperibus et miseris esse, prohibet nos ab omni avaritia et injustitia pecuniæ aquisitione. Qui vero ait: *De justis laboribus tuis fac eleemosynam* (Tob. iv, 7), ipse per apostolum suum hortatur nos, dicens: *Nolite fraude facere* [nolite fraudare] *invicem* (Marc. x, 19). Qui fraude qualibet aliquid acquisierit, perdit justitiam et æquitatem [justitiæ æquitatem]. Dic avare, dic cupide, dic scelerate, quid acquisisti? Forte, dicis: Aurum acquisivi ꝑ et verum dicis. Ecce aurum acquisisti per fraudem, et fidem perdidisti per injustitiam. Si in mercato fidem invenires venalem: si bonus esses, quomodo comparasses [comparares] eam? Quare non times perdere ea, quæ [eam, quam] te Deus voluit habere in corde? Aurum habes vel argentum, vel aliud quid pretiosius in arca; sed damnum in corde. His omnibus meliores divitias perdidisti. Id est, fidem, et justitiam, et dilectionem Dei et proximi. Lucrum tuum cogitas, damnum tuum non consideras. Si huic lucro gaudes, quare illa perdita non plangis? Plus ergo perdidisti quam acquisisti. O dives, rapis per potentiam quod tibi placet habere. Et perdis per injustitiam quod te deus vult habere, id est, beatitudinem sempiternam. Si omnis fur vel raptor lumen oculorum perdidisset in furto vel rapina, nunquid postea furtum fecisset vel rapinam? et, nescit, quod in ejusmodi peccato lumen perdit cordis, quod melius est omni lumine corporis. Magis, avare, da pauperibus quod habes, ut invenias in cœlo quod dedisti in terra. Quid times pecuniam tuam perdere, et non times ut totus pereas? Pro acquisitione pecuniæ falsum testimonium dicis, mentiris, rapis aliena. Juras, perjuras, quæ lex vetat. Cum hæc omnia

facis, quare non times, ne totus ardeas in æternum? Cur, avare, plus amas aurum, quam animam? *Quid enim proderit tibi, si mundum universum lucreis, animæ autem tuæ detrimentum patiaris* (Matth. xvi, 26)? Et ipse Dominus dicit in Evangelio: *Cavete ab omni avaritia, quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus, quæ possidet* (Luc. xii, 15). Nunquid non divites similiter moriuntur, sicut et pauperes? Non prodesse possunt divitiæ in die ultionis, nec liberabunt male utentes [videntes] eis pœnis sempiternis. Nihil est avaro scelestius, qui animam suam habet venalem pro cupiditate divitiarum. Avaritia modum ignorat, et cum omnia devoret, nescit penitus satiari [saturari]. Esuriens semper et inops est. Avarus vir inferno est similis, qui nunquam impletur.

Caput XX: De iudicibus (on judges)

Omnis qui recte iudicat, stateram in manu gestat. In utroque sensu [pensu] justitiam et misericordiam portat: ut pro justitia reddat peccatis sententiam pro misericordia peccati temperet pœnam. Quædam vero sunt a iudice bono per æquitatem corrigenda, quædam per misericordiam indulgenda. Sine personarum acceptione debent esse iudicia. Nihil enim iniquius est, quam munera accipere in iudiciis: quia *munera excæcant corda* [oculos] *prudentium, et subvertunt corda* [verba] *justorum* (Deut. xvi, 19). *In quo enim iudicio, dicit Dominus, iudicabitis; iudicabitur* [de] *vobis* (Matth. vii, 2). Quapropter iudex Deum timeat, ne forte Deo iudicante damnetur. Qui innocentes damnat, vel impios justificat pro muneribus; vel cujus muneribus, vel ejuslibet personæ amore vel odio [inique iudicat, in Deo iudicio vindictam sustinebit]. Nemo principum stultos vel improbos iudices ponere debet. Nam stultus per ignaviam ignorat justitiam, improbus autem per cupiditatem subvertit ipsam quam didicit veritatem. Pene gravius lacerantur pauperes a pravis iudicibus, quam a cruentissimi hostibus. Nullus enim prædo tam cupidus in alienis, quam iudex iniquus in suis. Pejores sunt hostibus iudices iniqui. Hostes sæpe fuga vitantur: iudices [vero] propter potentiam effugi non possunt, qui

divitias et civium oppressione congregare student. Aliquoties iudices boni ministros habent rapaces, quorum scelere coinquinantur, si non prohibent rapacitatem illorum. Hi in alienis pereunt peccatis, quia *non solum*, ut egregius mundi doctor ait: *qui faciunt, sed qui consentiunt facientibus, digni efficiuntur morte perpetua* (Rom. I, 32). Sæpe iudices pravi cupiditatis causa aut differunt, aut pervertunt iudicia. Nec finiunt causas, quousque sacculi eorum impleantur. Quando enim iudicant, non causas, sed dona considerant. *Iudices pravi*, juxta Prophetæ verbum, *quasi lupi vespere: non relinquunt in mane* (Sopkon. III, 3), hoc est, de præsentis vitæ commodo tantum cogitant, de futuro autem nihil: luporum more cuncta rapientes, et vix pauperibus pauca relinquentes. Iracundus iudex iudicii examen plene contueri non valet, quia caligine furoris non videt claritatem justitiæ. Non est persona in iudicio consideranda, sed causa. Scriptum est enim: *Non accipies personam in iudicio* (Deut. I, 17). Iniqui iudices errant in veritatis sententia, dum intendunt qualitatem personæ: et nocent sæpe justis, dum improbe defendunt impios. Acceptio munerum in iudiciis, prævaricatio est veritatis. Qui Deum timentes juste iudicant, æterna a Domino accepturi sunt præmia.

Caput XXI: De falsis testibus (on perjury)

Falsus testis, dicit Salomon, *non erit impunitus* (Prov. XIX, 9). Qui falsum testimonium profert contra proximum suum, exstinguetur lucerna ejus in die ultimo. Qui metu cujuslibet potestatis veritatem occultat, iracundiam Dei super se provocat, quia magis timet hominem quam Deum. Falsidicus testis tribus est personis obnoxius: primum Deo, cujus præsentiam contemnit; deinde iudici, quem mentiendo fallit; postremo innocenti, quem falso testimonio lædit. Si falsi testes separantur, mox mendaces invenientur. Uterque [æque] reus est, et qui veritatem occultat, et qui mendacium dicit: quia et ille prodesse non vult, et iste nocere desiderat. Beatus cujus testimonium in conspectu Dei probabile invenietur. Quatuor modis justitia in iudiciis

subvertitur: timore, cupidate, odio, amore. Timore, dum metu potestatis alicujus veritatem [dicere vel] judicare quislibet pavescit: cupiditate, dum præmio muneris alicujus corrumpitur judex; odio, dum cujuslibet inimicitiae causa nocere alteri desiderat; amore, dum amicos vel propinquos contra justitiam defendit potentior. His quatuor modis sæpe æquitas judicii subvertitur, et innocentia læditur. Magis dolendi sunt qui opprimunt pauperes, quam qui patiuntur injuriam. Illi enim qui opprimuntur, temporalem miseriam cito finiunt [transeunt]: illi vero qui opprimunt eos per injustitiam, æternis flammis deputabuntur [deputantur]. Hic vero sæpe a malis boni judicantur: in futura siquidem vita mali judicabuntur a bonis. Sæpe etiam et hic boni infelices sunt et miseri coram hominibus, et mali felices. In illa itaque æterna retributione semper boni felices erunt, et mali semper miseri erunt. Hi quibus bona sunt [bene sit] in hoc sæculo, contendat maxime ne bona perdant perpetua: et qui molestias patiuntur, fortiter eas sufferant, ut æterna beatudine digni inveniantur.

Caput XXII: De invidia (on envy)

Invidia diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum (Sap. II, 24). Dum invidebat homini terreno cœlum, quærebat quomodo eum perderet per transgressionem illius mandati, quod Creator homini statuit. Nihil nequius potest esse invidia, quæ alienis torquetur bonis: et quod ipsa non habet, alios invidet habere. Omnibus inimica est bonis invidia. Ubi est invidia, charitas esse non potest. Et ubi charitas non est, ibi nihil boni esse poterit. Qui invidet, diabolo similis est, qui per invidiam hominem de paradisi felicitate dejecit. Magnus vir est, qui invidiam humilitate superat, discordiam charitate destruit. Quid infelicus est homini, quam alterius bonum suum egisse supplicum? Omnis enim invidus animo torquetur. Unde igitur bonus proficit, inde invidus contabescit. Melius est bonorum imitari exempla, quam cos invidiæ stimulo agitare. Invidia sensum mordet, pectus urit, mentem affligit. Nullus de alteris cujuslibet doleat bono, vel

felicitate aliena contristetur. Potest itaque homo alterius bonum suum facere, dum amat in altero, quod in se [quod ipse] non facit.

Caput XXIII: De superbia (on arrogance)

Superbis Deus resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam (Jac. iv, 6; I Petr. v, 5).

Maximum diaboli peccatum fuit superbia. Quapropter omni vitio deterior [omnium malorum pejor] est superbia, quæ sæpe et de bonis nascitur actibus, dum homo in suis bonis operibus superbit: et hoc perdit per superbiam, quod habuit per charitatem. Omnium vitiorum novissimum est superbia, dum homo virtutibus ornatur, et in his superbire cœpit [cœperit; cupit]. *Omnis quoque peccati initium superbia est* (Eccle. x, 13), dum anima præcepta contemnit Creatoris, mox in cujuslibet peccati corrui foveam. Omnis superbia tanto in imo jacet, quanto se erigit in alto. Tantoque profundius libitur, quanto excelsius elevator. Qui enim per propriam superbiam attollitur, per Dei justitiam damnatur. Ante ruinam hominis exaltur spiritus ejus. Nihil magis Christiano vitandum est quam superbia, quæ iram Dei provocat. Nam superbia ex angelis dæmones fecit: humilitas autem homines sanctis angelis similes reddit. Superbi cupiunt in se prædicare quod non faciunt: humiles refugiunt, quidquid boni operantur, agnoscere. Non elevator homo in bono suo, nec laudem sibi quærat, quamvis aliquid boni faciat: sed Deum laudare [laudari] cupiat in donis suis, quia nihil boni facit [fecit], nisi quod Deus donavit ei facere.

Caput XXIV: De iracundia (on irascibility)

Egregius mundi Prædicator dicit: *Omnis enim amaritudo, et ira, et indignatio, et clamor et blasphemia tollatur a vobis* (Ephes. iv, 31). Nec enim ira viri justitiam Dei operari poterit (Jac. i, 29). Ira sine temperamento expers est rationis. Responsio mollis mitigat iram, sermo durus suscitatur furorem. *Vir irascundus*, ut ait Salomon, *provocat*

rixas: qui patiens est, mitigat suscitatas (Prov. iv, 18). *Spiritus vero ad irascendum facilem quis sustinere poterit* (Prov. xviii, 14)? *Ira non habet misericordiam, nec erumpens furor finem vindictæ novit* (Prov. xxvii, 4). Si te, o homo, præoccupaverit ira, mitiga eam. Illa ira mala est, quæ mentem turbat, ut rectum consilium perdat. Illa ira est justa et necessaria, quando homo contra propria irascitur peccata, et contra seipsum indignatur, dum male agit. Dicit enim Propheta: *Irascimini, et nolite peccare* (Psal. iv, 5). Concessit quod naturæ est, tulit quod culpæ est. Ira alterius tua liniatur patientia. *Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum* (Rom. xii, 21). Alterius peccatum tuum sit præmium. Displicet tibi alterius ira? Quod tibi in altero disciplet, in teipso quoque dipliceat. Noli tranquillitatem mentis tuæ alterius perturbatione maculare. Noli te æqualem stulto facere, quia ira *in sinu stulti requiescit* (Eccle. vii, 10). Si tu irasceris contra eum, erunt [eritis] duo mali, tu et illi. Melius est [esset] te esse bonum, quamquam ille sit malus. Cur tu ex alterius malitia malus efficeris?

Caput XXV: De humana laude non quærandam (on not seeking the praise of men)

Dominus dicit in Evangelio: *Attendite, ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus, ut videamini ab eis* (Matth. vi, 1), id est, ut ea intentione non faciatis bona, ut ab hominibus vanam laudem habeatis; sed quidquid homo facit boni, pro dei amore et salute animæ suæ, et fraterna charitate faciat. Ideo ipse Dominus dixit de quibusdam, qui eleemosynas faciunt, vel orationes et jejunia, ut ab hominibus laudem accipiant: *Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam* (Matth. vi, 2). Qui pro eo bonum quodlibet facit, ut ab hominibus laudetur, hæc est merces illius quam quæsivit, et nullam a Deo sperare habet retributionem; quia pro ejus amore non fecit, sed pro vana humanæ laudis jactantia, sicut hypocritæ facere solent. Quod vitium hominibus placendi in boni operibus, Dominus Jesus Christus multum detestatur, et sæpius Phariseos, qui tales fuerunt in Judæa, terribili [tali] percutit maledictione, dicens: *Væ vobis, hypocritæ*

(Matth. xxiii, 13)! [Nos autem non eos imitemur], sed secundum Apostolum: *Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur* (I Cor, 1, 31). Qui laudem non appetit, nec pro contumelia conturbatur. Nec ideo se bonum existimet homo, quamvis ab alio laudetur, quia Deus inspector est cordis. Quid enim prodest malo homini, si bonus prædicetur? Tunc veraciter hoc quod agit homo bonum est, quando Deo placere desiderat, a quo habet quidquid boni habet vel facit. Qui bona agere videtur, et per hæc non Deo, sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat, et in ventum seminat. Manum se unusquisque esse studeat in suis operibus; sed de magnitudine sua humanum non quærat favorem, ne perdat quod habuit, et sit parvus factus [et parvus efficiatur]. Quidquid enim homo boni faciat, hoc se sciat habere non a se, sed a Deo. Increpat eos beatus Paulus apostolus qui in suis gloriantur benefactis, dicens: *Quid habes, quod non accepisti? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non receperis* (I Cor. iv, 7)? Qui aliquod donum Dei quod meruit, in suam laudem convertit, procul dubio virtutem in vitium transfert, et bonum quod fecit; in peccatum. Cum enim causa jactantiæ pascitur pauper, etiam ipsum misericordiæ opus in peccatum convertitur. Quidquid homo boni agit, Deo quærit laudem, non sibi, sicut ipse Dominus in Evangelio ait: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in cœlis est* (Matth. v, 16).

Caput XXVI: De perseverantia in bonis operibus (on perseverance in good deeds)

Non quæritur in Christino initium boni operibus, sed finis: quia de fine suo unusquisque judicabitur. Sunt enim qui bene incipiunt, et male finiunt conversationem suam; sicut Judas primo apostolus, et postea proditor Domini, et facti sui conscius laqueo se suspendit (Act. 1). Saulus [Paulus] male cœpit, sed bene finivit: primo persecutor, postea prædicator. Virtus boni operis est perseverantia, ipso Domino dicente: *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit* (Matth. x, 22). Non igitur qui cœperit

bonum, sed qui perseveraverit in bono, hic salvus erit. Tunc enim placet Deo nostra conversatio, quando bonum quod inchoamus, perseveranti fine complebimus [complemus]. Bonum ergo non cœpisse, sed perfecisse, virtus est. Non inchoantibus præmium promittitur, sed perseverantibus datur. Semper in vita hominis finis quæritur, qualis sit extremo tempore vitæ suæ; quia de fine suo unusquisque aut justificatur, aut condemnatur. Ideo unusquisque instantissime bona quæ cœpit, perficerer contendat, ut perpetuam a Domino mereatur mercedem accipere.

Caput XXVII: De octo vitiis principalibus, et primo de superbia (on the eight main vices, and first on arrogance)

Octo sunt vitia principalia vel originalia omnium vitiorum, ex quibus radicibus omnia corruptæ mentis vel incasti corporis diversarum vitia pullulant iniquitatum. De quibus pauca dicere ratum duximus, vel ex quibus radicibus qui rami vitiosæ germinationis crescere videantur; ut sciat unusquisque radicibus extirpatis, facilius ramos præcidere posse. Primum vitium est spirituale, superbia, de qui dicitur: *Initium omnis peccati superbia* (Eccli. x, 13), quæ regina est omnium malorum, per quam angeli ceciderunt de cœlo, quæ fit ex contemptu mandatorum Dei. Fit etiam, quando attollitur mens de bonis operibus, et se meliorem æstimat aliis, dum in eo ipse pejor aliis est, quo se meliorem putat. Fit etiam per contumaciam superbia, quando despiciunt homines senioribus obedire suis. Ex ipsa vero nascitur omnis inobedientia, et omnis præsumptio, et omnis pertinacia; contentiones, hæreses, arrogantia. [In loquela clamor, in taciturnitate amaritudo, excelsus et effusus in lætitia risus, irrationabilis in serentitate tristitia, in responsione rancor, falsitas in sermone. Verba passim sine ulla cordis gravitate erumpentia, audacia ad contumelias irrogandas, ad tolerandas pusillanimitas.] Quæ omnia mala vera humilitas famuli Dei perfacile vincere [curare] poterit. [Humilitas vera est, ut diximus, veritatis sermonem humiliter audire, memoriter retinere, voluntarie perficere.]

Caput XXVIII: De gula (on overeating)

Primum est corporale peccatum gula, id est, intemperans cibi vel potus voluptas, per quam primi parentes humani generis paradisi felicitatem perdiderunt, et in hanc ærumnosam hujus vitæ [miseriam] dejecti sunt; ubi omnis homo per peccatum nascitur, per laborem vivit, per dolorem moritur. Quæ tribus modis regnare videtur in homine; id est, dum homo horam canonicam et statutam gulæ causa anticipare cupit, aut exquisitiores cibos sibi præparare jubet, quam necessitas corporis, vel suæ qualitas personæ exigat, vel si plus accipiet inedendo vel bibendo propter desiderium intemperantiæ, quam suæ proficiat saluti. De qua gula nascitur inepta lætitia, scurrilitas, levitas, vaniloquium, immunditia corporis, instabilitas mentis, ebrietas, libido: quia ex saturitate ventris libido corporis congeritur, quæ per jejunia et abstinenciam, et operis cujuslibet assiduitatem optime vincitur. [Communis enim est regula omnibus religionis sanis et infirmis, ut de qualicumque cibo nunquam impleant ventrem].

Caput XXIX: De fornicatione (on fornication)

Fornicatio est omnis corporalis immunditia, quæ solet fieri ex incontinentia libidinis, et mollitia animæ, quæ consentit suæ carni peccare. Nam anima domina debet esse, et imperare carni, et caro famula, et obedire dominæ suæ, id est, rationali animæ. Quæ fornicatio fit per commistionem carnis cum femina qualibet, vel etiam alia quacunque immunditia ad explendum libidinis ardorem. De qua [fornicatione] nascitur cæcitas mentis, inconstantia oculorum vel totius corporis amor immoderatus; sæpe periculum vitæ, lascivia, joca, petulantia, et omnis incontinentia; odium mandatorum Dei, mentis enervatio, et injustæ cupiditates; negligentia vitæ futuræ, et præsentis delectatio [dilectio]. Quæ vincitur per castitatem et continentiam consuetam et recordationem ignis æterni, et timorem præsentis sempiterni Dei [nos ubique et opera nostra inspicientis].

Caput XXX: De avaritia (on avarice)

Avaritia est nimia divitiarum acquiendi, habendi, vel tenendi cupiditas, quæ pestis inexplibilis est. Sicut hydropicus, qui quanto plus bibit, tanto plus illi sitis ascrescit [addita crescit]: sic avaritia quanto magis habet, tanto plus [habere] desiderat. Et dum modus non est illi in habendo, modus illi non erit in desiderando. Cujus genera [germina] sunt invidia, furta, latrocinia, homicidia, mendacia, perjuria, rapinæ, violentiæ, inquietudo, injusta judicia, contemptus veritatis, futuræ beatudinis oblivio, obduratio cordis. Quæ fit [quæ est] contraria misericordiæ, eleemosynis in pauperes, et toti pietati in miseros. Quæ vincitur per timorem Dei, et per fraternam charitatem, et per opera misericordiæ, et per eleemosynas in pauperes, et per spem futuræ beatudinis, dum falsæ hujus sæculi divitiæ futuræ beatudinis veris divitiis vincuntur.

Caput XXXI: De ira

Ira est de octo vitiis principalibus, quæ si ratione non regitur, in furorem vertitur: ita ut homo sui animi impotens erit [fiat], faciens quæ non convenit. Hæc enim si cordi insidit [insidet], omnem eximit ab eo providentiam facti, nec iudicium rectæ directionis [discretionis] inquierere, nec honestæ contemplationis virtutem, nec maturitatem consilii habere poterit, sed omnia præcipitium quoddam facere videtur. De qua, id est ira, pullulat tumor mentis, rixæ et contumeliæ, clamor, indignatio, præsumptio, blasphemiæ, sanguinis effusio, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas, injuriarum memoria. Quæ vincitur per patientiam et longanimitatem, et per rationem intellectuam, quam Deus, inscribit mentibus humanis, et per recordationem [injuriarum et passionum, quas pro nobis injuste pertulit Christus; et per memoriam]. Orationis Dominicæ, ubi Deo dicitur: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* (Matth. vi, 12).

Caput XXXII: De acedia (on discouragement)

Acedia est pestis, quæ Deo famulantibus multum nocere probatur, dum otiosus homo torpescit in desideriis carnalibus, nec in opere gaudet spirituali, nec in desiderio [in salute] animæ suæ lætatur, nec in adiutorio fraterni laboris hilarescit: sed tantum concupiscit et desiderat, et otiosa mens per omnia discurrit. Hæc est quæ maxime monachos excutit de cella in sæculum, et de regulari conversatione ejicit eos in abrupta vitiorum. Quæ cum miserabilem obsidet mentem, multis eam inficit miseriis, quæ multa docet mala. De qua nascitur somnolentia, pigritia operis bonis, instabilitas loci, pervagatio de loco in locum, tepiditas laborandi, tædium cordis, murmuratio et inaniloquia [magniloquia]. Quæ vincitur per studium lectionis, per assiduitatem operis boni, per desiderium futuræ præmiorum beatitudinis, per confessionem tentationis, quam in mente habet, per stabilitatem loci et propositi sui, atque exercitium cujuslibet artis et laboris, vel orationum et vigiliarum instantiam, ut nunquam otiosus inveniatur servus Dei. Difficilius invenit diabolus tentandi locum in homine quem in opere invenit bono, quam in eo quem otiosum reperit et nihil boni agentem.

Caput XXXIII: De tristitia (on sadness)

Tristitiæ duo sunt genera: unum salutiferum, alterum pestiferum. Tristitia salutaris est, quando de peccatis suis animus contristatur peccatoris, et ita contristatur, ut confessionem et poenitentiam agere quærat; et converti se ad Deum desideret. Alia est tristitia hujus sæculi, quæ mortem operatur animæ, quæ nihil in bono opere proficere valet, quæ animum perturbat, et sæpe in desperationem mittit, ut futurorum spem abstollat [auferat] bonorum. Ex ipsa nascitur malitia, rancor, animi pusillanimitas, amaritudo, desperatio. Sæpe etiam et præsentis vitæ nulla delectatio. Quæ vincitur per lætitiā spiritualem, et spem futurorum, et consolationem Scripturarum, et fraternum [in spirituali jucunditate] colloquium.

Caput XXXIV: De cenodoxia, id est, vana gloria (on conceit, i.e. vainglory)

Vana gloria est, dum homo appetit in bonis suis laudari, et non dat Deo honorem [sed sibi: nec] divinæ imputat gratiæ quidquid boni facit, sed [quasi] ex se habeat vel sæcularis dignitatem honoris, vel spiritualis decorem sapientiæ, dum homo nihil absque Dei gratia vel adjutorio habere possit boni, sicut ipsa Veritas in Evangelio discipulis suis ait: *Sine me nihil postestis facere* (Joan xv, 5). Quapropter qui gloriantur, in Domino gloriatur: quia nihil sine Deo donante boni habere poterit. Ex cujus vitii radice multi malitiæ germinare videntur ramusculi: inde jactantia, arrogantia, indignatio, discordia, inanis gloriæ cupido, et hypocrisis, id est, simulatio boni operis, cum se homo vult laudari, quod se agere nescit. Imo pene omnis quæ facit, eo tenore agit, ut ab hominibus laudetur, de quibus ipse Dominus ait: *Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam* (Matth. vi, 2). [Ista pestis, id est, vana gloria, multiformis avaritia est, et undique bellatori contra vitia pugnanti, et ex omni parte victori etiam vitiorum occurrit. Nam et in habitu et in forma corporis, in incessu, in voce, et in opere, in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in oratione, in remotione, in lectione, in scientia, in taciturnitate, in obedientia, in humilitate, in patientiæ longanimitate militem Christi vulnerare conatur, et velut perniciosissimus scopulus tumentibus undis obiectus improvisum ac miserabile naufragium prospere navigantibus, dum non cavetur, importat. Nam qui sub specie pulchræ vestis ac nitidæ cenodoxiam non potuit generare pro squalida et inoculta ac viliori conatur inserere; quem non potuit per honorem dejicere, humilitate supplantat, quem scientiæ et elocutionis ornatu nequivit extollere, gravitate taciturnitatis elidit. Si jejunit palam, gloria vanitatis pulsatur; si illud contemnendæ gloriæ causa contexerit, eodem vitio elationis intus in seipse homo subtunditur. Ne vanæ gloriæ contagione maculetur, orationes prolixius sub fratrum vitat celebrare conspectu et quod eas latenter exerceat, non effugit aculeos vanitatis. Alium quod patentissimus sit operum ac laboris, alium quod ad obediendum promptissimus, alium quod humilitate cæteros præcellit,

conatur extollere. Alius scientiæ, alius lectionis studio, alius vigiliarum prolixitate tentatur. Non solum ergo sæcularibus operibus, sed etiam suis virtutibus hominem hic morbus niditur sauciare.] Cujus morbi medicina est recordatio divinæ bonitatis, per quam omnia bona nobis collata sunt, quæ habere videmur; etiam et perpetua ipsius Dei charitas, in cujus laude omnia agere debemus, quidquid boni in hoc sæculo operemur, et magis desiderare a Deo laudari in die retributionis æternæ, quam ab homine quolibet in hujus transitoriæ vitæ conversatione. [Ita etiam hanc bestiam poterimus evadere, ut cogitantes illum David cum versum: *Dominus dissipabit ossa eorum, qui hominibus placent* (Psal. LII. 6). Primitus nihil inanis gloriæ gratia faciamus, deinde quæ bono initio fecerimus, observatione simili custodiamus. Ne omnis laborum nostrorum fructus post irrepens vanæ gloriæ morbus evacuat. Quidquid etiam in conversatione fratrum minime communis usus recipit, exsecremus omni studio, et veluto jacantiæ deditum declinemus, et ea quæ nos possunt inter cæteros notabilis reddere, ac veluti solis facientibus laus apud homines sit conquirenda, vitemus.]

Hi sunt octo totius impietatis duces cum exercitibus suis, et fortissimi contra humanum genus diabolicæ fraudis bellatores. [Qui ergo unum vitium de istis habens sine confessione et pœnitentia moritur, æterna pœna damnatur. Unde dicit Joannes in Epistola sua: *Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo, dico, ut quis roget* (Joan, v, 15). Isti vero bellatores] Deo auxiliante facillime vincuntur a bellatoribus Christi per virtutes sanctas. Prima superbia per humilitatem, gula per abstinentiam, fornicatio per castitatem, avaritia per abstinentiam [largitatem et contemptum mundi], ira per patientiam, acedia per instantiam boni operis, tristitia mala per lætitiā spiritualement, vana gloria per charitatem Dei [per sapientiam] [vincitur.] Igitur ex bis Christianæ religionis ductoribus, quos opposuimus diabolicæ impietatis bellatoribus, quatuor præsunt duces gloriatorissimi, [quorum nomina hæc sunt] : prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, temperantia.

Caput XXXV: De virtutibus quatuor (on the four virtues)

Primo sciendum est quid sit virtus. Virtus est animi habitus, naturæ decus, vitæ ratio, morum pietas, cultus divinitatis, honor hominis, æternæ beatudinis meritum. Cujus partes sunt, ut diximus, quatuor principales: prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, temperantia. Prudentia est rerum divinarum humanarumque, prout homini datum est, scientia; in qua intelligendum est, quid cavendum sit homini, vel quid faciendum: et hoc est, quod in Psalmo legitur: *Diverte a malo, et fac bonum* (Psal. XXXIII, 15). Justitia est animi nobilitas, unicuique rei propriam tribuens dignitatem. In hac divinitatis cultus, et humanitatis jura, et justa judicia, et æquitas totius vitæ conservatur. Fortitudo est magna animi patientia et longanimitas, et perseverantia in bonis operibus, et victoria contra omnium [omnia] vitiorum genera. Temperantia est totius vitæ modus, ne quid nimis homo vel amet, vel odio habeat; sed omnes vitæ hujus varietates considerata temperet diligentia. Hæc vero in fide et charitate observantibus æternæ gloriæ ab ipsa Veritate Christo Jesu præmia pollicentur. Nulla melior est sapientia, quam ea qua Deus secundum modulum humanæ mentis intelligitur et timetur [et amatur], et futurum ejus creditur judicium. Nam quid est justius quam Deum diligere ejusque mandata custodire, per quem, dum non fuimus, creati sumus [dum perdit fuimus, recreati sumus], et a servitute diabolica liberati, qui nobis omni bona quæ habemus, perdonavit? Et quid hac fortitudine melius est quam diabolum vincere, et ejus omnes superare suggestiones et omnia adversa mundi pro Dei nomine fortiter tolerare? Nobilis virtus est valde temperantia, per quam omnis honor vitæ hujus inter homines constat; ut omnia in quacunque causa homo temperantur cogitet, loquatur, et agat cum consilio salutis suæ. Hæc enim sunt levia et suavia Deum diligenti, qui ait: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde: et invenietis requiem animabus vestris. Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve* (Matth. XI, 29). Nonne melius est et beatius Deum diligere, qui est æterna pulchritudo, æterna fragrantia, æterna jucunditas, æterna dulcedo, æterna suavitas, perpetuus honor, indeficiens felicitas; quam hujus sæculi

amare *vanitates et insanias falsa* (Psal. xxxix, 5), species pulchras [pulchritudinem supervacuum], dulces saporis, sonos suaves, odores fragrantis, tactus jucundos, honores et felicitates sæculi transitorias, quæ omnia velut volatilis umbra recedunt et transeunt, et decipiunt amantem se, et in æternam mittunt eum miseriam? Qui vero Deum et Dominum fideliter amat, et indesinenter colit, et ejus mandata perseveranter implet, æternam cum angelis Dei gloriam perpetualiter possidere dignus efficietur.

Caput XXXVI: Peroratio operis (the end of the work)

Hæc tibi, dulcissimi fili [Wido], brevi sermone, sicut petisti, dictavi; ut habeas ea quotidie quasi manulem in conspectu tuo libellum, in quo possis teipsum considerare, quid cavere, vel quid agere debeas, atque per singulas vitæ hujus prosperitates vel adversitates exhortari, quomodo ad culmen perfectionis ascendere debeas. Nec te laici habitus vel conversationis sæcularis terreat qualitas, quasi in eo habitu vitæ cœlestis januas intrare non valeas. Igitur sicut omnibus æqualiter regni Dei prædicata est beatitudo, ita omnes sexui, ætati, et personæ æqualiter secundum meritorum dignitatem regni Dei patet introitus. Ubi non est distinctio, quis esset in sæculo laicus vel clericus, dives vel pauper, junior vel senior, servus vel dominus: sed unusquisque secundum meritum boni operis perpetua coronabitur gloria. Amen.

Salomon dicit: *Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos, et mitigat inimicos: et lingua eucharis in bono homine abundabit.* Multi pacifici sint tibi, et consiliarii tibi sint unus de mille. Si possides amicum, in tentatione posside eum, et non facile credas illi. Est enim amicus secundum tempus suum, et non permanebit in die tribulationis. Est amicus, qui egreditur ad amicitiam [qui convertitur ad inimiciam]. Est autem amicus socius mensæ, et non permanet in die necessitatis. Amicus si permanserit fixus, erit tibi coequalis, et in domesticis tuis attende [fiducialiter aget]. Amicus fidelis, protectio

fortis: qui autem invenit illum, invenit thesaurum. Amico fideli nulla est comparatio, et non est digna ponderatio auri et argenti contra bonitatem fidei illius. Amicus fidelis medicamentum vitæ et immortalitatis; et qui metuunt Dominum, inveniunt illum. Qui timet Dominum, æque habebit amicitiam bonam, quoniam secundum illum erit amicus illius. Fili, a juventute tua excipe doctrinam, et usque ad canos invenies sapientiam: et quasi is, qui arat et seminat, accede ad illam, et sustine bonos fructus illius; in opere enim ipsius exiguum laborabis.

Old Norse Translation

The Old Norse text has been extracted from Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamal norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4º* Oslo: Jacob Dybwad : «De vitutibus et vitiis,” pp. 1-31.

The Norse translator of this work has not been identified, but his work must be seen as an attempt to create material in the vernacular that could help the clerics in their mission work and later help them maintain and strengthen the faith amongst the parishioners. Alcuin wrote the present text as a personal guide to appropriate Christian behavior for his son, Widonus, who had wanted his father’s advice in matters of devotion and faith. The text is highly didactical, with many features of medieval teaching: multiple repetitions of the main arguments.

De virtutibus et vitiis opens *Humiliúbók*, a collection of devotional texts which has survived in a manuscript from c.1200. Some of the vernacular instructional texts contained therein may be older, probably dating back to the first half of the 12th century. A number of linguistic features suggest the possibility of even older (maybe oral) versions dating back to the first missionaries. Some of the texts—especially the Pater Noster—may have been known in its vernacular (oral) form at the early stages of the Christianization of Norway.

The texts as a collection explain the main articles of faith, the minimum knowledge required by those who wanted to enter the community of Christians.⁴²⁸ Nothing, however, indicated that all the texts have been translated by the same translator in the same period. It is also difficult to ascertain when the texts were organized into one collection. Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* has been rather faithfully translated into Old Norse by a cleric who obviously mastered both Latin and the Norse vernacular well.

Quotation marks have been added to mark direct speech.

Cveðiu-sending Alquini diaconi

Alquínus litil-latr diacn sændir quæðiu hinum kærsta syni sinum Widoni. Minnum ec fyrir-heiz mins ok bønar þinnar þeirrar er þu batt mik mioc kostgæflega at ec ritaðe með scommu male noccora huggan þins fiols-scyldis þess er vér vitum þic hafa í orrestum at þu hafer opt með hondum at-qvæðe faður-legrar aminningar. Ok meger þu í þeim lita þic sialfan. ok vekiasc til ælifrar ful-sælo. Ðæirri sva gauuglegre bøn iatte ec mic giarnlega tyia. ok øske ec þess at rit minnar goð-fýsi stoðe þér til ælifrar hælso. En þo at þesse rit synisc lit mal-fimlega saman sætt. Þa vit-tu hit visasta at þou ero ort at afle hælagnar astar. En ec scyrða scipan þessa mals sér-hværium upphafum til þes at min mál mege auðvællega festasc í minningu yðarrar goð-fysi. Þvi at ec vissu þic bundin í morgum verald-legum lutum. Þvi bið ec hælagt cost-gæfe yðarr(ar) hælso at renne opt (til) hugganar þessa boc-stafa. at móðr hugr í hinum ytrvm á-hyggium. hafe þat er hann fagne aftr horfen til sín. ok scili hvært hann scal mest fýsasc. Sva sem þu batt mic vandlega mildrar kenningar. sva bið ec þic at þu later þer sóma at lesa oft þa hina samu kenning. Oc þess bið ec kost-gæflega þína ælsu hín kærste sonr. at-tu costgæfer með o-moðum vilia fyrir at bua bygð himnescrar dyrðar þér siolfum með

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margre væizlu almosogærða. ok í iamngirmi doma ok með astsamlegre miskun (.) því ver(ke) ok cost-gæfe late sér sóma guðs mildi avalt ok hværvitna at biarga þer hinn kærste sonR.

Vmm speki (on wisdom)

ALLra luta fyrst er manne leitande hvat sé sonn speki. eða sonn hyggiænde. Þvi at speki þessa hæims er hæimsca fyrir guði. Sonn hyggiænde er at fara fra diofuls þionæsto þat ero syndir. En al-gorr speki er at gofga æftir sannlæic boð-orda hans, því at í þessum tvæim lutum sökesc sælect lif sva sem Davið prophete mælte. Snustu fra illu. ok ger gott. Eigi vinr manne þorf at hann gere æigi illt nema hann gere gott. ok æigi vinr þorf gott at gera nema hann tyni illu. Hværr er sva er spacr hann man sæl vera ei ok ei ifana-laust. Sælect lif er kynning guð-dóms. kynning guð-doms er crafti góz værcs. ok ávoxtr æilifrar ful-sælo.

Vmm trú (on faith)

EN sia kynning guð-dóms ok hyggiændi sannlæiccs er nemande fyrir almennilega trv. Þvi at u-mattolect er at lika guði fyrir utan trv. Sanlega er sa sæll er ret trvir ok væl lifir ok væl lifande. ok varðvæitir retta trv. En sva sem tóm er trv fyr utan goð værc. sva stoðar oc ecci goð værc ón retta trv. Sva mælte hinn sæle Jacobus postole: “Hvat stoðar brøðr mínir þo at noccor sægisc hafa trv. ok hefir hann æigi værken. æigi ma þa trv grøða hann. Tru er tóm fyrir utan goð værc. sva sem urøyndr licamr er aldauðr sva er oc trv douð fyrir utan goð værc.” En annarrar tiðar er at røða umm á-gæte þæirrar trvar. Þvi at æigi ma scammu male scyra hina diupasto skynsemi almennilegrar trv þat er þu bazt þer gera umm boðorð guðz.

Vmm ast (on love)

AST æignasc hofðingia-dóm. í boðorðum guðs. On þeirrar algörfi sannar Pall postole. Eccí mega guði lica. En hann syndi æcci mega stoða vat-orð. eða hafnan hæims ne olmoso goðe ón astar þionasto. Sva svaraðe ok sialfr drotten var er hann var spurðr af æinum speking hvært boðorð mæst være. “Ælsca þu drotten guð þin af alla hiarta þinu. ok af allre ond þinni. ok af ollum hug þinum.” þat er í allre scilningu. ok af ollum vilia þinum. ok af allre minningu er guð ælscande. Annat boðorð er en þesso lic. “Ælska þu nang þin sem sialfan þic.” I þessom tvæim boðorðum standa log oll. ok spa-manna mal. En guðs ælsca oll stændr saman í værdvæizlu boðorða guðs sem hann mælte sialfr. “Sa er mic ælscar. hann varð-veitir mál mín.” Enn mælte hann sialfr í oðrum stað. “Af því munu aller vita at þér eroð mínir lære-svæinar. ef þer hafeð ælsco á-meðal yðar.” En mælte Pall postole. “Ælsca er fylling laga.” En Johannes euuangelista sagðe. “Þat boðorð hafum mér af guði at sa ælsce nang sin er guði ann.” En ef noccor spyrr hvær se nangr. Þa viti hann hværn cristin mann ret callaðan vera nang. Þvi at aller helgumc vér í scirn sunar guðs at vér sem andleger bróðr í algrofre aost. Gofgare er andlegr getnaðr en holdlegr. Vmm þann getnað mælte sialfr guð í guð-spialle. “Nema hvær værdi ændr geten af vatne ok helgum anda. Þa ma hann æigi in ganga í riki guðs.” Neme maðr boðorð guðs ok værdvæiti þau sem hann ma bazt. ok kenni sic sva hafa ast guðs. Ðau boðorð noccor man ec syna. ok nemna fyrir þinni goð-fysi hinn kærste sonr. at þu meger auðvællegra scilia aðra coste at þesse hinir fáo se scildir.

Vmm vaon (on hope)

AGÆTR hæims kennande þioðar syndi þriar noccorar nauðsyniar andar várrar ok mælte: “Vaon. ok trv. ok aost. Þessar þriar ero. ok er æst þeirra mest.” Engi scal orvilnasc af gæzco guðlegrar miscunnar. Þo at hon þrøngvisc mykilli synda byrði. hældr scal hann biðia sér licnar af guðs mildi með hværstdagslegum tarom. ok visi ván. Þeirrar

licnar mega retlega vætta þeir er af syslu ilzs værcs lata. Af því solum ver æigi stað-fastlega misgera þó at ver vættem licnar. ok æigi orvilnasc miscunnar þó at guð hefni retlega syndugum manne. hældr forðumc vér hvarntvæggia hasca. ok vættom oss licnar af mildi guðs. Sliet hit sama er rennande með sanre vœn til hugganar yfirlegrar mildi í hværri cvol ok møðe. Þvi at með guði er oll vœn vór ok hælsa sem spamaðr guðs mælte: “J guði er þrit-semi min ok dyrð. Guð er fulting mitt. ok vœn mín er í guði.”

Vmm cost-gæfe lesnengar (on diligent readings)

LESNENG hæilagrar ritningar er kynning guðlegrar sælo. Þvi at í þæim ma maðr líta sic sialfan sva sem í noccorre skugg-sio hvilicr hann se eða hvært hann fysisc. Opleg læsneng ræinsar ond manz. ok fører til ræzlo hælvtis. ok æggjar hiarta lesandans til yfirlegra fagnaða. Sa er vill ávalt með guði væra. opt scal hann biðia fyrir sér. ok op lesa. Þvi at þa er vér lesom. Þa mælar guð við os. Tvinna giof fører lesneng hæilagra ritninga. Þvi at annat-tvæggia er at (hon) lærer scilning hugar eða læiðir mann til astar guðs fra hæims hægóma. Gofug sysla er lesneng. ok stoðar mykit til andar reinsanar. Sva sem licamr fœðesc af licalgom fœzlom. sva fœðesc ok sæðsc onden af guðlegom malom. sem Davið mælte: “Søtre ero brioste mínu mœl þin drotten. en hunang munni mínum.” Sa er sæl er less goðlegar ritningar. ok snýr orðum í værc. En oll hæilog ritninger ritað til varrar hæilsu. at vér batnem með þæim í kynningu guð-doms. Oftar fællr blindr en siande. Sva er oc. oftar misgerir ovitande log guðs en hin er væit. Sva sem blindr gængr æigi retta gatu ón læiðtoga. sva gængr oc æigi maðr ret ón kiænnanda.

Vmm frið (On peace)

GRØÐARE hæims þa er hann stæig upp til faður sins í himna þa gaf hann lære-svínunum sinum boðorð friðar sva sem hina øzta giof. ok mælte: “Frið min gef ec yðr. í frið let ec æftir með yðr. í friði fyrir-let ec yðr. í friði mon ec finna yðr.” Braot farande

vildi hann gefa þat. er hann vildi finna með ollum þa er hann aftr kome. Þess friðar buning syndi hann gofuglegan í oðrum stað. ok mæltu sva: “Sæler ero friðsamer menn. Þvi at þeir monu callasc synir guðs.” Sonr guðs tæcr at callasc. sa er þegar toc at callasc friðsamr. Engi vil sa guðs sonr callasc er æigi vil ælsca frið. Nittir sa guð vera faður sin er hafnar at vera friðsamr. En sia friðr er haldande með góðom ok varðvæitande boðord guðs. en æigi með il-giarnom. ok o-sið-samom. Þeir er frið hafa meðal sin í syndum sinum. Friðr Crist stoðar þeim til æilifrar hælsu andar. Frið sa er með diofli er. hann man fram coma til æilifrar glatanar. Friðr með goðom saman tengir aost naonga ok samþykki brøðra. friðr æignasc at æin-synu anda guðs. Friðsæmi er moðer ælsca. Friðr er til-saga hæilaglæics. sem drotten vár mælte sialfr. með spa-mannz male: “Elsce þer frið ok sanlæic.” Friðr er hælsa lyðs. dyrð kennimannz. ok glæði fostr-iarðar. ok ræzsla fianda synilegra ok u-synilegra. Af aollu afle er friðr haldande. Þvi at með guði unír sa er unír í hægum friði með þælom guðs. Kenni-mannz sysla er á at minna lýðen í friði hvat hann scal gera. en lýðren scal lýða með lilil-læte þvi er á minna k(ennimenn) hvatke er æigi er lofat. er hirðis-ens at banna. at æigi verði (þat en) lýðsens er at hœyra at æigi gere hann þat.

Vmm miscunn (On mercy)

MISCUNN er hinn øzta goð-giærning sva sem sialfr gr(øðare) vár mælte: “Sæler ero miscun-samr. Þvi at þeir munu fa miscunn.” Æigi ma syndugr maðr vætta miscunnar af guði sa er eigi gerer miscunn við þa er misgera við hann. Af þvi fyrigeft maðr stundlega sculd at hann oðlesc at taca æilift gott. Ef vér vilium reinsa ander varar af synda sauri. ok nittum ver æigi miscunn misgerandum við oss. at vér biargemsc í miscunnar vercum. ok takem miscunn at guði á dæigi ambonar. Hvesso ma sa miscunnar vætta af guði er eigi er miscunn-samr við annan. Sva sem hvær vil guð lata sér miscunna. sva miscunni hann ok sculdarum sinum. Hit visasta ma maðr vætta licnar

sér sa er öðrum vil licna. Hit bazta styrcti var drottinn oss til miscunnar værs þa er hann mælte þetta í guðspialle: “Vere-þer miscun-samr sva sem faðer yðar himnescr er miscunn-samr. Sa er sól letr scina yfir goða ok illa. ok sva regner yfir ranglata sem yfir retlata.” Oll miscunn gerer stað hværum sem æinum æftir værðlæic værc sinna. Sa er gerer miscun. hann fœrer øret þæccia forn guði. J domande scal vera miscunn ok hægning. Þvi at hvarge ma vera væl on annarrar. Ef miscunn er æin-saman. Þa gerir hon æfling syndar misgerandum. En ef hægning er æin-saman. Þa snysc hugr mis-geranda í or-vilnan. en dōmanden fær æigi miscunn af guði. En þa miscunn scal maðr upp hæfia af sialfum sér. Hversu ma sá maðr miscunsamr vera við aðra menn er grimr er við sialfan sic. Sa er grimr við sialfan sic er fyrir sér byr æilifan loga. í syndum sinum. Uæl er sa miscun-samr er upp hæfr goð værc af siolfum ser. ok varðvæitir sic vandlega at æigi værði hann pindr með dioflum. ok væiti hann þat siðan öðrum er hann scilr sér vera gott.

Vmm várcunn-læte (on forgiveness and compassion)

DROTTEN vár mælte í guðspialle: “Fyrir-gæfe þer. þa man yðr fyrri-gæfasc. Ef þer fyrri-gefeð maonnum gløpe þæirra. Þa man faðer yðar himnescr fyrri-gæfa yðr syndir yðrar.” Þetta atcvæðe drottens liodar myccla miscunn yfir oss. Þæim er þat scilia retlega. Þvi at guð dōmer retlega umm oss. at varom dōme. ok er á noccora lund í varom mætte hvæsso vér dōmomsc af guði domanda. Ef vér dōmom miscunnsamlega við þa er misgera við oss. Þa dōmer guð miscunn-samelega við oss misgerandum við sic. Hyggium vér at dōmom hans. sva sem kennande þioðar mælte: “Fyri-gæfeþer yðr siolfum. ef noccor hefir soc í giægn öðrum. sva sem guð fyrri-gaf yðr.” Gere þer oc sva. sem guð fyrri-gaf oss syndir í Cristni. sva scalum vér oc fyrri-gæfa þæim er misgera við oss. “Engum scalu þer giallda illu fyrir illt,” cvað Paoll postole. “Hirð æigi þu yfir at stigasc af illu. hældr stig þu yfir illt með goðo.” þat megom vér vita at saonnu at hværr

em ein man taca slicca licn a guði sem hann gæfr naonge sinum. Sua* bøn fyri syndum
arom man sciot koma til øyrna almatigs guðs. ef tōkelegar værða vaorum øyrum bōne
nisgerandum við oss. Sa er mildlega vill fyrri-gefa mis-gerandum við sic. hit visasta
nan hann taka miscun af mildi guðs. Þvi at sva værðr oss fyrri-gæfet sem vér fyrri-gæfor
þæim er misbuðu oss af noccore illzcu.

Vmm þolen-møðe (On patience)

“J þolen-møðe yðarre munu þer æignasc sálor yðrar,” sagðe drotten vár í guðspialle
J ollu mannz liui er þolen-møðe nauðsynleg. Sva sem vér scolum þolen-møðe bera ó-scil
þau er aðer bioða oss. sva er oc nauð-syn at bera þolen-moðlega mæin-læte þau er at
hende berasc. Opt taka goðer menn mæin-gerðir af illum í þessom hæimi. En ef noccor
tæcr mæinlæte aftir goð værc sin. Þa scal hann þat æigi mæla í hug-renningu sinni at
hann haue glatat goðom værcum sinum þæim er hann gærði. Þvi at sa er þat (mæler)
røynisc æigi gort hafa gott værc fyrir aost guðs. hælðr fyrir værc-kaupi þessa hæims
sælo. eða fyrir manna lofe. Maðr mann røynasc af bardagum guðs hværium hug hann
gerer goð værc. “Guð fræistar yðar,” qvað Paol postole, “at hann viti ef ælskeð hann.”
Mæin-læte gerer þolen-møðe. en þolen-møðe er al-gort værc. Sæl er sa er stænzcr fræistr
Þvi at þa er hann værðr ræyndr hann man taka dyrð þa er guð hét þæim maonnum er
hann ælsca. Eigi er sa væl spacr er æigi hæfir þolen-møðe. Drotten hugar sins er stærcri
en yfir-stigare borga. J þolen-møðe er læitande auð-vældis at fyrri-gefa. en æigi føres at
hæfna. Ðæir ero sumir er þolen-moðlega stanndasc o-scil umm stunnð at siðar mege æir
auðvællegra hefna. Þæir hafa æiga sanna þolen-møðe. Sonn þolen-møðe er at standasc
sterclega ó-scil í andlæte. ok læita æigi siðan hæmdar. hælðr fyrir-gæfa í hiarta. Fyrir
utan æld eða jarn megom vér vera píndir vattar guðs ef vér varð-væitum sanna þolen-
møðe í hug við naonga vara. Loflegra er at næigiasc fra óscilum þægiande. en yfir stiga
svarannde. Sa er þolen-møðe ber óskil. hann man æignasc æilífa dyrð annars hæims.

Vmm litil-læte (On humility)

AVÐVÆLDLEGA kænisc í orðom drottens hvæ mykil se crafr faðr lili-lætes. Þvi er hann fyri-dømde ofmetnað með gyðingium. Ok mælte: “Hværr er sic hæfr upp hann man lægiasc.” Litol-lætes fótum scal upp stiga til himnis hæðar. Þvi at hár guð kænisc æigi í ofmetnaðe. hældr í litil-læte. Guð stændr í gægn dramblátom en gæfr miscun litil-látom. “Hór guð litr lága luti,” qvað Davið, “en háfa kænisc hann umm langan veg.” Littr hann lága luti at upp hefi han. En háfa. Þat er drambláter menn. kænisc hann at hann læge þa. Nemom vér litil-læte fyrir þvi at vér megen nalgasc til guðs sem hann mælte sialfr í guðspialle: “Neme þér at mér þvi at ec litil-látr ok miyc-lundr í hiarta. ok þa munu þér finna hvild á salum yðrum.” Fyrr ofmetnað fell niðr gofug scepna af himni. Þat varo englar. En fyrr litil-læta guðs stæig upp til himins ostyrct man-kynet. Gofug vænia er litil-læte á meðal manna. sva sem Salomon mælte: “Ðar sem værðr ofmetnaðr. Þar er oc mæin-mæle. En þar er litil-læte er. Þar er oc speki.” En mælte annar spekingr forðom: “Þvi mæiri sem þu est þa læg þu þic í ollu. Þa man tu finna miscun fyrir guði.” En mælte guð með spa-mannz male: “Til hværs mon ec lita nema til litil-láz ok hugvær. ok þes er huggir orð min. Hværr er æigi værðr litil-látr ok hugværs. Þa ma æigi miscunn hæilags anda byggva með þæim.” Guð gerðisc litil-látr fyrir sacar hælsu várar. Scammesc maðr at vera dramlátr. Þvi mæir sem maðr næigisc til lægðar í litil-læte. Þvi mæira stoðar honom þat til hæðar. En sa er litil-látr værðr hann man upp hæfiasc í dyrð. Hinn fyrsti pallr litil-lætes er at hœyra litil-latlega sanlæics maol. ok halda minni-lege. ok al-gera viliande. Þvi at hit sanna flyr þann hug er æigi finzc litil-látr. Þvi lægre sem hværr værðr af siolfum sér. Þvi mæiri er hann í augliti guðs. En dramblátr maðr þvi dyrlegre sem hann synisc með maonnum. Þvi hærfi-legre værðr hann fyri guði. En sa er gerer góð værc fyrir utan litil-læte. hann ber mold í vindi. Hvat drambar iorð ok asca. Þvi at dræifisc af vindi of-metnaðr þat er sýnisc saman samnat í faostum ok í alm(o)sogøðe. Hirð æigi þu maðr at dyrcasc í crapte þinum. Þvi at þu scalt

annan hafa domara en æigi sialfan þic. J þess augliti læg þu sialfan þic í hiarta þinu. at hann hefi þic upp á tið ambunar þinnar. Stig níðr þu at upp stigir þu. Lægs-tu. at upp hæfis-tu. at æigi læges-tu þa er þu hygr upp at hæfasc. Þvi at sa er heruilegr er með sér. fagr er sa með guði. Oc sa er sér mís-licar hann licar guði. Ver þu litill fyrir aougum þinum. at þu séer mykil fyrir augum guðs. En þvi dyrlegre værðr þu fyrri guði sem þu est óítarlegre fyrri augum þinum. J hæstum veg þinum se þér hit hæste litil-læte. Væx lof ef ér crafrt litil-lætes.

Vmm tár-mælti (on tearful remorse)

TÁR-mælti hiartans gæfsc af crafte litil-lætes. en af tár-mælti er iateng synda. en af scriftar-gongu iðran. en af sanre iðran man koma lícn synda. Tár-mælti hiartans er litil-læte hugar. Með taorum ok endr-minningu synda. ok ræzlo o-orðens doms. ok af tvennom brvnnnum viðr-comnengar. ero vaon fram at fliota taor. Þat er þa er hugrin lítr vandlega ill værc sin. eða er hann mōðesc af girnd æilífs lífs. sem prophete mælte: “Ðystir ond mína til guðs lífande. hve nær mon ec coma at vittrasc fyrir andlete þinu. Taor mín váro mer fyrri brauð á dægi ok á nott. Ond mín fysisc ok gírnisc í garða drottens. Hiarta mit ok licamr mín fagnaðo með guði lífande.” Fíorer ero hætter hugrænningar af þeim er við kōmsc hugr retláz mannz með þrífsamlego læiðendi. Þat er minning liðinna misværka. ok ændr-minning ó-orðenna pinsla. ok at-hugi ut-lægðar sinnar í vesold þessa lífs. ok girnd yfirlegrar fostr-iarðar at hann komesc þangat sem sciotast. En þa er þesser lutir værða í hiarta mannz. Þa ma vita at nær er miscun guðs hiarta mannz-ens. sem sægir í psalme: “Guð. líf mit boða ec er þer. en þu sætir tær mín í augliti þinu.” Fyrir-hæit licnar þa er ver hofum af guði. Væki taor iðranar í hiartano. Ðæccileg fe-hirzla er í hiarta spacz manz. Sciot-læicr við-comnengar ond mannz su er við kōmsc í bōn. Harðla mykit stoðar hænne til hælsu þa er maðr fællir taor í bōn. Þa er æcci yfanda at nær er þa hæilagr anda hiaortum vaorum.

Vmm scriftargaongi (On confession)

HVÆTR os oft hæilog ritnin at fara til læcningar scriftar-gaongu varrar. æigi af því at guð þurfi scriftar-gaongu varrar. Þvi at hann væit alla luti þa er vér gerom ok mælom. ok hyggium. En vér megom æigi annan væg hæilir verða nema vér jattem iðrande þat er vér gerom ranglega ok ó-røklega. Sa er røger sic sialfan í syndum sinum. Þann man diofullenn æigi røgia í annat sinni á dóms dægi. Ef maðr-en þvær af með iðran þat er hann gerði ok gerer þat æigi oftar er hann misgerði. “Játte þar syndir hværr oðrum,” qvað Iacobus postole, “ok biði þer á meðal yðar et þer hialpesc.” “Af munni værðr iatneng til hæilsu,” sagde Paol postole. En Salomon mælte umm jattan synda: “Sa er fælr gløpe sina æigi man hann þrifasc. en sa er í gægn gægnr ok lætr af. hann man sa miscunn.” Mykil hæillsu-læcning er æigi at ændr-nyia þat er vér gerðum ómildlega. ok at særa þau sár er fyrr hofðu gróét. Sva mælte Iohannes euuangelista: “Trúr er guð ok retlátr ef vér gaongum í gægn syndum vaorum. at hann man fyri-gæfa óss syndir. ok ræinsa oss af allre illzcu.” “Sagða ec,” qvad David, “Jatta mon ec fyri drotne í gægn mér ollu ranglæte minu. en þu fyri-gaft mér u-mildlæic syndar minnar.” Iatte syndúgr maðr liuande þat er hann gerðe. Þvi at æigi er avaxt-samlect at iatta í hælvi. ok stoðar æcci su iðran til miscunnar. Nu er tið hæilsu. ok nu er tið tøkeleg guði. ok nu er tið lausnar iðrandum. En æptir dauðan. Þa man vera tið hæmndar. Þæim er ó-røcto at iatta syndi sinar. Þvi at aller ómildir menn hafa bitra iðran í pinslum. en æigi stoðar þæim þat til lausnar. Hældr qvælr þa hugscot til pinsla auca þæirra er þæir hafa. Ðæir mætto varasc við mykillæic cvala fyrir scrifta-gaongu. en þæir orøkto ok þva cvæliasc þæir innan í hugscote sem utan í loga. Hværsu ma læcner grøða þat sár er hinn siuki scamlesc at sýna. Guð girnisc scriftar-gaongu varrar at hann hafe rétta soc at fyri-gæfa. Sa er læynir syndum sinum ok scamlesc at iatta þrifsamlega. Þa man hann þan hafa hæmnanda í annat sinn er nu hæfir (hann) vát. Døme maðr sic v(æ)l nu í þesso lifi at æigi fyri-dølesc hann af guði í æilifri fyri-d(ø)mengo. Tve-valdan grát scal hværr syndugr maðr

hafa í iðran. Þ(vi at) af orøct giarða hann æigi gott. ok af þvi at hann framde i(l)t fyrri of(di)rfð. Þvi at þat er byr(i)aðe gerð(e) hann æigi. en þat er æigi byriaðe. Þat gerðe hann. Scripta-ganga er læið-retting. ok gæfr lícn syndug(um). Oll vaon licnar stænder saman í scripta-gaongu. Scripta-ganga er miscunar værc. hælsa siucs. Æinga læcning afls vars með iðran.

Vmm iðran (On repentance)

Þæirrar iðranar craft sýndi sialfr grøðare vaor í guðspialle ok mælte: “Gere þer iðran. Þvi at þat nolgasc himna riki.” “Gere þer mac-legan avoxst iðranar,” qvað Iohannes baptista. Maclegr ávaoxtr iðranar er. at grata liðnar syndir. ok gera æigi hinar somu í annat sinni. sva sem hæilog ritning mæler: “Æigi leggi þer synd á synd.” “Þváesc þér ok vereð ræinir,” qvað drotten vár með spamannz male. Ðvæsc sá ok er ræin er grætr liðna luti. ok gerer æigi í annat sin gratlega luti. Þvæsc ok er æigi ræin sa er grætr þat er hann gerði ok lætr æigi af. hældr søker hann æftir taorom þat er hann hafðe gratet. Vmm þa menn mælte Petr postola ó-gorlega er aftr hverfa til hinna fyrri synda æftir taorom: “Hunndr er snyst aptr til spyiu sinnar.” “Misgerðir þu, sonr,” qvað hæilog ritning, “gerðu æigi þat í annat sinni. hældr bið þu at þér fyrri-gæfesc hinar fyrri.” Sonn iðran virdisc æigi at vættra-taolu. hældr at sarlæic andar. Af þvi toc Petr postole þegar licn af drotne varom at hann gret sarlega gløp þrænnar næitingar. Eigi fyrri-liz iðran þo at hon se scamrar tiðar ef gorr værðr af hinum innzta sarlæic hiartans. Fyrri retlátom domara guði þæim er litr løynda luti hiartans. Þvi at æigi virðir guð iam-mioc længð tiðar sem ræinlæic hiartans iðranda mannz. En sa er af ollum hug trøystisc Cristi þo at hann døyi í morgum syndum. Þa liuir hann í trv sinni æi ok æi sva sem sialfr drotten mælte í guðspialle: “Ec em uprisa ok lif. Sa er truir á mic. Þa man hann lifa þo er han værði daouðr. Oc hværr er lifir ok trvir á mic. hann man aldrigin døyia.” Umm andar daouða mælte hann. Þann er at bersc fyrri synda sott. Guð er miscunn-samr í øðle.

buin at grøða fyrri miscun. sa er alla vil hæila gera. ok engi vil hann fyrri-farasc lata sa er mælte fyrri spamann sin. A hværium dægi er syndugr snysc. lif man hann lifa ok æigi døyia. Þo at hvær se syndugr ok ómildr. ifi hann æigi sic mega fa licn af guðs miscunn ef hann snyst til iðranar. I þessom hæimi biærgr guðs miscun þeim er gera iðran. En í oðrum hæimí stoðar æcci iðran. hældr scolom vér þar gialda scynsemi varra. J þesso lifi lycs upp at æins frælsi iðranar. en aptir dauðan er æcci læýfi til læiðrettinggar.

Vmm sotta læiðretting (On conversion in illness)

LESET er á bocom guðlega ablásnom. Sónr dvæl þu æigi at snuasc til drottens. Þvi at þu væizt æigi hvat fyrir byr ó-orðens dags. Sa er dvælr at snuaz til til guðs. hann gerer háasca ond sinni. Þvi at dauði dvælr æigi sa er læiðir til qvala þann er hann finr dvalt hafa at snuasc til guðs. Sundrlaus ok lama hugrenning er at hýggia at morgonlegre snuníngu. en at ó-røkia í dag. Hvat dvælr þu synndugr at snuasc til guðs. ok æigi huggir þu at brað-daoði gripi fra þer læiðrettingar dag. Þvi at menn døyia braðlega. Ef gott er at fyrri-lata syndir ok snuasc til guðs. sciot værði þat. Guð hætir þer laousn ef þu snýsc fra syndum. en æigi hét hann þer uruglæic længi at lifa. Af þvi snyst hværr sem æín sciót til guðs. ok þa er hann finr fyrri-late ó-mildr gaotu sina ef in gængr braðlega hinn øfste dagr. Þa fyrri-færsc dvolen en æftir stæendr dømengen. Ef þu vilt æigi fyrri-farsc. hværf aftr þu til guðs ok líuí. Hirð æigi þu at orvilnasc synda-lausnar. ok æigi træystasc langu lífi. Snusc þu til guðs ok ger iðran. “A morgon man ec snuasc til guðs,” mon-tu svara. Fyri hvi æigi í dag. “Hvat illa þo at a morgon se,” cvæðr þu. En hvi illa þo at í dag se. “Værðr at þvi at,” þu svarer, “langt man væra lif mit.” Ef langt er se þat gott. ef scant værðr se þat ok gott. En hværr man lengi bera ilt. Eigi vilt du lengi hafa illan dagurð. fyrri hvi vilt tu lengi hafa ilt lif. Bu-stað kaupir þu þer ok girniz þu goz. Kono vil-tu æiga. ok læitar þu goðrar. Sono vilt-tu æiga. ok øsker þu goðra. ok þoat ec røða umm hina hærfilægsto luti. Scva caupir þu. ok vilt æigi illa. Fyri hvi ælscar þu illt lif. Hvat

græmr þic lif þit er þu vilt þat æit saman er ilt er. at tu sér æinsaman ilr á meðal alra goðra luta þinna. Dvæl þu æigi at snuasc til drottens þins ok fresta æigi dag fra dæigi. Guðs orð ero þessor en æigi min. æigi høyrir þu þetta af mér hældr ec með þér af guði. Værðr at því at þu svarer: “Á morgon man ec snuasc.” Ðat er ramnleg rod. Ramnen hvarf æigi aftr til ærcrænnar Noa. En duuan hvarf aftr. En ef þu vilt iðran gera þa er þu mat æigi misgera. Þa fyr-lætr þu syndir en þær æigi þic. Ceyret ut-lænzcr er af tru sa er biðr ælli-tiðar at gera iðran; þæim er hugganda at hann falle í falz-dóm þa er hann vætter miscunnar. Eigi ma finna miscunn sa er glatar maclegre tið miscunnar. Eigi ma þar geta at guði þat er hann biðr sa er hær vill æigi hæyra þat er hann byðr. Sa er órøcer gefna tið iðranar at þarflausu. hann hellir ut bøner fyrir dom-stol Cristz. Scynda scal hvær maðr sem æin at snuasc til guðs meðan hann ma at æigi sæini hann. ok mege æigi umm siðir þa. er han vildi æigi meðan hann matte.

Vmm ræzlo (On fearing God)

UPHAF spæki er ræzla drotens. Mykil varán syndar er at ræðasc á-valt navistu guðs. Sa er alorlega ræðesc guð. hann varðvæitir sic vandlega viðr syndum. Væl maon þæim værða a hinum æfsta dægi er ræðesc guð. ok man væra værc-caup hans ei ok ei. Sa er scammesc at misgera í augliti manna. scammesc hann mycclo mæir ilt at gera í augliti guðs. Þess er lítr æigi at æins værc-en. hældr ok hiortun. Þæir er ræðasc guð hæilagre ræzlo. Þæir læita þes er honom licar væl. Onnur er ræzla sona. en onnur er ræzla þræla. Þrælar ræðasc drotten fyrir cvalar. en søynir ræðasc fæðr fyrir aost. Ef vér erom synir guðs. ræðomc vér hann af astar sætlæic en æigi af sarlæic ræzlo. Spakr maðr ræðesc guð í ollum vercum sinum. vitande sic hværgi mega flyia navistu hans. sva sem Davið mælte við guð: “Hvært mon ec fara fra anda þinum. eða hvært mon ec flyia af augliti þinu því at æigi lycz up staðr í vestre ne í austri at flyia þic guð.” Sa er ræðesc drotten man taka kænning hans. ok sa er vaker í boðorðom hans man finna at uruggu

æilifa blæzan. Sæl er on(d þ)ess manz er ræðesc guð. ok urugg af diofullegre fræstni. Sæl e(r) maðr sa er á-valt er rædr. ok þeim er gefet avalt at hafa gu(ðs) ræzlo fyrir augum. Sa er ræðesc drotten. braut man hann fara fra illri gaotu. ok græiða gaongu sina til dugnaðar stígs. Ræzla drottens ræcr á braut syndir. ok sændir til crafta. Ræzla gerer man varan ok a-hyggiu-saman at æigi gere hann á miss. Ðar er æigi er ræzla guðs. Þar er sundr-laoust lif. Sa er æigi ræðesc guð í far-sælom. Þa flyi hann þo til hans í mæinum. Þvi at hann bær til þess at hann grøðe. Sæll er sa maðr er ræðesc guð ok fysisc mioc til boð-orða hans. ræzla guðs hon ræcr á braout ræzlo hælvitis. Ræðomc ver guð sva at ver ælscum hann. Þvi at gorr aost hon ræcr á braout þrælslega ræzlo.

Vmm faostu (On fasting)

ALGORR fasta er su er læiðir til himins með olmoso-gøðe ok bénom. ok mon koma til dóm-stols Crist drottens várs. Þvi at þa geresc maðr andlegr ok sam-tængisc frialslega guði ok ænglum ef hann upp hæfsc með bénom ok með mæin-læte licams; fyrir faostur ok bøner. vittrasc læyndir lutir himnescra crafta (ok) guðlegra stor-(mer)kia. Meðan Adamr fastaða. Þa var hann í paradiso. Át hann. ok var a braut reken. (F)aostur ero styrc vópn í gægn fræistni diofla.⁴²⁹ Þvi at sciot stigasc þeir yfir fyrri við-varnan. Sva minti oc drotten grøðare var at yfir mætte stiga um á-cast diofla með faostum. ok bénom. ok með mæin-læte. ok mælte sva: “Þetta kyn diofla ma æigi a braout rekasc nema fyrir bøn ok faostur.” Þvi at in flúga dioflar traustlega þar sem þeir sia opt framt værða of-át ok of-dryccio. Við-varnan fözlo. Þat megrir licam ok fætitir ond-ena. læmr holdet. en styrkir hug-scotet. En vitande er at faostur ero þægelegar guði með goðum værcum. En þeir er fasta ok gera ranglega. Þeir likiasc æftir dioflum þeim er æigi hafa

429 The Latin “hoc genus” in reference to the Devil has been translated by a plural expression, “diofla” and “dioflar”, revealing a notion of more than one evil spirit against which Man must be vigilant.

licams fözlo. en avalt andlega ilzcu. Sa varnar væl við mat er fastar við ilzcu værcum ok veraldar agirni. Bættra er at fözða lifande hug með æilifre ond fözlo heilagrar kenningar. en at seðia cvið dauðlegs licáms með lysti-legom crásom.

Vmm almosogøðe (On giving alms)

Dat er vitande mild-legt værc vist at vér biargem oðrum af þæim lutum er miscun-samlega himnescr faðer hæuir oss let. Þvi at þæir ero marger er engi æigu auðæfe í jorðum ne í gulle ne í silfri ne í oðfrum auðæfum. en þæirra vesold scolom vér hugga af þæirri gnótt er oss gaf drotten var. at sialfer lofe þæir drotten með oss. fyrir avæxti iarðar. ok þæir fagne gefet hafa veret þat æigandom er vár sam-æigit. fatökium oc utlænzcum. Sæl er su byglaða ok hinn værðasta auca allra avaxta er af þæirri sæðsc hungri þurfanda. ok vanhæila ok utlænzera. En þa lætr retlæte guðs til þess menn starfa í ymsom mæin-lætom. at hann dyrki vesla menn fyrri þolen-møðe. en miscunsama fyrir goðann vilia. Hinn aldyggvazta bøn er fyrir syndum. olmoso-giærð ok faostur. ok man sciot coma til guðs æyrna upp hafin bøn með slicu fultingi. Þvi at sva er ritat. at væl getr miscunsamr maðr ond sinni. Þvi at lutr licamlegrar æigu sa er væitr er þurfandum. Hann snysc í æilif auð-øue þæim er vítir. sva æignumc vér miscunn guðs ok lausn synda varra í miscunnsæmi við auma menn ok olmoso-gøðe. Þvi at sa er æigi snyr hug sinum fra aumum manne. sciot snyr hann til sin hug guðs. sva sem drotten vár mælte: “Vere þer miscun-samer. sva sem faðer ðar himnescr er miscunsamr.” Væiti maðr veslom. Þat er guð hét sic myndu gialda. Vær þu staðfastr cristin maðr væitare. Gef þu þat er þu taker. Sa þu þat er þu scerer. Dræif þu þat er þu famner. Hirð æigi þu at hugga scaða. ok æigi at gryna óifanlega fram-cvamo. vaxa man æiga þin ef þu væitir. Væl vil væitare þin þic aruan. ok sa er gefr at þu hafer. ok byðr hann. at tu væitir. ok sva mæler hann: “Gefe þer ok mon yðr gefet vera.” Ðu sin-giarn. ef þu ælscar gull eða auðøfe veraldar. gef þu at æigi glater þu. Ef þu varðvæitir. ifan-laust glatar þu. En ef þu væitir. ollyngis montu

hafa þau ei ok ei. Sva sem guð mælte: “Hirði þer auðøfe yður á himni þar er æigi grandar ryð ne molr. ok æigi grafa upp þiofar ne stela. Þar er fe-hirzla þin er. Þar er oc hiarta þit.” Hirð æigi rædr at vera þa er þu væitir at þu værðir ór-æigi a tið ambunar. Sa er sparlega sær. sparlega man hann scæra. En sa er miscunnar aumum. sæl man hann værða. Þvi at lausn andar manz ero auð-æfe hans. Gofgar guð þann mann er miscunnar aumum manne. “Fel þu olmoso í scauti vesáls mannz,” qvað hæilog ritning, “ok mun hon biðia fyrir þer.” Sva sem vatn slöcver æld sva slöcver almosa syndir. eigi scaltu fyrri-láta hungranda ond. ok æigi hærstacs á auman mann í kalle þinu. Sa æyru sin snyr fra calle vesals mannz. hans bøn mon æigi oðlasc mildi guðs. Ger þu væl við ond þina í lifi þinu ok gef olmoso. Þvi at þu hæfir æigi mât til væl at gera æptir daouðan. Fœð þu auma menn at samcundum þinum. ok Crist með þæim. Ðriu ero kyn olmoso-gerðar. Eit licamlegt at gefa aumum þat er hann biðr. Annat andlect. at fyr-gefa þæim er misgort hævir við sic. Hit þriðia er at hirta þann er misgerir. ok læiða viltan á gatu sanlæics.

Vmm ræin-líui (On celibacy)

RÆIN-lifi er ængla lif. Ræin-lifi með litil-læte man hafa lannz-bygð hælags anda. Þann er braout recr ó-ræinan losta. sva sem hæilog ritning mælte: “Flyia mon hæilagr ande licam þann er undir syndir lægs.” Liðir ok limar. varer sculu vera guði æignaðer. en æigi hordome. Seti maðr a mot girndum sunum loga æilífra cvala. Vænisc ungr maðr ræinlifi. at hann se værðr spæki guðs. Þar sem er saur-lifi licams. Þar er bygð diofullegs anda þess er mest fagnar saurgan holz vars. Alt saurlifi mis-licar guði. ok þat mest er æigi er í æðli. A minnir oss hæilog ritning mælande: “Æigi scal tu ganga æptir girndum þinum. ok snus þu fra vilia þinum. Ef þu væitir ond þinni girndir hænnar. Þa mon hon coma þer í fagnað o-vina þinna.” Ðetta at-cvæðe scyrði hinn spacaste Salomon umm viðvarnan licamlegs saurlíuis. ok mælte: “Sva sem driupanda hunang ero varrar port-kono. ok biartara við-smiorvi háls hænnar. en hinir æfsto lutir hænnar ero bitrir sem æitr.

ok o-lyfian. ok hvasser sem tuí-æggiat sværð. fœtr hennar stiga niðr til daouða. ok liggia gaoutur hennar til hælvtis. ok gængr hon æigi á stíg lifs-end. Ræckiande ero gongur hennar. ok æigi æftir-føre-legar. En nu høyr þu mic sonr. ok far æigi fra orðum munz mins. Lang ger þu fra hænne gotu þina. ok nolgasc æigi hus-dyrr hænnar.” Þetta mælte hann æigi at æins umm saur-lifi port-cvenna. hældr ok umm alla licams munuð. Þa er tøygir ondena at lifa æftir girndum sinum. En scynsæmi hugar scal banna holz bæiðni. ok halda aptr rangar munuðir þess. Sva bannaðe Salomon samvistu cvænna ungum maonnum ok mælte: “Æigi ma maðr fela æld í scauti sinu sva at æigi brenne clæðe hans. eða ganga yfir gløðr sva at æigi brenne il(k)iar hans. Sva er oc sa er in gængr til kono nangs sins. æigi værðr hann ræin. Þa er hann tæcr á henne.” Sva minnir oss ok Paol postole mælande: “Gott er manne æigi at taca á cono sva sem þegar se háske í átaocunni.” Fogr er ræin grand-væri ungra manna ok ynni-leg guði ok nyt til alz goz. Sa er hæfir sono andlega eða licamlega. fœðe hann þa guði til handa í ræinlifi en æigi diofli í hordome. Hvat stoðar manne at æigi sono. oc fœða ok ælsca ef hann fœðer þa til æilifra cvala. Ðæir er í ræinlifa. Þæir hafa ængla at-færð á iorðu. Ræinlifi sam-tængir mann himni. ok gerer borgar-mann ængla. Sa er a logsam-lega kono. hafe hann hana logsamlega a maclegdom tiðum at hann oðlesc at taca blæzan sona af guði. “Sæigi engi sic æigi mega varðvæita við hordome því at guð er trvr,” sagðe Paol postole, “ok lætr æigi fræista vár yfir þat er vér megom. hældr mon han gera fulting með fræistni.” Slíc fræisti gefsc hværium manne í licams munuð eða í veraldar væg-girni. eða í annare noccere fræistni sem hann má annat tvæggia yfir stiga með lofe eða undir liggia með brigxli. Ollum er ræinlifi nauðsynlegt. en allra mest þionandum altaris Crist. Þvi at þæirra lif scal vera sannara læring. ok oflug kænning hæilsu. Þa þionan samer drotne varum at hafa er æigi saurgisc í æinigri licams ó-ræinsu. hældr scyni þæir í ræin-lifi oc bindendi. ok lysi fyri lyð-enom dome alrar sið-semi. ok gouuglæisc.

De fraude cafenda (On avoiding crime)

SA er oss minnir goð-giarna at vera af æigu varre við auma menn. hann bannar oss alla singirni. ok ranga á-girni fear. sa er mælte: “Gef þu almoso af retto ærfeðe þinu.” Sialfr mælte hann ok minnir oss mælande með postola orðom: “Hirðið æigi þer at gera vél á meðal yðar.” Sa er æignasc noccot með vélum. hann glatar iam-girni ok retlæte. Sæg þu singiarn. sæg þu agiarn. sæg þu syndugr hvat þu æignaðesc. Værðr at því at tu svarer: “Gull æignaðoms ec.” Satt sægir þu. gull æignaðesc þu með vél. en þu glataðer trv fyrir rang-læte. Ef þu fynnr á torge trv fala. hværsu myndir þu caupa hana. ef þu værer goðr maðr. Hvi ræðesc þu æigi at glata því er guð vil at tu hafer í hiarta. Gull heuir þu eða silfr. eða annat noccot dyr-lect í orc þinni. en scaða í hiarta. Þessum lutum ollum bettrvm aouðæfum glatar þu. Þat er trv ok retlæte. ok ælsca guðs ok naongs. at hygr þu avexti þinum. en æigi litr þu scaða þin. Ef þu fagnar á-vexti þessum. fyrir hvi grætr þu æigi þat er þu glataðer. Mæira glataðer þu en þu æignaðesc. Þu aoudigr maðr gripr þu fyrir of-riki þat ér þér licar at hafa. en þu glatar fyrir rang-læte þat er guð vil at tu hafer. Þat er æilif full-fæla. Ef hværr þiofr eða vikingr⁴³⁰ misti auga sins í stulð eða í rane. Þa myndi hann aldriki síðan stela ne ræna. ok væit hann æigi at í þes kyns synd glatar hann liose hiartans því er bættra er hværiu licams liose. Þu sin-giarn maðr gæf þu hældr veslom þa er þu hæfir. at tu finnr á himni þat er þu gaft á iorðu. Hvat ræðesc þu at gefa fe þit. en þu ræðesc æigi at alr fyrir-farez tu. Fyrir a-girni fear sægir þu lygi-vitni. Lygr þu. Gripr þu þat er þu mát. Svær þu u-sørt. Gerer þu þat er log banna. Þa er þu gerer slicca luti. fyrir hvi ræðesc þu æigi. at allr brenner þu ei ok ei. Hvi ælsca þu mæir gull en ond þina. Hvat stoðar þer þo at tu æignisc allan hæimen. en þu biðir scaða andar þinnar. Drotten sialfr mælte í guðspialle: “Varesc þer við alla singirni.” því at aouðgir døyia slict hit sama sem aumir. Eigi munu auð-æfe stoða a hæmðar dægi. ok

430 The Latin “fur et raptor” has become “thief and viking” in the Norse text.

munu æigi löysa þa af æilifum pinslum er illa nøyta þeirra. Eccí er fe-giarnum manne gløpnare. Þeim er ond sína hæfir fala firi a-girni fear. Agirni kan æigi hát. ok æigi kan hon sæðiasc þo at hon svælgi alla luti. Hungrað er ho(n) avalt ok or-æiga. Fe-giarn maðr er líer hælviþi þvi er aldrigin (fyl)lisc.

Vmm dōmendr (On judges)

HVÆRR er rét-dōmr er. hann ber ret-lætes veg í hendi sér. ok innan hanndar ber hann hvartvæggia ret-læte ok miscunn. Ef hann gældr ræfsing syndar fyrir ret-læte. stilli hann pinsl syndar fyrir miscunn. aon metnaðar virðing scolu domar vera. Eccí er illgiarnlega en taka mutur í domum. Þvi at mutur blinda hiortu spaccra. ok snua orðum retlátra. Ðæim dome er þer dōmeð cvað guð mon dōmt værða umm yðr. Fyrir þvi ræðesc dōmande guðs doma at æigi fyrir-dōmesc hann af guði. ef hann fyrir-dōmer sac-lausan. en líuir sæckium fyrir mutum. eða fyri aost eða hattre noccors mannz. Engi hofðingi scal sætia hæimsca dōmændr ne illgiarna. Þvi at hæimscr væit æigi ret-læte guðs fyrir ókønsco. En ill-giarn snyr umm sanlæic þeim er hann væit fyrir fegirni. Þunglegra mæiðasc vesler mann oc fa-cungir af illum dōmændum. en af hinum grimastum fiandom. Engi vikingr er iam-giarn á annars æigu sem illgiarn dōmande. af sinni. fiandom verri ero illgiarner dōmændr. Opt ma forðasc fiandr með flotta. en æigi ma flyia riki dōmande. Ðeirra er cost-gæfa at samna aouðøuom af mæiðingu bygðarmanna. Stundum hafa metir dōmændr tok-visa þiona. en þeir saurgasc af þeirra gløp. ef þeir banna æigi toc-visi þeirra. Þesser fyrir-farasc í annarra syndum. Þvi at sva mælte hæims kænmande: “Æigi at æins þeir er misgera. hældr ok þeir er lata at misgerandum værða macleger æilifs dauða.” Rangláter dōmændr dvælia opt doma. eða missnúa fyri fegirni sacar. ok æigi ænda þeir sacar aðr en fulr se sioðr þeirra. En þa er þeir dōma. æigi lita þeir a socena. hældr a giafarnar. “Rangláter dōmændr, “ sem prophete mælte, “sva sem vargar þat er þeir gripa at apne. æigi lata þeir æptir á

morne.” Þat er at þeir hyggja á hagræðe þessa lifs at æins. en ekki á annat. A varga væniu gripa þeir alla luti. en væita fát veslom. Ræidr dōmande ma æigi at fullu lita rettan dom. Þvi at hann sér æigi lios ret-lætes fyri ræiði þoco. Eigi er virðande asioner manna á dōmom. hældr socena. Þvi at sva er scrifat: “Eigi scal tu lita á-siono í dome.” Ranglater dōmændr villasc af sannu at-cvæðe þa er þeir hyggja at a-siono tiginna manna. ok granda þeir opt ret-látom. Þa er þeir lifa ó-mildum. Yfir-staplan san-læics er at taca mutum í domom. En þeir er ræðasc guð ok ret dōma. Þeir monu taka æilifa ombun af guði.

Vmm lýg-vitni (On mendacious testimony)

“SCRØC-vátr mon værða æigi ó-pindr,” cvað Salomon. “Sa er sæir lygi-vitni í gægn nange sinum. slocna man líkn hans á hinum æfsta dægi.” En sa er læynir saonnu fyrir ræzslo noccors rikis. frámm æggjar hann yfir sic ræiði guðs. Þvi at hann ræðesc mæir man en guð. Scrøcr-vátr er a þria vega sæcr. Fyrst fyri guði. Þviat hann fyri-læit navistu hans. ok ræðesc mæir riki mans-ens en guð. Siðan dōmanda þeim er hann talde líuganda. En siðarsta hinum sac-lausa. Þeim er hann grandaðe með lygi-vitni. Ef scildir værða scrøcvattar. Þa munu þeir þegar finnasc lygnir. En hvartvæggi er sæcr. sa er læynir sonnu ok sa er sægir lygi. Þvi at annar vil æigi duga. en annar girmisc at granda. Sæl er sa er hans vitni finsc dyrlect í auglíti guðs. J fiorum hattom villisc ret-læte í dome. Af ræzlo. ok af fe-girni. ok hattre. ok aost. Ræzla er þa ef noccor óasc satt at sægia eða dōma fyrir rikis saocum noccors mannz. Fegirni er þa er dōmanden saurgasc af ambun noccorrar giatar. Hattr er þa. er maðr granda oðrum af soc noccorrar ú-vinato. Ast er þa er hann lífir vinum sinum eða frændom í giægn ret-læte. Af þessom fiorum hattom villisc opt iam-girni dōms. ok værðr grandat sac-lausum. Mæir ero þeir harmande er mis-bioða veslom eða oðrum monnum. en þeir er þola þeirra óskil. Þvi at þeir er her mæiðasc. sciot enda þeir stund-lega vesold. en þeir er þeim granda fyrir ranglæte munu fyrir-dōmasc til æilifs

loga. Her dæmasc opt goðer af illum. en í oðru lifi fyrir-dæmasc á-valt illir af goðom. Opt ero her goðer menn vesler ok aumir fyrir monnum. en illir sæler. En í æilifri ambun ero ávalt goðer sæler. en illir avalt vesaler. Þæir er goða luti haua í þessom hæimi. Þa cost-gæfe þæir sem mest at æigi glate þæir æilifu goðo. En þæir er mæin-læte hafa. standasc þæir þau stærce-lega at þæir geresc værdðir æilifrar sælo.

Vmm ofund (On envy)

AF ofund diofuls gec dauði ín í hring iarðar þa er hann oyndi iarðlegom manne himin. ok læitaðe hværsu hann glataðe honom. fyrir yfir-stoplan þess boð-orz er scapare vár hafðe boðet manne. Ecki ma verra vera en ofund su er cvælsc af annars goðo. ok ofundar a óðrum at hafa þat er hann hæfir æigi sialfr. Aollu goðo er ofund gagn-staðleg. Þar sem er ofund. Þar ma æigi vera aost. En þar sem æigi er aost. Þar ma æcki vera gott. Sa er ofundar. lic er sa diofli þæim er fyrir ofund rac man-en braout fra paradisar sælo. Mykil maðr er sa er stigr yfir ofund með litil-læte. ok brytr sundr-þycci með aost. Hvat er manne vesalegra en auga cvol sina af annars goðo. Þvi er hværr ofun-samr qvælsc í hug. ok þaðan er goðr batnar. Þaðan qvælsc ouund-samr. Bættra er æptir at likia dæmom goðra manna en at sækia þa með broddom ofundar. Ofund bitr scilning. ok brenner briostet. ok cvælr hugen. Harne engi af annars goðo. ne ryggvisc af annars sælo. Ma maðr annars gott gera sér at goðo þa er hann ælscar annars goða þat er han gærir æigi sialfr.

Vmm of-metnað (On conceit)

GVD stændr í gægn dram-latom. en gæfr miscun litil-latom. En mesta synd var diofli of-metnaðr. Fyri þær sacar er ofmetnaðr hværium læsti værri. Þvi at hann gerisc opt af goðum værcum þá er maðr drambar í goðum verkum sinum. ok glatar þvi fyrir ofmetnað er hann hafðe æignasc fyrir aost. Allra lasta værstr er ofmetnaðr. Þa er maðr pryðisc í craftum ok tæcr at dramba í þæim. Hværrar syndar upp-haf er ofmetnaðr. Þa er

onden fyrir-litr boðorð scapara fins. ok fælr þegar í grof noccorarr syndar. Allr ofmetnaðr ligr því neðar sem hann hæfr sic up holegra. ok (f)ellr því diupara sem hann drambar mæir í hæð. Þvi at sa er upp hæ(f)sc fyri æigin metnað. hann fyri-dømesc fyrir ret-læte guðs. F(yr)ir falle mannz drambar ande hans. Eccī er cristnum manne mæir f(ly)ianda en ofmetnaðr. Sa er fram æggjar ræiði guðs. Þvi at of-metnaðr gærði diofla or ænglum. en litil-læte gerer menn lica ænglum. Dram-lætr girnisc at boða í sér þat er hann gerer æigi. en litil-latr at flyia þat er hann gerer væl. Hæfisc maðr æigi upp í goðo sinu. ok læiti æigi ser lofs þo at hann gere noccot got. hælðr scal hann lofa guð í giofum sinum. Þvi at hann gerir æcki gott nema þat er honom værðr gefet af guði at gera.

Vmm hæist (On anger)

AGÆTR hæims kennande mælte: “Oll hæist ok ræiði ok bræðe ok call ok guð-lastan takesc fra yðr.” Ræiði fyr utan stilling er laus scynsemi. Miucleg svor stoða ræiði. Hæstileg maol væcr bræðe. “Ræiðr maðr,” sem Salomon mælte, “æggjar fram þrættor. En sa er þolen-moðr er. hann stoðar vacta ræiði.” En hværr man standasc anda auðvældan at ræiðasc. Ræiði hefir æigi miscunn. ok æigi can up sliten bræðe enda hæfndar. Su ræiði er ill er ukyrrir hug at hann glate rétto raðe. Su reiði er rétt ok nauðsynleg er maðr ræiðisc í gægn syndom. ok í gægn siolfum sér þa er hann gerer illa. Þvi at sva mælte prophete. “Ræiðisc þer ok hirðið æigi at misgæra.” Lofaðe hann þat. er æðlis er. en af toc hann þat er til synda er. Stillisc annars ræiði af þinni þolen-møðe. “Hirð æigi þu yfir at stigasc af illu. hælðr stig þu yfir illt. í góðo.” Se annars synd. Þin dyrð. Mislicar þer annars ræiði. mislici þer við sialfan þic. Þat er þer misli(c)ar við annan. Hirð æigi þu at saurga kyr læic hugar þins af annars ræiði. Hirð æigi þu at gera þic lican hæimscum manne. Þvi at ræiði hvilisc í scauti hæimscs. Ef þu ræiðisc í gægn honom. Þa værða tvæir illir af æinum. Þu. ok hann. bættra er þer at vera goðum þo at hann se illr. fyrir hvi gerez þu illr af annars illzcu.

Vmm manna lof (On the praise of Man)

DROTTEN vár mælte í guðspialle: “Hyggið át þer at æigi gere þer ret-læte yðart fyrir monnum. at þer værðið sener af þæim.” Ðat er at þer gerið æigi með þæim á-hug góð værc. at þér hafeð tomt lof af maonnum. hældr gere maðr fyrir guðs aost. ok hæilsu andar sinnar. ok fyri broðor-lega ælsu. hvaþke sem hann gerer gott. Þvi mælte drotten sialfr umm noccora þa er olmoso gera eða bønner eða fastur. at þæir take lof af monnum: “Satt segi ek yðr, tóku þæir verkkaup sitt.” Sá er til þess gerir, hvaþki er hann vinnr góz, at hann lofisk af monnum þa er þat værc-caup hans er hann læitaðe. ok man hann æinnigrar ombunar vætta af guði. Þvi at hann gerði æigi gott fyri hans aost. hældr fyrir toma røsne manlægs lofs. sva sem scrópa-menn ero vaner at gera. Þann lost at lofasc af monnum í goðom værkum lastaðe Crist mioc. ok avitaðe opt með ogorlegre bolfan gyðinga þa er slíkir váro á gyðinga lannde. “Sa er dyrþasc,” cvað Paulus postole, “dyrkisc hann með guði.” Sa er æigi girnisc lofs. æigi ryggvisc hann í mæin-mælom. Etle æigi maðr sic af þvi goðan þo at hann lofesc af monnum. Þvi at drotten vár litr hiortun-en. Hvat stoðar illum þo at hann sægisc góðr. Ða er sanlega gott þat er maðr gerir. ef hann girnisc at lica guði þæim er honom gaf hvaþke er hann hæfir gott eða gerir. Sa maðr er synis gera gott. ok girnisc hann at lica fyri þat hældr monnum en guði. til onyz starfar hann. ok sær hann í vindi. Coste hværr sem æin at vera mykil í værkum sinum. ok læiti æigi manna lofs fyri mykil-læic sin. at glate gann þvi er (hann) hafðe ok værði litill. Þvi at hvaþke er maðr gerer gott. viti hann sic þat æigi hafa af sér. hældr af guði. Avitar Pall postole þa er dyrþasc í værcum sinum goðom. ok mæler sva: “Hvat hefir þu þat er þu tóct æigi. En ef þu tóct. hvaþ dyrþaz tu.” Sa er snyr í sit lof góðo noccoro þvi er hann gærir eða æignasc. ón ifán snýr hann coste í lost. ok goðo þvi er hann gærði í synd. Ða er vesal maðr er fœdr af røsnes socom. Þa snysc miscunnar værc í synd. Hvaþke er maðr gerir gott. Þa læiti hann guði lofs. en æigi sér. sva sem drotten vár

sialfr mælte. í guðspialle: “Sva lysi lios yðart fyrir monnum. at þeir se værc yður goð. ok dyrki faður yðarn þann er á himni er.”

Vmm stað-festi (On steadfastness)

ÆJGI værd̥r læitat með cristnum monnum upp-haf góz værs. hældr enda. Þvi at þeir ero er væl hæfia upp at-færð sina ok ænda illa. sva sem Iudás er fyrst var postole. en siðan drottens sviki. ok sæliare hans. ok vitande værs sins hængdisc hann í snaoru. En Paol postole hof illa ok ændi væl. ok var fyrst anscote guðs ok allra cristinna manna. en siðan kœnnande. Crafr góz værz er stað-fæsta sem sialfr drotten mælte. Sa er staðfastr er alt til ænda. sa man hœil værða. Æigi sa er upp hæfr gott værc. hældr sa er staðfæstic í goðo. hann man hœil værða. Ðvi at þa licar guði atfærð vór. ef vér fyllum með staðfostum ænda gott værc. Þat er vér hofum up. Crafr er æigi upp at hæfia. hældr at gera gott. Þvi at hætit er launum upp hæfiandum. en gefet staðfastum. Avalt læitasc í líui manz hui-lícr hann se á hinni æfstu tið lifsséns. Þvi at hværr mon annat-tvæggia réttasc eða fyr-dœmasc af ænda sinna værca. Þvi coste hværr sem stað-fastlegast at al-gera gott þat er hann hof upp. at hann mege taka æilift værc-caup af guði.

Vmm atta hofuð-lasta (On the eight capital sins)

ATTA ero hofuð-læstir ok upp-haf allra synda. Af þæim spretta upp sem af rotom aller læstir ok ilzur saurgaðs hugar. ok ó-ræins licams. Af þæim hofum vér raðet at sægia noccora luti. ok hværir cvistir last-fulrar grøðingar synaz vaxa af hværi-ungi rotom. at hværr viti sic auðvællegar mega af sniða limar at undan hoggnom rotom. Fyrstr andlegr lostr er ofmetnaðr. Umm þann lostr er sva mælt: “Upp-haf allra synda er ofmetnaðr.” Sa er konungr alrar ilzcu. Fyrir þann fello niðr ænglar af himni ok urðu at dioflum. Sa gærisc af hafnan boðorða guðs. ok geresc hann þa er hugr mannz hæfsc up af goðum værcum sinum. ok hann ætlar sic bættra en annan. ok er hann þvi værri en aðrer. sem hann ætlar

sic bættra. Værðr ok ofmetnaðr af þríozsco. Þa er menn fyrri-lita lyða hinum ællrum monnum sinum. Af þessum ofmetnaðe geresc oll o-lyðni. ok oll dirfð. ok þríozca. Þrættor ok villur ok hólne. Þessa alla luti ma auðvællega yfir stiga sat litillæte þræla guðs.

Vmm matt-visi (On overeating)

Fyrst licamleg synd er af-át. Þat er óstilt fysi áz ok drycs. Fyr þat glataðo hinir fyrsto fæðr man-kyns paradisar sælo. ok varo braout reken í mæinsamlega vesol þessa lífs. Þar er hværr maðr gezc með synd. ok livir við ærfeðe. ok dæyr með sarlæic. Etne synisc ríki hafa yfir manne í þræmr háttom. Þat er þa er maðr gírnisc af matt-bræðes socum. at nøyta matar sins fyrir maclega tíð. eða setta stund. eða hann byðr ser fyrri-bua dyrlegre fœzlör en bæiði nauð-syn licams eða tignar hans. eða hann tæcr mæira í áte eða í dryc fyrri girnd ó-stillingar sinnar en stoðe hæilsu hans. Af þeirra ætne geresc óstilt glæði. glima. hægóme. gæðlæysi. o-ræinsa licams. o-staðfæsti hugar. of-dryccia. losta-sæmi. Ðvi at of-fylli qviðar samnasc licams loste. Þat stígs yfir með fostum ok við-varnan synda. ok syslu noccors goðs væres.

Vmm hordom (On harlotry)

Hordómr er ollr oræinsa licamleg. su er vón er at værða af van-stillingu losta. ok ostyrcð andar þæirrar er lifir æptir holde sinu. at mis-gera. Þvi at ond scal vera drotning ok styra holde. En holdet ambott ok lyða drotningo sinni. Þat er scynsam-legre ond. Hordómr værðr af samlage licams með cono noccorre. eða í næccve oðru saurlífi at fylla hita lostans. Ðaðan af geresc blind-læic hugar. ó-stað-fæsti augna ok alz licams. Ostilt ast. opt háске lífs. Slaug. ok læicar. Bæiðni. ok oll ostilling. hatr boðorða guðs. ok ómægin hugar ok rangar girndir. Oræct u-orðens lífs. en tøyging ny-lægs. Ðat stigsc yfir með ræinlífi. ok vanda bindændi. ok ændr-minning æilífs ælz. ok fyrri ræzlo navistar guðs.

Vmm fe-girni (on cupidity)

AGIRNI er mykil girnd at samna auððösom. ok hua ok halda. Su söt er u-fylli-leg. sva sem vatn-kalfr. sa er þvi mæir þystir sem hann dræcr mæira. Sva er oc sin-giarn maðr. Þvi flæira sem hann hæfir. Þvi flæira girnisc hann. ok þa er honom er ængi hatr at hua. æigi værðr honom hóf at girnasc. Þaðan geresc ofund. Stuldir. viking. mandráp. lygi. æiðar ósører. rán. of-riki. óróe. ranger domar. hafnan san-læics. gløyming ó-orðennar sælo. ok harðlæicr hiarta. Sa er værðr gagn-staðleg. Miscunn. ok olmoso-gøðe við vesla menn. ok allre mildi við auma menn. Sin-girni stigs yfir með ræzlo guðs. ok fyri miscunnar værc. ok olmoso-gærðar við væsla menn. ok fyri vaon o-orðennar sælo. Þvi at falsleg auðœfe þessa hæims stigasc yfir fyri son auðœfe ó-orðennar sælo.

Vmm ræiði (On wrath)

RÆIDI er æin af atta hofuðlastum. En ef hon værðr æigi stilt með scynsæmi. Þa snysc hon í øðe. Þva at maðr værðr ó-mattogr hugar sins gerande þat er æigi gægnir. Ef ræiði stoðvasc æigi. Þa tæcr hon fra manne alla for-sio værcs. ok ma hann æigi scyn-sæmi afls læita retrar. ne crapz gofulegra álita. ok ma hann æigi hafa al-gørfi rétz raðs. hældr sýniz hann gera alt fyri noccora soc. En af þæirri ræiði sprettr upp þrutnan hugar. Þrættor. mæin-mæle. call. hæist. guð-lastan. mann-drá(p). fysi at hæfna. ok minning óskila. Su ræiði stigsc yfir með þolen-møðe ok bið-lyndum. ok scil-samlegre scynsæmi. Þa er guð væitir man-legom hugum. ok fyr æendr-minning drotten-legrar bønar þa er vér mælom við guð: “Fyr-gæf þu oss syndir vaorar sva sem ver fyri-gæfom sculdarum vaorum.”

Vmm læti (On indolence)

LÆTI er sot su er mioc grandar þrælum guðs. Þva dvenar tómtr maðr í licamlegom girndum. ok fagnar æigi í andlego værki ne glæðsc í hæilsu sinnu. ok æigi fagnar hann í fultingi broðorlegs ærvæðes. hældr rænr hugren tomtr um alla luti. ok fysisc onytz at

æins. Leti er sva at mest recr munka or æin-sætó til veraldar. ok fra stiorn-legre at-færð til synda forraðs. Ða er leti sæter vesalegom hug. þa fyllir hon hann margrar vesaldar. ok kœnnir mart illt. Af því gerisc svœfne. tómlæte góz værcs. ó-staðfæsti staðar. torvældi ærvæðes. læiðendi hiarta. moggla. ok laus-yrði. Þetta stigs yfir. með cost-gæfe lesningar. fyrri sysla goðs værcs. Ok fyrri girnd ó-orðennar sælo. Ok fyrri iatning fræistni þæirrar er maðr hæfir í hug ser. ok fyrir einorð staðar ok ætlanar sinnar. ok fyrir framneng noccorrar í-þrottar ærfæðes. eða bœna eða vaocu. sva at aldri finnis u-nytr þræll guðs. Torvællegar fiðr diofull fræistni stað með þæim manne er syslir goð værc. en syslu-lausan. ok æcci góz gerande.

Vmm u-glæði (On sadness)

Tvin ero kyn ó-glæði. Annat þrifsamleg. en scað-vænleg. Þrifsamleg ó-glæði er þa er hugr syndugs ryggvisc af syndum sinum. ok sva ryggvisc hann er hann læiti scripta-gaongu. ok at gera iððran. ok girmisc hann at snuasc til guðs. Onnur er ó-glæði þessa hæims su er ge(r)er dao(u)ða andar. ok ma æcci stoða í goða værki su er u-kyrrir hugen. ok sæn(di)r hann opt í órvilnan. ok tæcr á braut vaon ó-orðenna goðra luta. Þaðan (ge)risc ilzca. ok tor-møðe hugar. hug-læysi. illyndi. ok opt u-yndi (n)ylegs (li)fs. Þetta stigs yfir með and-legre glæði ok vaon ó-orðenna lu(t)a. ok hug(ga)n ritninga. ok broðor-lego við-mæle. í and-legre scæmtan.

Vmm væg-girni (On vainglory)

Tóm ðyrð er þa er maðr girmisc at lofasc í goðum lutum sinum ok gæfr æigi guði væg. ne æignar guðs miscunn þat er hann gerir væl. hældr ætlar hann at hann hafe af ser veg veraldar tignar. eða fægrð andlegrar spæki þar er hann ma æcci gott haf aon guðs miscunn eða fulting. sem guð mælte við læresvæina sina í guðspialle: “Ecci mego þer gera aon mic.” Fyrir þær sacar dyrki hvær drotten varn sa er dyrkasc. Þvi at hann ma æcci góz guði

gæfande. Ef þess lastar rot væx. Þá synaz gróa marger ilzcu limar. Røsne. hølne. hæist. sundr-þycci. girnd tómrrar dyrðar. ok scropar. Þat er liking góz værcs. Þa er maðr vil lata lofa sic fyrri þat er hann can æigi gera sialfr. allra hællzt gerer hann með þæirri scipan allt þat er hann gerir at hann lofesc af maonnum. Vm þa mælte drotten var sialfr: “Satt sægi ec yðr tóco þæir værcse sit.” Ðæirrar sottar læcning er ændr-mínníng guðlegrar gøzco. fyrir þat er oss ero væittir aller goðer lutir þæir er ver houum. ok æilíf ast hans. J hans lofe scolum ver gera hvatke er vér vinnum góz í þessom hæimi. ok gírnasc mæir af lofasc af guði á æilífrar ambunar dægi. en af noccorom manne í at-færð þessa scammelegs lífs.

Vmm hina somu luti (about the same things)

Ðesser ero atta læiðtogar allrar umildi hværr með sinum (fylkinum). ok stærcestu hærmenn diofuls værca. ok vela í giægn man-kyni. Þæir er auðvælla stigasc yfir af hærmomnom Crist fyrir hælga coste at tyianda guði. Fyrst ofmetnaðr fyrri litillæte. Etne fyrri faostur. Hordomr fyrir ræin-lífi. Singiarna fyrri spæci. Ræiði fyrri þolenmøde. Leti fyrri stað-fæsti góz værcs. O-glæði ill fyrri andlega glæði. Tóm dyrð fyrri aost guðs. En þessom hærmomnom diofullegrar omildi. Þar sætium ver á mot fíora læiðtoga þæir er fyrir ganga scriftins siðlætcs. Þæirra nómn ero þessor: Vittra. Ret-læte. Stýrcð. ok Hofsæmi.

Vmm fíora crafta (on the four virtues)

FYRST er vitanda hvat se craft. Craft er gørfi hugar. Pryði øðles. scynsemlífs. Mildi siða. Gofgan guðdóms. Vægr mannz. ok værðlæicr æilífrar sælo. Ðesser lutir ero fíorer upphafleger sem vér sæigum. Þat er vittra. ok ret-læte. Stýrcð. ok hofsæmi. Vittra er hyggiændi guðlegra luta ok mannlegra sva sem gefet er manne. J þæirri er skiliande hvat manne se gerande eða við hvi siande sva sem lefet er í psalme. *Declina a malo et fac bonum*. Snus tu fra illu ok gerr gott. Ret-læte er gofuglæicr hugar. Væitande hværium sem æinum lut æigin-legan metnað. I því varðvætisc gofgan guð-dóms ok log

manna. ok retter domar ok iangirni alz lifs. Styrð er mykil þolen-møðe hugar ok staðfæsti í goðum lutum. ok sigr í gægn ollu kyni lasta. Hof-sæmi er hátr alz lifs at maðr ælsci æcki of mioc. ne hafe at hattare. hældr stilli hann allar ymisar girndir þessa lifs með alitlegom at-huga. En þæim er þessa luti varðvæita í trv. ok sanlæic. er hætit lounum æilifrar dyrðar. af siolfum Iesus Crist drotne vaorom. Engi er hærre speki en su er í þæirri scilr maðr ok ræðesc guð. ok trvir u-orðen dóm hans eptir hætte hugar. eða hvat er rettara en ælsca guð ok varðvæita boðorð hans fyrir þann er vér erom scapaðer ok hann löysti oss af diofullegre þionosto. ok gaf oss alt gott þat er ver hauum. En hvat er þæiri styrð bættra en stiga yfir diofull ok allar hans tøygingar. ok standa stærcelega allar mæingærðir hæimsens fyrir guðs namne.

Vmm hof-sæmi (on modesty)

HARÐA gofugr er crafr hofsæmi fyrir þa er saman stændr alr végr þessa lífs á meðal manna. at maðr hyggi. ok mæle. ok gere stillilega alla luti. i hværri sem æinni som með ráðe hæilsu sinnar. En þesser ero létter ok soter ælscandum guð þann er sva mælte.⁴³¹ Neme þer at mér. Þvi at ec em miuclyndr. ok lilit-látr í hiarta. ok munu þer finna hvild á sálum yðrum. (*Jugum enim meum suave est. et honus meum leve*). Þvi at oc mitt er høgt. ok søtt. ok byrðr mín lett. Bættra er ok sæl-légra at ælsca guð þann er ér æilífr söt-læicr. eilíf fægrð. eilífr hílmr. eilíf scæmtan. eilíf végr. ok u-þrotleg sæla. en at ælsca fágrar asíoner þessa hæims. ok sota berging. ok fogr líoð. ok dyrlegan hilm. scæmtileg átoc. végr. eða sælor þessa fram faranda lifs. Þesser aller luti fara á-brout. ok líða umb sem scuggi fogls. ok svicva þa er ælsca. ok sænda þ(a) i æi-lifa evol. ok vesold. En sa er trvlega ælscar guð almatkan ok gofgar hann u-aflátelega. ok fyllir

431 Notice in margin: Discite a me quia mitis sum. et humilis corde ("Teach me to be mild and humble of heart," Matth. xi, 29.)

boðorð hans staðfastlega. maclegr man hann gerasc a(t) eignasc ælifra dyrð með ænglum
guðs drottins vars Iesus Crist ei ok ei utan æn(d)a.

(Epilogue)

Þessa luti orta ec þer hinn kærste sonr Widoni með scommu male sva sem þu batt
at tu hafer þat hværn dag í augliti þinu sva sem hannd-bóc. J þæirri mât tu lita sialfan
þic við hvi þu scalt sia. eða hvat þu scalt gera. ok fræmiasc sva fyrri ser-hværiar far-
sælor eða úfarsælor þessa lífs at tu meger upp stiga til himin-rikis sælo. Lat æigi þu
ræða þic umm buning veraldlegrar at-færðar sva sem þu meger æigi in ganga með þæim
buningi í dyrð himnæsc lífs. Ðvi at sva sem ollum er iamt boðat sæla rikis guðs. sva
lycs ok upp inganga himin-rikis hiamt hværium á sinu ok aldre ok kyni æðtir tign
værðlæics þar er æigi er græin hværr veret hæfir hær í hæimi. lærðr eða u-lærð. auðigr
eða aumr. vngr eða gamall. Þræl eða drotten. Hældr munu þar dyrcasc hværr sem æin
æptir værðlæic gós værcs sins í æilifri dyrð faður ok sonar ok andans hælga. AMEN.

English translation

Alcuin's salutation

The humble Alcuin greets his dearest son Widonus.

I remember my own promise and your request. You have asked me earnestly to
write a few words for your troubled mind, because (we know that) you are often
struggling, so that you can readily have at hand these fatherly admonitions, and so that
you may see yourself in them and be awakened to eternal bliss. These, your
praiseworthy wishes I will gladly redeem, and I hope that my benevolent writing will
help you (find) eternal salvation. Even though (my) words seem rambling, you should
know for certain that they have been composed with the potency of eternal love.

And I have moulded these words into chapters so that they may easily and willingly enter your memory, as I know for certain that you are bound by many wordly duties. (This is why) I pray that your mind will eagerly seek these holy letters and that your mind, weary of wordly concerns, will turn to them joyfully and understand its innermost desire. Just as you asked me to carefully teach you piety, I ask you to read often that which I teach. I also emphatically ask you, my dear son, to build, with constant determination, a home for yourself in heaven, by giving generous alms, by judging (others) compassionately, and by showing mercy, so that your work and good will will always and forever be rewarded by God's mercy.

On wisdom (Vmm speki)

The first thing man should look for is true wisdom, or the correct way to reason, because the wisdom of this world is considered foolhardiness by God. True wisdom means leaving the Devil's service, which is sin. Complete wisdom means honoring (God) and complying with his commands. Because through these two principles you can seek blessed (eternal) life. The prophet David said: "Turn from evil and do good." Man succeed not simply by *not* doing evil things, he must also *do* good deeds; (furthermore) it is not enough to perform good deeds if he does not also eliminate evil. He who acquires wisdom is indeed blessed for ever and ever. A holy life means knowing the divine, and knowledge of the Divine means (acquiring) strength to (carry out) good deeds and receive eternal salvation.

On faith (Vmm trú)

Knowledge of the Divine and of truth is obtained through (common) faith, because it is impossible to please God and not have faith. Indeed, blessed be whoever has (right) faith and lives righteously. Living righteously (also) safeguards his faith. And just as

true faith becomes empty without good deeds, good deeds cannot be without true faith. Saint James, the apostle, said: "What help is it, my brothers, if a man says he has faith, but do no good deeds? Then faith cannot save him. Faith is desultory without good deeds. Like a lifeless completely dead corpse, faith is dead without good deeds." But we'll find another time to talk about the praiseworthiness of faith, because one cannot with few words explain the deepest aspects of common faith, and you asked to have God's word explained to you.

On love (Vmm ast)

The greatest of God's commandments is the precept of love. If love is not complete, asserts Paul the apostle, we will not be recognized by God. He claims that neither martyrdom, nor forsaking a home, nor giving large alms, can help if it is not performed in the service of love. Or, like the Lord answered once when he was asked by a wise man which commandment was the more important: "Love the Lord with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your mind." This means that (we) must love God with discernment, resolution, and conviction. The second commandment is equal to the first: "You shall love your neighbor like yourself." These two commandments contain the entire Law and the teaching of the prophets. Loving God means keeping his word as he (himself) instructed (us to): "Everyone shall know that you are my disciples, because you love one another." Paul said: "To love is to fulfill the commandment." And John the Evangelist said: "By loving our neighbors we love God." And if anyone asks who his neighbor is, the answer is that every Christian man can rightly be called a neighbor. We will all be made holy in the baptism of God's Son, and we are spiritual brothers in (his) perfect love. Spiritual fecundation is of greater worth than corporal impregnation. God himself expounded on the two types of conception in the Gospel: "If a man is not born of water and of the Holy Spirit, he will not be able to enter the kingdom of God." Man

must acknowledge God's commandments and honor them as best he can, and confess his love of God. These commands I intend to show you (because of your yearning), my dear son, so that you without difficulty may understand other things, when these few have been explained.

On hope (Vmm vaon)

The well-known teacher showed us three things that were necessary to our soul, and he said: "Hope, faith and love will all remain, but the greatest of the three is love." No one shall doubt (the existence of) the divine mercy, even when he is burdened by many sins. On the contrary, he shall pray daily with tears and hope steadfastly for reconciliation with God. Anyone who turns from evil (deeds) may hope for reconciliation, and we should therefore not hang onto our misdeeds, but seek reconciliation and not doubt God's mercy and God's ability to justly punish sinners. Rather we should denounce (both) these two dangers and hope for reconciliation by God's mercy. In the same way, we shall hurry along with true hope for heavenly tenderness and comfort in our anguish and distress. With God lies all our hope and salvation, as God's prophet said: "God is my all, and my hope lies with God."

On diligent reading (Vmm cost-gæfe lesningar)⁴³²

To read the Holy Scriptures is to learn about divine bliss. Because in the Scriptures man sees himself as in a mirror, (sees) what kind of man he is and (sees) what he longs for. Frequent reading cleanses a man's soul and leads (him) to fear Hell. It urges the reader to (seek) heavenly bliss. Whoever wants to be with God must regularly pray for his (soul) and read, because when we read, God speaks to us. Reading the Holy

432 Reading the Scriptures—*lectio divina*—was considered a form of *prayer* and *meditation*.

Scriptures leads to two gifts: the first (of the two) is that reading gives the soul a clear understanding (of things), the second that it leads man away from the vanity and conceit of this world and onto God's love. Reading is a rewarding act which greatly helps cleanse the soul. As the body gets its nourishment from material food, the soul takes its nourishment from the words of God. Said David: "Sweeter to my soul are the words of my Lord than honey to my tongue." Blessed is he who reads God's Scriptures and turns (his) words into deeds. All of the Holy Scriptures has been written for our salvation, so that we can heal by learning to know the Divine. A blind man falls more often than the seeing. In the same way the ignorant breaks God's commandments more often than the learned. Just like a blind man cannot walk down the street without a guide, mankind cannot find the strait path without knowledge.

On peace (Vmm frið)

The world's Savior, before ascending to his heavenly Father, gave his disciples the supreme gift of his love and peace and said: "My peace I give you, in peace I leave you, with peace I forgive you, and in peace shall I find you again." Leaving, he wanted to give that which he wanted to find in everyone when he comes back. This wonderful manifestation of peace he displayed (in another part of the Scriptures) when he said: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." Those who are called the sons of God are those who love peace. A man who refuses to call God his father does not love peace. And peace shall be kept with mild words and respect for God's commandments, not with misdeeds and indecency between people who keep peace while sinning together. Peace in Christ will help their souls reach eternal salvation. But whoever has (concluded a) peace (agreement) with the Devil will harvest eternal damnation. We shall keep peace with good people, love our neighbors and live in harmony with our brothers. Peace allows us to see God's spirit. The peaceful loves (other) people. Peace

leads to holiness. Our Lord said through the prophet: "Love peace and truth." Peace is the salvation of people, the wise man's honor, and joy of the country. Peace means fearing all enemies, both visible and invisible. We should, with all our might, keep peace, because he who loves God loves all God's servants and peace, too. A wise man's task is to remind people of what they shall do to obtain peace, and people shall listen with humility to whatever the wise man teaches. That which is not allowed shall be prohibited by the shepherd, so that the people will not do that which they are not permitted to do.

On pity (Vmm miscunn)

Mercy is the greatest of all good deeds. Our Savior himself said: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." A sinner shall not know God's mercy if he does not show mercy to those who sin against him. Therefore, man shall forgive temporal sin in order to inherit eternal goodness. And we shall cleanse our defiled souls and not refuse mercy for those who did us wrong. We shall be saved by our acts of mercy and be worthy of God's mercy on the day of reckoning. Who can know God's mercy if he does not show mercy to his fellow men? Just like every man wishes for God to have mercy, he shall himself have mercy upon those who do him wrong. Whoever reconciles himself with others is sure to obtain (divine) reconciliation. The Lord urged us with great insistence to be merciful. In the Gospel he said: "Be merciful like your Father in heaven is merciful, he who lets the sun shine upon both good and evil, and lets rain pour down on both righteous and unrighteous." The mercy (that we) show and its worth will decide our position. The one who has mercy brings a pleasing offer to God. The judge shall show mercy and uprightness, because these two are interrelated. If mercy stands alone it will only give strength to the misdeeds of sin. And if uprightness stands alone it will bewilder the mind of the sinner, and the judge will not know God's mercy. Finally, Man shall show mercy unto himself. Because how can anyone have mercy with others if

he is hard on himself? He is hard on himself who through his own sins prepares himself for eternal flames. He is good against himself who shows mercy upon himself, who carefully guards himself so that he will not be tortured by the Devil, well knowing that others (later may benefit from) that which he knows is good for himself.

On compassion and forgiveness (Vmm várcunn-læte)

Our Lord said in the Gospel: "Forgive and you will be forgiven. If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive you your trespasses." This message from the Lord reveals his great mercy, and means that if we understand things right, God will judge us justly according to our own judgment, and it is also to a certain extent up to us (to decide) how we are to be judged by God. If we (ourselves) judge mercifully those who do us wrong, then God will have mercy (upon us) when we sin against him. Let us consider his example. The Apostle to the heathens said: "Forgive one another (even) if someone has a claim against you. Because God forgave you, you shall forgive one another." As God through Christ forgave all our trespasses, we shall forgive those who do us wrong. "Never repay evil with evil," said Paul the apostle. "Be careful not to be defeated by evil, rather overcome evil with good." And we may know for sure that every one of us shall be reconciled with God in the same way that we reconcile with our neighbors. Our prayer for our sins will soon come to the ears of God almighty if we keep our ears open for the plea of those who do us wrong. He who forgives those who do him wrong is merciful: he truly will find God's compassionate mercy. For we shall be pardoned as we have pardoned those who with any kind of wickedness did us wrong.

On patience (Vmm þolen-møðe)

"In your patience," said our Lord in the Gospel, "you possess your soul." Patience is necessary throughout the lives of all men. Just as we must carry with patience the

injustices others may put upon us, it is also necessary that we must carry with patience other grievances that we encounter. Good men are often harmed by the evil (people) of this world. And if someone is harmed when doing good, he shall not say to himself that the good deeds were wasted, but rather he should concede that the good deeds were not performed for the love of God, but in order to obtain worldly happiness, or the praise of men. Indeed, many men will see by God's punishment which deeds are good. "God tempts you," said Paul the apostle, "in order to know that you love him. Misfortune calls for patience, and patience is a complete virtue. Blessed is he who withstands temptation, because when he has proven that he is worthy he may obtain the honor that God bestows upon those who love him." No one is wise who does not possess patience. The Lord's will (is) strong and (can) conquer (any) fortress. In patience we easily find the ability to forgive and not seek vengeance. Some people will for some time patiently suffer injustice, but later and with much outrage they will repay in kind. Theirs is not true patience. True patience means confronting injustice face to face, not seeking revenge, but rather (seeking) forgiveness of the heart. In this way, without fire and iron, we become God's witnesses (martyrs) by displaying true patience when dealing with our neighbors. It is more commendable to refuse injustice in silence than to conquer it with words. Whoever suffers injustice with patience will earn eternal glory in the other world.

On humility (Vmm lital-læte)

We learn from the words of the Lord just how much heavenly strength there is in humility. As he condemned the insolence of the Jews, he said: "Anyone who exalts himself shall be abased." Humble feet shall ascend to heavenly pastures, because one cannot know God with haughtiness, only with humbleness. God stands against the arrogant, but is merciful with the humble. "The almighty God looks with favor upon the

humble,” says David, “and recognizes the proud from far away.” He sees small things so that he can lift them up. He recognizes the proud and the insolent, so that he can lay them down. Let us learn humbleness so that we may draw nearer to God. As he himself said in the Gospel: “Learn from me, I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls.” Beautiful angels fell from heaven on account of their arrogance. By God’s own humbleness, the impotent mankind (was allowed to) ascend to the heavens. Humbleness amongst men is a great virtue. Salomon said: “Where there is pride there are also bad tongues; but where there is humility, there is wisdom.” Another learned man once said: “The greater you are, the lower you must stoop in order to find God’s mercy.” And God spoke through the words of the prophet: “To whom do I look if not to the humble and meek and the ones who remember my words?” The Holy Spirit will not abide with those who are not humble and meek. God became humble for the sake of our salvation, (and therefore) Man should be ashamed of his pride. The more a man kneels down in humility, the more it helps him to (obtain) glory. Whoever is humble will be lifted up to (heavenly) glory. The first step towards humility is to meekly listen to the words of truth, remember them, and willingly to do everything (they prescribe). Because truth shrinks from a mind in which it cannot find humility. The lower a man holds himself in esteem, the more he counts in the sight of God. The more a proud man has the esteem of men, the less he will be recognized by God. Likewise, whoever performs good deeds but lacks humility, (only) carries dust in the wind. Why be proud of dust and ashes, when whatever was collected by fasting and (giving) alms will be carried away by the winds of pride? Mankind, do not strive to gather that which you produce with the toil of your hands, for you shall be judged by someone else than yourself. (When you stand) before his sight, you shall lower your heart, so that he in (due) time will resuscitate you to your reward. Abase yourself and you will be exalted. Be humble and you shall be glorified, (be humble) so that you will not be humiliated by not being

exalted (when you thought you would be). For he who humbles himself finds grace before God. Moreover, whoever esteems himself lowly pleases God. Be (of) little (importance) in your own eyes and be voluminous in the eyes of God. And the more you are worth in the eyes of God, the more defiled you will be in your own eyes. The best way is humility. Your esteem will augment if it draws its strength from humility.

On the heart's compunction (Vmm tár-mælti)

A heart full of remorse is given the strength of humility. Remorse leads to the confession of sins. Of confession comes true repentance, and of true repentance comes merciful reconciliation (with God). The heart's tearful compunction means a humble mind. With tears, the heart remembers its sins and fears the coming judgment. Repentance flows out from two fountains: the first is when man carefully searches his mind for sins, second when he is consumed by yearning for eternal life. The prophet said: "My soul thirsts for a life in God, when may I come before your sight? My tears were bread to me, day and night. My soul yearns for and wishes for the Lord's house. My heart and body rejoice in the living God." Four thoughts will lead a just man to bliss: the anguishing memory of the misdeed; the soul's recognition of the torment (meted out on the last day) of judgment; the acknowledgement of exile in this life; and the yearning for the heavenly kingdom (fatherland), that it will come as soon as possible. These feelings are in Man's heart, and you must know that God's mercy is close to the heart of men. It is written in the psalm: "God, I bring words of my life, and you look at my tears." The promise of mercy that we have from God calls on tears in our heart. A stately treasure is found in the wise man's heart. Repentance comes quickly to Man's soul when he repents tearfully through prayer. Without a doubt the Holy Spirit is then present in our hearts.

On confession (Vmm sciftar-gaongi)

The Holy Scriptures encourages us to seek the healing (action) of confession. Not because God needs our confession, as he knows everything we do, say and think, but because we can only find bliss by remorsefully confessing our wrongdoings and the things that we left undone. Whoever inculpates himself on account of his sins shall not be taken into custody by the Devil on the Day of Judgment, as he has cleansed himself with remorse over what he has done and will not again do anything wrong. “Confess you faults one to another,” said James the apostle, “and pray for one another so that you may be healed.” “In the mouth lies the promise of salvation,” said Paul the apostle. And Salomon said about confessing sins: “He who covers his sins shall not prosper, but he who goes to confession and forswears (his actions) will find mercy.” A cure will be found if we do not repeat the ungodly things that we did, and (if we do) not touch the wounds that have already healed. Thus John the evangelist said: “God is faithful and just, if we confess our sins he will forgive our trespasses and cleanse us from all evil.” Likewise David said: “I have said: I will confess my misdeeds before the Lord, and he will forgive me my ungodly sins.” Man should confess his sins while he is still living, because it is useless to confess your sins in Hell where your remorse cannot lead to mercy. “Now is the time of salvation, and now is the time that suits God.” Now is the time for redemption. After death comes the time to punish those who did not confess their sins. Because (all) ungodly men shall have bitter remorse in the (coming) torment, as confession will not redeem them or free them (then), rather the torment of their souls will increase. They might have avoided agony and pain had they confessed in time, but now their negligence causes their souls to suffer in flames. For how can a doctor heal a wound that the sick is too ashamed to show him? God wants to hear our confession so that he can justly forgive. Whoever hides his sins or is too ashamed to graciously confess, will—in another time (on the Day of Judgment)—be punished by the one who

witnessed (what he has done). If a man judges himself in this life, he shall not be judged to eternal damnation by God. There are two reasons to cry for a sinful repenting man: the things he omitted to do and the fact that he wantonly encouraged evil. (Because) What he should have done he did not do, and that which he should not do he did. Confession gives guidance and frees him from his sins. All hope of reconciliation lies in confession. Confession is the work of mercy and a cure for the sick. Only remorse and redemption can give us health and strength.

On penitence (Vmm iðran)

Our Savior (himself) has shown us the power of confession in the Gospel. He said: “Repent, the kingdom of heaven is near.” “Bring fruit worthy of your repentance,” said John the Baptist. The appropriate expression (fruit) of repentance is to shed tears for the sins that you committed, and not repeat them. The Holy Scriptures say: “Do not add sin to sin.” “Cleanse yourself and remain clean,” said the Lord through the prophet. Whoever weeps over things that he has done but does not repeat (his sin) has been cleansed and is clean. And will not be clean whoever weeps for what he did, but will not change, and who, after having wept, seeks back to the sins for which he cried (in the first place). On the subject of men who return to their sins in tears, Peter the apostle said: “The dog returns to its own vomit.” “You have sinned, my son,” says the Holy Scriptures, “do not repeat your sins, rather pray that you will be forgiven (your) first sin.” True repentance will not be counted in winters (years of remorse), but in the pain of the soul. Therefore Peter the apostle immediately reconciled with our Lord, weeping bitterly for the three times he (had) renounced (him). Our remorse will not be refused—even if it lasts only a short while—if it originates from the innermost suffering of the heart. Because the just judge, God, looks into the heart’s hidden corners. God does not as much look at the length of time (of remorse) as much he examines the purity of the

repenting person. And whoever trusts in Christ with all his mind, even if he dies with many sins, will, because of his faith, live eternally. The Lord himself said in the Gospel: "I am resurrection and life. Whoever believes in me shall live even if he were dead. Whoever lives and believes in me shall never die." About the death of the soul, he said that it happens because of bitter sin. God is merciful by nature, prepared to save (souls) for (the sake of) mercy. He wishes to save everyone and let no one perish. As he said through the prophet: "Man can turn from his sins any day, and (thus) live and not die." Even if he is a depraved sinner, Man can be reconciled with God the merciful if only he repents. In this world, God's mercy saves the repenting. In the coming world remorse will not help, as we (then) must show the accounts. In this life, repentance will open (the door to) salvation: after death there will be no possibility of conversion.

On conversion in illness (Vmm sotta læiðretting)

One can read in books of divine inspiration that: "My son, do not postpone your conversion to the Lord, because you do not know what the coming judgment will bring." Whoever delays converting to God puts his soul in (grave) danger, for death will not wait and rewards with pain and torment whoever postpones conversion. A dissipated and paralyzed mind thinks of converting tomorrow but leaves things undone today. Why do you hesitate, sinner, to turn to God? Do you not realize that death may grab you suddenly the day you decide to convert? Because men do die suddenly. If it is good to leave your sins and turn to God, then do it quickly. God promises to set you free if you turn to him and shy from sin; however, he never promised (for sure) that you will have a long life. Therefore, every man should turn promptly to God, and when he finds (God), leave the ungodly path, for if his last day suddenly arrives, all doubt will be gone and only the judgment will remain. If you do not wish to perish, turn to God and to (eternal) life. Do not give up hope of redemption; however, do not count on a long life. Turn to

God and repent. "Tomorrow I will turn to God," you may answer. Why not today? "What harm can it do to wait until tomorrow?" And what harm can it bring to do it today? "What is it worth?" you answer, "My life may be long." If it is long, make it (a) good (life), and if it is short, make it good (too)." But who may bear bad things for a long time? You cannot live long on a poor diet, why should you then have a long poor life? If you want to buy a house, you look for a nice one. And if you want a wife, you look for a good one. You want sons and wish for capable ones. I now only talk about daily things. When you buy shoes you, you do not purchase bad ones. So why do you hold on to a harmful life? What harm has life done to you that it alone is evil and you alone are bad amongst all your good things? "Do not wait to turn to your Lord and do not postpone it (your conversion) day by day." These are God's words and not mine, and you do not hear them from me, but we both hear (them spoken by) God. Maybe you say: "Tomorrow, tomorrow I will convert." This is the raven's advice. The raven did not return to Noah's arch, but the dove came back. So, if you wish to make amends when you no longer are able to sin, then you leave your sins and not the other way around. Whoever waits until his senior days with repentance is exiled from faith. He thinks he will be condemned, but still hopes for mercy. Whoever squanders the moment of mercy will not find forgiveness; and whoever does not believe in God's word or heed his commandments will not hear God's ordinance. Whoever has not used (well) the time granted for repentance will—to no avail—babble his prayers before Christ's tribunal. Therefore everyone should hasten to God while it is still time, and not later, when he may want to but not be able to.

On fearing God (Vmm ræzlo)

"The source of wisdom is the fear of God." Our great sins (make us) always fear God's presence. If a man fears God completely, he carefully guards himself against sin.

“Whoever fears God will get his reward on the day of judgment for ever and ever.”

Whoever is ashamed of his trespasses before his peers will be even more ashamed before God who looks not only at the deeds but at the heart. Those who fear God with holy piety seek that which pleases Him. The fear of a son is different from that of a slave. The slave fears the master because (he fears) punishment, whereas a son fears his father out of love. If (indeed) we are God’s children, we shall fear Him because of sweet love and not because of agonizing fear. A wise man fears God in all his deeds, knowing with himself that nowhere can he escape His presence. As David said to God: “Where can I go from your spirit, and where shall I flee from your presence?” No place exists, to the west or to the east, where one can flee from God. “Whoever fears the Lord will accept his teaching, and whoever is vigilant and obeys his commands shall find undisturbed eternal blessing.” Blessed be the soul of a man who fears God and is undisturbed by the Devil’s temptations. Blessed be the man who is always pious, he shall constantly be reminded of his fear of God. Whoever fears the Lord will take the path that leads away from evil and turn his feet towards the path of virtue. The fear of God chases sin, and gives strength. The fear of God makes a man cautious and thoughtful, and helps him not commit wrongdoings. Where there is no fear of God, there is debauchery. He who has no fear of God in happiness (usually) seek him in misfortune and asks him for salvation. Blessed is the man who fears God and greatly wishes to obey his command. The fear of God chases the fear of Hell. Let us fear God and love him, for “perfect love chases the servant’s fear.”

On fasting (Vmm faostu)

Complete fasting—along with giving alms and praying—leads to heaven and the tribunal of our Lord, Christ. (Because) fasting enhances spirituality and connects (a person) with the Savior and the angels through (his) prayers and asceticism. The powers

of the heavens and the mark of the Divine will be revealed to us through fasting and prayers through fasting and prayers. While Adam fasted, he was still in paradise, but then he ate and was abruptly exiled. Fasting is a mighty weapon against the temptations of the Devil, for they are quickly overcome who skip it. Our Lord and Savior reminded us that we must resist the Devil's temptation with fasting, prayers, and asceticism. He said: "These kinds of Devils can only be exorcised by prayers and fasting." Because the Devils fly trustingly to where they often see overeating and drunkenness. Shy away from food: slim the body and nourish the spirit. Fasting weakens the flesh but strengthens the soul. And we know that fasting, in conjunction with good deeds, pleases God. Those who fast yet trespass shall be compared with the Devils, theirs is not spiritual food, but always spiritual wickedness. Whoever guards himself against evil deeds and the cupidity of the world with fasting is wise. It is better to feed the living mind with the eternal spiritual nourishment of holy learning than to satisfy the mortal flesh with delightful dishes.

On giving alms (Vmm almosogøðe)

We must realize that we should help other people with the things that we were given by the mercy of our heavenly Father. There are many who do not possess riches on earth—neither gold nor silver, nor other wealth—and we should seek to alleviate their destitution with the means that we have received from our Lord, so that (we) ourselves—together with them—may praise the Lord for the crop of our toil, and joyfully give to the poor and the stranger that which we rightly possess together. Blessed are the barns and worthy all the crops that feed the hungry and thirsty, the sick and the stranger. For God in his righteousness lets men toil with various burdens, but he rewards the unfortunate for their patience and the merciful for their good will. The most effective tools against sins are giving alms and fasting. A prayer aided by these [virtues] will quickly be brought to God's ears. Because it is written: "Man guards his soul by

showing mercy.” Whoever gives his worldly belongings to someone (that he knows is) in need, will see his gift turned into eternal riches. In the same way, we shall obtain God’s mercy and absolution for our sins by having compassion for the poor and by giving alms. For he who does not turn his mind to the poor, will turn his mind to God. Like our Lord said: “Be merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful.” One should help the poor with that which God has promised to give. Be steadfast, you generous Christian man. Give that which you acquire, sow that which you glean, disperse that which you gather. Do not fear for your earthly possessions, do not worry about (your) safe sustenance. Your own (possessions) will grow when you give. Your benefactor wants you to give what you have: he who gave so that you can have, asks you to give, and says: “Give and you shall receive.” You cupid, if you love gold or worldly treasures, give so that you will not perish. Unquestionably, if you guard your (riches) you shall perish, and if you give everything (that you may possess) you will own it for ever and ever. Or like God said: “Gather your riches in heaven where there is no rust or moth, and where thieves cannot undig them. For where your treasure is, there will also your heart be.” Do not fear to be without possessions, for if you give, you will not stand empty-handed on the day of retribution. Whoever sows parsimoniously will glean sparingly. But he who is merciful towards the poor will be blessed. For a man’s riches are his soul’s mortgage. God honors the one who is merciful to the poor. “Hide your alms in the poor man’s cape,” the Holy Scriptures say, “and the gift will be for you.” Like water extinguishes fire, alms extinguish sins. You shall not think lowly of a hungry soul, and not be angry with a poor man who calls you. If a man turns his ear away from the poor, his prayers do not deserve God’s (attention). Do well unto your own soul in this life and give alms, for you will not be able to do well after death. (If you) feed the poor at your banquet table, you feed Christ with them. There are three kinds of alms: first the physical, given to the poor who begs of you; second the spiritual, forgiving

those who did you wrong; third (the one) correcting trespassers and guiding sinners onto the path of truth.

On celibacy (Vmm ræin-liui)

A chaste life is (like) the life of angels. Chastity in conjunction with humbleness provides a home for the Holy Spirit, who eliminates unchaste desire(s). The Scriptures says: "The Holy Spirit will flee from a body that is defiled by sin." Our limbs and joints should be dedicated to God, not to harlotry. Man must measure his lust against the flames of purgatory. Young men must become accustomed to chastity in order to be worthy of God's wisdom. When the body leads an unchaste life, the Devil's spirit lodge in it, the one who the most treasures the uncleanliness of our body. God loaths everything unclean, and particularly that which is not according to nature. The Holy Scriptures warn us, saying: "You shall not go after your lust, but turn away from your desire. If you give in to the yearnings of your soul, then (it will let) you become the joy of your enemies." The wise Solomon wrote these words as a warning against the unchaste life of the body: "For the lips of a prostitute drips with honey, and brighter than oil her neck. But her end is more bitter than venom and death and sharper than a two-edged sword. Her feet descend towards death, and her path leads to hell. She does not climb the ladder of life. Her stride is uncertain, and impossible to follow. And now, listen to me, son, and depart not from the words of my mouth. Shy her gate and keep far from the door to her house." This he said not only about the unclean life of the prostitute, but also about (all) bodily longings that lure the soul to live according to its desires. A wise mind shall forbid the wishes of the body, and restrain its desires. And Salomon also forbade young men to live with women [without being married] and said: "Man cannot hide a flame in his loin without burning his clothes, or walk on hot coals without burning the soles of his feet. Likewise, if a man visits his neighbors wife and

touches her he cannot be clean.” Paul the apostle admonishes us in the same way, saying: “It is good for a man not to touch a woman,” [meaning] there is immediate danger in touching. Beautiful is the innocence of adolescence; (it is) endearing to God and beneficial to all good things. Whoever has sons, spiritual or mortal, will raise them to be chaste in God’s service and not in harlotry for the (benefit of the) Devil. How can it benefit man to have many sons, to raise and love them, if he raises them to eternal punishment? Those who are chaste have the company of angels on (this) earth. A chaste life unites a man with heaven, and the angels will pledge for him. Whoever has a legally acquired wife shall rightfully enjoy her at the appropriate times so that he will be worthy of the blessing of sons (by God’s will). No one can claim that he is not able to guard himself against harlotry, because “God is faithful,” said Paul, the apostle, “and will not let us be tempted more than what we are able to [resist], rather he will assist us (when confronted) with temptation.” Temptation is given everyone, be it carnal lust or worldly cupidity, or any other allurements that we must overcome with honor or succumb to with disgrace. We all need to live a chaste life, and most of all the servants of Christ’s altars, because their life shall be a true example, and (they should) unequivocally teach (the road to) salvation. It behooves our Lord to have servants who are not defiled by the uncleanness of the body. Rather, they (should) shine in their chastity and their abstinence, and enlighten the congregation with the example of uprightness and propriety.

On avoiding crime (De fraude cafenda)

He who exhorts us to be charitable with poor people forbids all (kinds of) cupidity and unlawfully gathered wealth. He who said: “Give alms of your rightly earned possessions,” also said through the words of the apostle: “Be careful not to betray one another.” Whoever acquires something by dishonest actions loses [his sense of] justice

and [his] good reputation. Tell me, you greedy and power-seeking (person), tell me sinner what you have acquired. Maybe you answer: "I have acquired gold!" Rightly you say so, for you acquired gold through treason, but you lost your faith because of your misdeeds. If in the marketplace you found a faith for you to bid on, what would be your bid if you were a good man? Why are you not afraid of losing what God wants you to have in the heart? You have gold and (you have) silver, and other precious things in your chest; but you have a wound in your heart. (All these things and) the best riches of all, i.e. faith, (the sense of) justice, and love of God and (your) neighbors, you have lost. Your mind is on (your) earnings but you do not see the damage to yourself. If you treasure increased earnings, why do you not weep for that which you stand to forfeit? You lose more than you gain. You rich man! By way of your supremacy you take whatever you yearn to possess, and, by your misdeeds, you destroy what God wants you to have, which is eternal bliss. If every thief or viking lost his eyes while stealing or robbing, he could never steal or rob again. But he does not realize that by these kinds of sins he loses the heart's light, which is better for everyone than the light of the body. Rather, you greedy man, give what you own to the poor and you will recover in heaven that which you gave on earth. Why are you afraid to give what you own, when you do not fear perishing completely. For the love of wealth you give false testimony. You lie. You take what you like. You swear deceitfully. You do what is prohibited by law. You do all these things, yet why are you not afraid of burning for ever and ever? Why do you love gold more than (you love) your soul? Why acquire the entire world if you destroy your soul? The Lord himself said in the Gospel: "Be ware of covetousness." For the rich die in the same way as the poor. Wealth cannot help anyone on the Day of Judgment, and cannot free from eternal punishment a man who used his riches improperly. No one is more sinful than a greedy man who—for the love of wealth—puts his soul up for sale. Cupidity knows no modesty. It will not be satisfied unless it swallows everything. It is

always hungry and impecunious. A greedy man resembles Hell, (a place) that can never be filled.

On judges (Vmm dōmendr)

He who judges justly carries the weight of justice in his hands, and in his hands he holds both equity and mercy. If he sees fit to punish sins in the name of justice he must also alleviate the pains of (his) punishment in the name of mercy. A judge shall evaluate without arrogance. Nothing is worse than accepting bribes when judging, because a gift blinds the wise man's hearts. "The judgment that they pass," says God, "shall be passed on themselves." Therefore, a judge shall fear God's judgment so that he will not be condemned by God for sentencing an innocent or for freeing a guilty man because of bribes, or for the love or hate of someone. No ruler shall put a fool or an evil man to judge (others), for the fool in his foolishness does not know justice and the evil turns into truth that which (he knows) leads to wealth. The poor man suffers more heavily by the lack of impartial judgment than by (the actions of) his most implacable enemies. No robber⁴³³ yearns more than a corrupt judge for the possessions of others: Corrupt and evil judges are the worst enemies. Often (you) can escape the enemy, but you cannot escape the power of a judge who strives to gather riches by destroying people. Sometimes, the judges employ larcenous servants, and are (themselves) defiled by the trespasses (of their servants) if they do nothing to discourage their thievery. These judges will perish on the account of somebody else's sins. This earth's Teacher said: "Not only they who commit sins, but also those who let sinners sin, shall appropriately meet eternal death." Often unrighteous judges delay their judgment or twist a case because of greed, and do not conclude their cases until their purse is full. When they

433 "Viking" in the Old Norse version.

pass judgment, they do not look at the case but at the gifts. “Unrighteous judges,” says the Prophet, “are like wolves; that which they catch at night they do not let go in the morning. This is because they think about improving (their condition in) this life and nothing else. In the manner of wolves, they take everything (that they covet) and give little for the poor. An irate judge cannot look at his judgment correctly, because he sees not with the light of justice in the fog of (his) anger. One should not look at a man’s appearance, but at the case (presented). It is written: “You shall not look at the appearance when passing your judgment.” Inequitable judges are led astray (even) by true statements, for they consider people’s rank and appearance, and therefor often injure the innocent, and save the ungodly. In truth, it is a sin to accept bribes for a judgment. Those who fear God pass equitable judgments and shall forever be rewarded by God.

On mendacious testimony (Vmm lýgvitni)

“A false witness,” says Solomon, “shall not go unpunished.” Whoever testifies mendaciously against his neighbors, (will see) the mercy expire on that last day. Whoever hides the truth for fear of another man’s power calls the wrath of God upon himself, because he fears man more than God. A perjurer sins in three ways: First against God, because he neglects His presence and fears man’s power more than God’s; then against the judge, because he lied; and finally against the innocent whom he harms with his false testimony. If you isolate false witnesses, you easily discover that they lie. And both the one who hides the truth and the one who lies are sinners. For the former is good for nothing, and the latter (only) wishes to harm. Blessed be the one whose testimony is deemed worthy in the sight of God. There are four reasons why justice is perverted by a judge: fear, greed, hate, and love. Fear when someone dreads passing a judgment or speaking up when faced with another man’s power. Greed when the judge is defiled by (the reward of) bribes. Hate

when a man yearns to damage others because of a conflict. Love when a man delivers his friends and kinsmen by going against (that which is) right. By these four factors the equity of the judgment is often overturned and the innocent is harmed. However, they are (even) more to be pitied the ones who treat the poor or other people unfairly, than those who suffer their injustice, because those who suffer will soon see the end of their temporal unhappiness, whereas the ones who unjustly harms others will be condemned to eternal flames. Here (in this world) the good is often judged by the evil, whereas in the next life the evil will be judged by the good. Often, in this world, good men are considered insignificant and poor by other men, and the wicked (are considered) blessed. But eternal reward is always given the blessed, and the wicked will be poor. Those who enjoy good times in this world must take care not to lose their eternal reward, and those who suffer injustice shall stand strong because they will receive eternal bliss.

On envy (Vmm ofund)

“Because of the Devil’s covetousness death came into the earth’s sphere.” The Devil begrudged earthly man (his access to) heaven, and looked for a way to destroy him and have him go against the commandments of our Creator. Nothing is worse than envy, because (the envious) suffers from what other people possess. (The envious) looks with cupidity upon that which other people own and which he does not have himself. Envy opposes everything that is good. Where there is envy there can be no love. And where there is no love there can be no goodness. Whoever is envious resembles the Devil, who, because of envy, chased man brutally from the bliss of Paradise. Great is the man who overcomes envy with humbleness or breaks it down with love. Miserable the man who seeks to increase his punishment by other people’s possessions. For whoever is envious suffers in his soul, because that which causes the righteous to improve, strangles the envious. It is better to copy the example of the good men than to seek

(people) with a sting of envy. Envy eats away (your) discernment, burns the heart and strangles the mind. Do not grieve over other people's possessions, do not covet other people's happiness. A man can make other people's good actions his own so that he comes to love the goodness in others even though he does not do the actions himself.

On conceit (Vmm of-meðnad)

God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble. The worst sin was the Devil's arrogance. Of all the sins, conceit is the greatest because it often springs from good deeds, when the arrogant is proud of his work and loses that which he has acquired by love. The worst vice of all is conceit, because it makes a man glow in the accomplishment (of his deeds) and boast of them. Pride is the source of all sin. For (in it) the soul despises the commandments of its Creator, and quickly falls into the snare of sin. Conceit lies as low as it wants to be high. And the conceited falls deeper the more he claims being distinguished. The one who elevates himself (in his pride) will be condemned by God's righteousness. The first to fall is the pride of a man's soul. A Christian man should above all avoid pride, which calls on the wrath of God. Whereas conceit transformed angels into devils, humility makes men resemble angels. The proud wants fame for what he did not do, but the humble avoids hearing about his good deeds. A man shall not elevate himself for his good deeds, and not seek praise when he accomplishes good actions. Rather he shall praise God for his gifts, because man cannot do anything good if God has not given him to do so.

On anger (Vmm hæist)

The world's famous Teacher said: "Let all anger, wrath, irascibility, clamor and blasphemy be put away from you." Untamed wrath is without discernment. A humble answer soothes the anger, whereas a hostile word fomenters irascibility. "A wrathful man,"

says Salomon, “stirs up strife, but the meek appeases the enkindled wrath.” And who can withstand a soul that easily takes to anger? Wrath knows no mercy, and released anger does not know the end of revenge. The angry man’s mind is so agitated that he loses his judgment. Yet, wrath becomes justified and necessary when a man’s anger is directed towards sin and against himself when he has trespassed. For the Prophet said: “Be angry, but be careful not to trespass.” And so (God) allowed man to act according to the laws of nature, but took away his right to sin. Apease the anger of others by your patience. “Be not overcome by evil, rather overcome evil with good.” Regard other people’s sins as your virtue. If you condemn anger in others, then you should condemn the anger in yourself. Do not let the wrath of others disturb your soul’s tranquility. Do not act like a fool, for wrath resides in his bosom. If you are angry with him, then one evil person becomes two: you and him. It is better for you to be good, even though he is evil. Because why should you become evil because of another man’s meanness?

On the praise of man (Vmm manna lof)

Our Lord said in the Gospel: “Take heed that you do not perform good deeds in front of (your fellow) men in order to be seen by them.” This means that you shall not act with the empty praise of men in mind, but rather that you shall do (good deeds) for the love of God, for the salvation of your soul, and for the love of your neighbors (regardless of what you do). The Lord himself said this about those who give alms, pray, or fast in order to be praised by others: “Verily I say unto you, they already have their reward.” Whoever does whatever it takes to solicit the praise of men will get what he sought; he cannot hope for God’s (eternal) reward, because he he did not act for the love of God, but rather for the empty praise of other men in the manner of the hypocrites. This sin, to be praised by men for one’s good deeds, Christ strongly condemned, and he often castigated in terrifying terms the Jews who were in Palestine. “Whoever praises,”

says Paul the Apostle, "shall praise God." For he who does not seek praise will not fear slander. A man cannot consider himself worthy because he is esteemed by men, for the Lord looks into our hearts. What does it help a man to claim that he is good (when he is not)? A man's actions are truly good if he yearns for the approval of God who gave him everything that he owns and does. Any man who seems to be doing good but only seeks to please men and not God will toil to no avail: he sows in the wind. Every one of us shall try to be great in our deeds, but not seek the praise of men for our greatness and thus lose what we had and become insignificant. Because no matter what good a man does, he knows that it does not come from himself but from God. Paul the apostle condemns those who glow from their good deeds, and says: "What do you have that you did not receive, and if you only received it, why do you brag?" The one who turns into praise something that he did not do or acquired, without a doubt turns virtue into offense and good deeds into sin. When a poor man becomes fodder for praise, mercy is turned into sin. Whatever good work a person does, he shall strive to praise God and not himself, as the Lord said himself in the Gospel: "Let your light shine before men, so that they may see your good work and glorify (our) Lord who is in heaven (for them)."

On steadfastness (Vmm stað-festi)

Christian men do not look at how good deeds came about, but rather at what the actions accomplished. Because there are men who start behaving good but who end up badly, like Judas who first was an apostle, then the Lord's traitor and vendor. Realizing what he had done, he went and hanged himself. And Paul the apostle (first) lived badly but ended well, because initially he was the enemy of both God and Christians, but later a teacher. The virtue of good deeds lies in steadfastness, as the Lord himself said: "He who is steadfast to the end shall be saved." I.e. not the one who starts doing good things, but he who persists in good work shall be saved. Because God approves of our

behavior when we accomplish the good deeds that we undertake (and persist) until the end. The virtue lies not in the start or the deed itself, for the promise of a reward is given to those who start doing good actions, (it is) given to those who are steadfast (in their effort). Always in a man's life one looks at how he fared at the end, to see whether he would be saved or condemned for what he did towards the end of his life. Therefore everyone should seek to be steadfast in the accomplishment of the good deeds that he has undertaken, so that he can receive God's eternal reward.

On the eight capital sins (Vmm atta hofuð-lastar)

There are eight capital sins, the sources of all the other sins. From these, as from a root, spring all other wrongdoings and sins that defile our minds and deprave our bodies. We have found it appropriate to say a few words about them, about the different offshoots of vice, and (indicate) from which root they seem to grow, so that everyone can easily understand which branches to eliminate when the root has been extirpated. The first spiritual vice is arrogance. About this sin it has been said: "The source of every sin is conceit." It is the greatest of all sins. Because of it, angels fell from heaven and became devils. Arrogance leads to disrespect for God's commandments, and comes when a man's mind revels in his good work and believes that he is better than others, when (in fact) the higher he holds himself in esteem the worse (off) he is (compared with the others). Arrogance can be born of obstination, such as when someone disdains listening to his elders. Such arrogance engenders disobedience as well as audacity, obstinence, quarrels, defection, and pomposity. God's servants can overcome all of these (vices) with humility.

On overindulgence (Vmm matt-visi)

Intemperance and overeating is the first carnal sin, meaning the insatiable yearning for food and drink. This is why the first human beings were expelled from the bliss of

Paradise and were brutally driven into the suffering and destitution of this world, where every man is born into sin, lives by his toil, and dies in pain. Overeating seems to have a threefold hold on man: Firstly, when he so much longs for food that he enjoys his meal long before the appropriate time; secondly, when he orders food too copious for his needs and (social) rank; and finally if he—in his greediness—consumes more food and drink than is wise or good for his health. Overindulgence engenders licentious joy, fighting, prevarication, debauchery, depravity, unsteadfast mind, overdrinking, and lust. Because overeating causes carnal lusts that (only) fasting and the abstinence from sins, in conjunction with good work, (can help us) overcome.

On harlotry (Vmm hordom)

Harlotry signifies all those things that defile the body because of shameless lust. (Harlotry) overcomes the soul and makes it live for carnal needs. The soul should be our body's housekeeper (the mistress who rules over it), and the body should be the maid and obey its mistress. This is wise. Harlotry means intercourse with a woman or in other ways succumbing to the impurity of carnal lust. This vice leads to blindness of the mind, unsteadfastness of the eyes and the whole body, licentious love, often mortal danger, wantonness, conflict, lewdness, every (type of) immodesty, disrespect for God's commandments, a powerless mind, a yearning for the forbidden, as well as an unordered life and the allurements of yet other sins. This can be overcome by living chastely, by choosing abstinence, by reminding oneself of the eternal fire and by fearing God's presence.

On avarice (Vmm fe-girni)

Avarice means a strong desire to collect wealth, keep it and make it grow. This is an insatiable disease which resembles a dropsy patient who becomes more and more thirsty

the more he drinks. This also applies to a greedy man, for the more he owns the more he wants: there is no modesty in his possessions and no limit to his yearning. From avarice other vices emerge: envy, thievery, robbery, manslaughter, mendacity, perjury, raids, violence, conflict, iniquitable judgment, disdain for the truth, disregard for future happiness, and hardening of the heart who refuses mercy and alms to the poor, and every other generosity towards the destitute and impecunious. Avarice can be overcome by the fear of God in the hope of future bliss, by merciful deeds, and by giving alms to the poor. The false wealth of the world must cede to the future blessed riches (of heaven).

Om wrath (Vmm ræiði)

Wrath is (also) one of the eight capital sins, and if it is not controlled (wisely) it will turn into destruction, so that man no longer controls his (own) mind and does things that can harm him. If anger is not curbed, it will take away a man's perspicacity and discernment so that he no longer has the strength to seek justice, profess an honest opinion, or give equitable advice, rather he seems to do (what he does) for some (obscure) reason. From wrath spring an inflated mind, quarrel, insult, contempt, irascibility, blasphemy, manslaughter, vindictiveness, and the memory of injustice. Wrath is best overcome with patience and composure, and the lucid discernment with which God bequeathed the human mind. Let us be reminded of the Lord's prayer and say: "Forgive us our debt as we forgive our debtors."

On indolence (Vmm læti)

Laziness is an ailment that greatly afflicts God's servants, for it leads the empty-headed into carnal lust. The indolent do not rejoice in spiritual work or revel in the salvation of the soul, nor in the assistance offered by the toil of his fellow men, but rather (his) mind is drained and empty and he only yearns for useless things. Indolence is what

drives monks and hermits back to the world, from an orderly behavior to the domination of sins. When indolence becomes the seat of a poor soul, it fills it with many worldly things and teaches it much evil. Therefore (the indolent) becomes drowsy, slow to do good deeds, unsettled, reluctant to toil, weary of heart, discontent, and loose-mouthed. This can be overcome with diligent reading, with the accomplishment of good works, with a longing for future bliss, by confessing the temptations that a man carries in his mind, with constancy and wisdom, by encouraging physical work, prayers, and vigilance (vigils): God's servants are never idle. The Devil finds it more difficult to tempt a man who is occupied doing good work, than the unemployed who never does any good.

On melancholy (Vmm u-glæðe)

There are two types of melancholy: one is remedial, the other is detrimental. Melancholy becomes remedial when the mind is sad because of its sins, when—full of sorrow—it seeks confession, (it) wishes to repent and turn to God. The other (type) is sadness on account of this world, a sadness that kills the soul and hinders the accomplishment of good deeds. It troubles the mind, often sends it into agony, and brutally takes away the hope for future compensation. Such melancholy causes wickedness, unwillingness, despondency, ill temper, and often leads to dissatisfaction with the present life. This can be mastered with spiritual joy and hope for things to come, with the consolation of the Holy Scriptures, and with brotherly conversation in spiritual exultance.

On vainglory (Vmm væg-girni)

Empty praise is when man yearns to be complimented for his good work, when he does not recognize God's role and (fails to) dedicate his good deeds to God's mercy, but rather believes that on his own merit he has received the approval of this world and the

beauty of spiritual wisdom, as if (it is possible that) he can have good things without God's help and mercy. In the Gospel, God said to his disciples: "For without me you can do nothing." Therefore, he who is praised shall glorify the Lord, since he cannot do anything without God's generosity. If the vice is allowed to grow roots, it seems (able) to produce many evil offshoots, such as boasting, pride, irascibility, disagreement, yearning for empty praise, and hypocrisy: receiving approval for deeds that he did not do but for which man wants praise. The vainglorious works in such a way that he ensures the praise of his fellow men. About this our Lord himself said: "Verily I say unto you, they (already) have their reward." The (only) cure for this affliction is to be reminded of God's benevolence, by which we receive all good things, and of His eternal love. To obtain His praise we will do whatever we can in this world and yearn more for God's approval on the day of eternal reward than for the praise of any human being in (this) our shameful life.

More on the same things (Vmm hina somu luti)

There are eight common vices and their defenders, the Devil's strong warriors drafted against mankind, who are easily conquered with the help of Christ's soldiers and (holy) virtues in the service of God. First, arrogance (is conquered) with humility; then overeating with fasting; harlotry with celibacy; avarice with wisdom; wrath with patience; indolence with steadfastness in good work; melancholy with spiritual joy; and empty praise with the love of God. Against the wickedness of the Devil's warriors we muster the four authorities of Christian life: wisdom, righteousness, strength and modesty.

On the four virtues (Vmm flora crafta)

First we need to define what virtue means. Virtue is the soul's attire, the adornment of our nature, (manifest in) a discerning life, pious mores, and adoration of the Divine.

(On account of these virtues) a worthy man will be honored with eternal salvation. The four original virtues that we consider are the following: wisdom, righteousness, strength and modesty. Wisdom means knowledge of divine and human things that have been given to man. With their help, we are able to understand what man shall do and what he shall look at. One reads in the psalm: *Declina a malo et fac bonum*, meaning “turn from evil and do good.” Justice is the soul’s entitlement, which confers to every (righteous) man his just worth. In it (we find) the respect for God and the law of men, fair judgment and equity in life. There is great strength in patience of the mind, in steadfastness in good work, and in victory over various kinds of vice. Modesty means, throughout life, trying not to covet anything excessively, not to hate anyone, but rather to take special care to restrain one’s various yearnings (in this life). Those who in faith and truth strive towards (the accomplishments of) these virtues can hope for eternal approval by Christ himself, our Lord. There is no greater wisdom than the one that makes a person—if he puts his mind to it—understand and fear God and believe in the coming judgment. What is better than to love God and respect his commandments—God—by whom we were created, who freed us from the Devil’s service, and who gave us everything that we have? And what is better than (to have) the strength to overcome the Devil and all his temptations, and for the (sake of the) name of God bravely suffer the tribulations of this world?

On modesty (Vmm hof-sæmi)

Modesty is an especially commendable virtue because in every way it stands in the midst (of the community) of men: it causes Man to think and to speak and humbly perform every task with his salvation in mind. And this is easy and sweet for those who love God, who said: “Learn from me, because I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light” (*Jugum enim*

meum suave est, et onus meum leve. Matth. XI, 29.). Therefore, my task is easy and agreeable, and my burden is light. It is better and more beneficial to love God—who is eternal sweetness, beauty, fragrance, jubilation, worth and endless bliss—than to love pretty appearances and sweet tastes, or sweet sounds, lovely scents, joyful touches, or honors and happiness of this world. These are all things that disappear quickly, (they) evaporate like the shadow of a bird and fail those who love them and send them into eternal pain and misery. But whoever truly loves God almighty and always praises him and steadfastly complies with his commandments will appropriately be worthy of eternal bliss with the angels of Jesus Christ, our eternal Lord.

(Epilogue)

I have written about these things, my dear son Widonus—briefly, like you asked me to do—so that you can have them before your eyes in a handbook every day. In my writing you may see for yourself what you ought to say or do. This handbook may help you through the fortunes or misfortunes of this life so that you may ascend to bliss in heaven. Do not worry about the attires of this world, for they are garments that you cannot wear when you enter the glory of heavenly life. The bliss of God's kingdom is offered to everyone, and the door to heaven is open to people of every age and gender according to their degree of merit. (In God's kingdom) there is no consideration for what people have been in this world, learned or ignorant, rich or poor, young or old, slave or master. Instead, everyone will be rewarded on account of the good work that they performed, in eternal praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. AMEN.

Gregorius: *Homilia VIII*

The Latin text of has been extracted from Étaix, Raymond (1999) *Gregorius Magnus. Homiliae in Evangelia. Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXLI*. Turnholt: Brepols Publishers, pp. 53-56.

Saint Gregory (c.540-604) the Great was a theologian and a fervent church reformer, who helped organize medieval papacy. His teaching built on the writings of Saint Augustine (354-430), especially on Augustine's ideas of a Christian society. Gregory reformulated Mass and introduced song as part of the liturgy. One of his many achievements was the establishment of Christian missions in the British Isles. Soon, the Church's presence in England became the main base for many missionary campaigns on the continent. Missionary bishops of the Church in the British Isles were central to the introduction of Christianity in Norway in the 11th century.

As a pope, Gregory introduced the notion of holy war in relation to the heathens, and launched many rather aggressive missionary campaigns around the Mediterranean Sea in order to prevent pagan sacrificial rites.

Saint Gregory was of a frail health, and did not always have the strength to read his sermons himself; rather, a notary with a good voice would deliver the homilies for him. The homilies were dictated to the notary, and Gregory revised the text before its pronounciation during Mass. Saint Gregory's work has customarily been organized according to whether or not the theologian had read the material himself. He himself published his homilies in the order in which they had been written and pronounced. Of his work there are many surviving copies as it was customary for rich people to hire clerks to record the sermons as they were delivered. The Church also had people taking shorthand of his words.

In *Humiliúbók*, where we find Gregory's homily, the majority of the titles appear in Latin. Usually, a medieval homily would combine a given text from the Evangelium and the actual sermon pronounced by the preacher. Gregory's *Homilia VIII* in fact is the only text in the Old Norse Book of Homilies called a homily and not a sermon. The introductory passage to the homily is essentially a rather faithful rendering of St. Luke in *Vulgata*, whereas the homily itself looks for its inspiration in a number of other medieval exegetical writings.

For clarity, *u* has been written *v* and vice versa when deemed appropriate. *A* and *b* represent different familiar variants of the text.

Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Lucam (Luke: 2, 1-20)

In illo tempore exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis. Haec descripto prima facta est a praeside Syriae Cyrino. It ibant omnes ut profiterentur singuli in suam civitatem. Ascendit autem Ioseph a Galilaea de civitate Nazareth in Iudeam civitatem David, quae vocatur Bethleem, eo quod esset de domo et familia David, ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata sibi uxore praegnante. Factum est autem, cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret. Et peperit filium suum primogenitum, et pannis eum involuit, et reclinavit (posuit : a) eum in praesepio, quia non erat ei locus in diversorio. Et pastores erant in regione eadem vigilantes et custodientes vigilias noctis supra gregem suum. Et ecce angelus Domini stetit iuxta illos, et claritas Dei circumfulsit illos, et timuerunt timore magno. Et dixit illus angelus: Nolite timere. Ecce enim evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo, quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus, in civitate David. Et hoc vobis signum: invenietis infantem pannis involutum et positum in praesepio. Et subito facta est cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis laudantium Deum et dicentium: Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Homilia lectionis eiusdem habita ad populum in basilica beata Mariae die Natalis Domini⁴³⁴

1. Quia, largiente Domino, missarum sollemnia ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de evangelica lectione non possumus. Sed nos aliquid vel breviter dicere Redemptoris nostri nativitas ipsa compellit. Quid est quod nascitur Domino mundus describitur, nisi hoc quod aperte monstratur, quia ille veniebat in carne, qui electos suos ascriberet in aeternitate? Cui contra de reprobis per prophetam dicitur: *Deleantur de libro viventium, et cum iustis non scribantur* (Psal. LXIX, 28). Qui bene etiam in Bethleem nascitur; Bethleem quippe domus panis interpretatur. Ipse namque est qui ait: *Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi* (Joan. vi, 35 & 41). Locus ergo in quo Dominus nasceretur, domus panis ante vocatus est, quia futurum profecto erat, ut ille ibi per materiam carnis appareret, qui electorum mentes interna satietate reficeret. Qui non in parentum domo, sed in via nascitur, ut profecto ostenderet quia per humanitatem quam assumpserat, quasi in alieno nascebatur. Alienum videlicet non secundum potestatem dico, sed secundum naturam. Nam de potestate eius scriptum est: *In propria venit* (Joan, I, 11). In natura etenim sua ante tempora natus est, in nostra venit ex tempore. Qui ergo aeternus permanens temporalis apparuit, (profecto: add. a) alienum est ubi descendit. Et quia per prophetam dicitur: *Omnis caro fenum* (Isai. XL, 5), factus homo fenum nostrum vertit in frumentum, qui de semetipso ait: *Nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet* (Joan. XIII, 24). Unde et natus in praesepio reclinatur, ut fideles omnes, videlicet sancta animalia, carnis suae frumento reficeret, ne ab aeternae intelligentiae pabulo ieiuna remaneret. Quid est autem quod vigilantibus pastoribus angelus apparet eosque Dei claritas circumfulget, nisi quod illi

434 "Homily containing the sermon pronounced for the people in the basilica of Saint Mary on the day of the Lord's Nativity."

prae ceteris videre sublimia merentur, qui fidelibus gregibus praeesse sollicite sciunt? Dumque ipsi pie super gregem vigilant, divina super eos gratia largius coruscat.

2. Regem vero natum angelus nuntiat, eiusque voci angelorum chori concinunt et congaudentes clamant: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis* (Luc. II, 14). Prius quippe quam redemptor noster per carnem (in carne: a) nasceretur, discordiam cum angelis habuimus, a quorum claritate atque munditia per primae culpa meriti, per cotidiana delicta longe distabamus. Quia enim peccando extranei eramus a Deo, extraenos nos a suo consortio deputabant angeli cives Dei. Sed quia nos cognovimus regem nostrum, recognoverunt nos angelis cives suos. Quia enim caeli rex terram nostrae carnis assumpsit, infirmitatem nostram illa iam angelica celsitudo non despicit. Ad pacem nostram angeli redeunt, intentionem prioris discordiae (rixae: a) postponunt, et quos infirmos prius abiectosque despexerant, iam socios venerantur. Hins est enim

(a) quod Gedeon angelum adorat, nec tamen prohibetur;

(b) quod Loth vel Iosve angelos adorant, nec tamen adorare prohibentur;

Iohannes vero in Apocalypsi adorare angelum voluit, sed tamen idem hunc angelus ne se debeat adorare compescit dicens: *Vide ne feceris, conservus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum* (unus enim conservorum et fratrum tuorum sum : a). Quid est quod ante Redemptoris adventum angeli ab hominibus adorantur et tacent, postmodum vero adorari refugiunt, nisi quod naturam nostram, quam prius despexerant, postquam hanc super se assumptam conspiciunt, substratam sibi videre pertimescunt ꝑ Nec iam sub se velut infirmam contemnere ausi sunt, quam super se videlicet in caeli rege venerantur. Nec habere dedignantur hominem socium, qui super se adorant hominem Deum.

Curemus ergo, fratres carissimi, ne qua nos immunditia polluat, qui in aeterna praescientia et Dei cives (civibus: a) et angelis aequales sumus. Vindicemus moribus dignitatem nostram, nulla nos luxuria inquinet, nulla turpis cogitatio accuset, non malitia

mentem mordeat, non invidiae rubigo consumat, non elatio inflat, non ambitio per terrena oblectamenta dilaniet. Dii etinem vocati sunt homines. Defende ergo tibi, homo, contra vitia honorem (dignitatem : a) Dei, quia propter te factus est Deus homo.

The Old Norse Version

The text has been extracted from Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, pp. 38-43.

Humiliúbók is a collection of devotional texts, which have survived in a manuscript from c.1200. The *Humiliúbók* (*Codex AM 619, 4^o*) is in fact the oldest surviving Norwegian manuscript. Some of the vernacular instructional texts contained therein may be somewhat older, probably dating back to the first half of the 12th century. A number of linguistic features suggest the possibility of even older (maybe oral) versions of some of the texts, some of which may indeed date back to the first missionaries who needed material in the vernacular in order to preach for the natives. Some of the texts—especially the *Pater Noster*—may therefore have been known in its vernacular (and probably oral) form at the early stages of the Christianization of Norway. We know that on the Continent, especially in France and Anglo-Norman England, the sermons were frequently translated by the preacher, either ahead of Mass or spontaneously during its pronunciation. The missionaries needed vernacular versions of the material to reach their audience. The Mass was conducted entirely in Latin; nevertheless, the sermon was an occasion to connect with the parishioners.

The texts may indeed have been translated over some time, by more than one translator, and assembled into one collection. It is also difficult to ascertain exactly when the texts were organized into one collection. The collection of (highly didactical) texts outlines and explains the main articles of the faith. In essence, it contains the

minimum knowledge required by those who wanted to enter the community of Christians. The story of the Nativity—as the Passion of Easter—was of course central in the teaching of the Evangelium. It had many of the features of a fairy tale: it was a narrative in which a man of poor and humble origin acceded to the heavenly kingdom.

Like most of the texts in the Old Norse Book of Homilies, the narrative elements are emphasized, and the theological and philosophical are toned down, in some respects the homily conveys the bare essentials, repeated and reiterated for the benefit of the audience.

Quotation marks have been added to indicate direct speech.

Lectio (Luke: 2, 1-20)

Jn nativitate domini nostri Iesu Christi sermo

Gvðspioll segia fra iarteinum burðar drottens vars Iesu Crist þes er berasc let á þesse enne hælasto not fra Mario møyoy. Augustus konungr sende boðorð umm allan hæim at lata rita mann-tal í hverri borg. at hann vissi hve mykin scatt hann scyldi hæimta or hverio heraðe. En sia ritning hofsc fyrst af Syrlannz þæim er Cyrinus het. ok for þa hver til sins heraðs. Ða for Ioseph or Galilea í borg Dauíð þa er Bethléém haitir með festarkono sinni Marie. Þui at þau varo or kyni Dauíð. En er þau varo þar. þa fylðosc dagar Marie. ok bar hon son sin frumgeten. ok vafðe hon hann í ræifum ok lagðe hann í eto. Þui at eigi var rum í gesta-scala. En hirðar varo í því heraðe ok heldo nat-vaoco yfir hiorð sinni. engil guðs stoð hia þæim ok skæin mykit lios yfir þa. ok ræddosc þæir. En engillen mælte við þa: “Egi scolo þer ræðasc. Þvi at ec boða yðr mykin fagnað þann er vera mon aollum lyð. Þui at í dag er boren grøðare hæims Cristr drottenn í borg Dauíð. En þat er yðr at marke at þer munuð finna barn vaft í ræifum ok lagt í eto.” Ða gerðesc fiolde engla með þessom æinum engle. ok louaðo aller guð ok mæltu: “Dyrð se guði á himnum. ok á iorðu friðr monnum er gott vilia.” En er englar hurfu fra þæim. þa mæltu hirðar með sér:

“Faorum ver allt í Bethléem ok siom orð þat er gorzc heuir ok drotenn syndi os.” Ða foro þæir scyndilega ok funno Ioseph ok Maria ok barn í eto lagt. En er þæir sao. Þa kendo þæir orð þat er þæim var sagt ok undraðosc allir er þessor tiðende høyrðo er hirðarner saogðu. En Maria varðvæite oll orð þessor í hiarta sinu. En hirðar hurfu aptr ok lofaðo guð í ollum lutum þæim er þæir hofðu sét eða hæyrt.

Ómelía Gregorij

Egi megom vér langt mæla umm scyring þessa guðspiallz goðer brøðr.⁴³⁵ Þvi at vér sculom þrysvar messo syngva á þessom degi. En þo scyldir os siolf burðar-tið lausnara vars at mæla noccot. Hvi gegnir þat at allr hæimr var ritat at mann-tale þa er Cistr var borenn. nema þvi at þa vitraðesc sa í licam er ritat heuir tal allra valldra manna sinna á lifs boc. Ðar á mote er sva mælt umm vanda menn. Másc þæir af lifs boc ok ritasc eigi með retlátum. Maclega var Cistr borenn í Bethléem. Þui at Bethléem þyðisc brauðs hus. En sialfr drotenn mælte: “Ec em brauð lifanda er niðr ste ec af himni.” Staðr sa er drottenn var boren í calladeðsc aðr brauðs hus. Þui at þat var fyrir ætlat at sa myndi þar vitrasc í licam. er fœða myndi himnescre fœszlo hiarto sinna manna. egi var hann at frænda sinna heimili borenn. heldr at fornom vege. Þvi at hann var sua sem á annars oðale heldr an sino. Þa er usynlilegr guð toc synilegan manndom á sic. Annars oðal callaðe ec egi at veldi hans hældr at øðle. Þvi at sva er ritat umm velde hans at hann com til sins egins. J sino øðle er hann getenn fyrir tiðir af fæðr. en í varo øðle com hann á tið. En er eilifr guð gerðesc stundlegr maðr. Þa var annars oðal þar er hann com. En sva mælte Ysaías spamaðr: “Hvert hold er sem gras.” En er guð gerðisc maðr. Þa snere hann graslego øðle varo í hveiti sva sem hann mælte umm sialfan sic. “Eit saman er

435 The Latin text has the mention of brothers (and sisters) only once at the end, whereas the Norse translator emphasized the personal entreaty, when addressing the Norse audience, which in the beginning probably consisted of members of the monachial orders, the future native missionaries.

hveiti-corn neme þat falle á iorð ok døyce.” Af því var hann lagðr í eto þa er hann var boren. Þui at hann fœðer heilog cyqvende. þat ero trvaðer menn. at egi missi ander þæirra ennar iðre fœzlo þa er þær bergia holde hans. Uxe ok asne stoðo yfir etonne. Þui at noccorer af gyðingum ok af hæiðnum þioðum kendo burð Crist. Vxi merkir gyðinga. en asne hæiðna menn. Engil vitraðesc vacaondum hirðum ok skein lios guðs yfir þæim. Þvi at þær mego hælzt oðlasc himnesca luti er mildlega cunnu styra guðs hiorð. Oc skin því gnoglegar lios guðs miscunnar yfir þæim. sem þær vaka trvlegar yfir hiorð guðs. Maclega vittraðesc engil með liose þa er Crist var boren. Þvi at hann er sialfr lios retlatra þat er lysir hvern mann er kemr í hæim. Maclega vacto hirðar yfir hiorð. Þui at sa var boren er þetta mælte: “Ec em góðr hirð.” Hirðar merkia kenni-menn. en not su er þær heldo voco yfir hiorð sinni merkir haska freistonar. Við þæirra fræistni sculo varðvæita sic ok sina menn aller þær er algorlega reca fra sér urøctar svefn. En er engil hafðe boðat burð himna konungs. Þa sannaðe marger engla-floccar mal hans ok callaðo ok mæltu: “Dyrð se guði á himnum ok á iorðu friðr maonnum þæim er gott vilia.” Fyrr en lausnare vár lete berasc varum vér sundr-þyccir við engla. Þui at vér varom langt scildir fra hæilaglæic þæirra fyrir værlæic ennar fyrsto syndar. ok fyrir hvesdagslegar varar af-gerðir. En er ver urðum ut-lager fra guði fyrir syndir varar. Þa virðo englar borgar-menn guðs os ulennda fra sinu samlage. en er vér kendom konong varn. Þa kendo englar os borgar-menn sina. En með því at himna konungr toc á sic iorð licams vars. Þa fyrir-lítr egi engli tign óstyrclæic varn. Englar hverfa aptr til friðar vars ok leggja niðr hit forna missæte. ok fagna þeir nu þæim sua sem sinum lagsmaonnum er þær fyr-lito fyrr sva sem recninga. Af því er sagt at forner fæðr luto ænglum ok var þæim egi þat bannat. en Iohannes postole vildi luta engle. en engillen bannaðe honom þat ok mælte: “Se við þu at gera þat. Þui at ec em sam-þræl þin ok brøðra þinna.” Hvi gegnir þat er menn luto englom fyrir hingat-quamo lausnara vars ok var þæim egi þat bannat. en siðan vildo þær egi lata menn luta sér. nema því at þær ræðasc at fyr-lita

øðle vart undir sér siðan er þeir sia þat upp haft yfir sic með Criste lausnara varom. ok þora þær egi at sia man-lect øðle undir ser sva sem ostyrct með því at þeir gofga þat yfir sér á himna cononge. ok lata þeir lica ser at virða mannen iafninga sin. Þui at þær gofga guð mann yfir sér. Costum vér ok þa goðer brøðr at engi oreinse saurge os þar er vér erom gorfer iafningiar engla oc borgar-menn guðs. Saurge egi os losta-semi ne liot hugrenning. Biti egi illza hug varn ne ofund. Blase egi á os ofmetnaðr ne tæle os ræiði. dræiui egi agirnd hug varom til iarð-legra luta. Virðum ver ok þa með myccclum at-huga englar mæltu: “Friðr se maonnum á iorðu þæim er gott vilia.” Fyri hvi saogðu þær hælðr frið þæim er gott vilia en þæim er gott vinna. nema af því at goð værc mego gorr værða aon goðom vilia. en góðr vili er aldrigi tomr af goðo verki. Ðat er goðr vili at gera lystanda alla goða luti þa er maðr ma. ok vilia flæira gott gera en hann mege. Ðær er því-likir ero muno æignasc sannan frið með guði. Þo at þær se sva mioc þrængðer í mæinnum hæims at þær mege fát góz gera. Þui at guð dæmer mæir at vilia en at vercum. En sumir synasc mart gott gera þeir er þo æignasc egi þenna frið. Þui at þeir hafa egi goðan vilia þa er þeir leita iarðlegrar ambonar fyri goð værc sin. En er englar hurfu fra hirðum segir í guðspialleno. Þa mæltu hirðar með ser: “Faorum vér allt í Bethleem ok siom orð þat er drotten syndi os.” J orðum sinum ok í vercum syndo hirðar os hvat ver sculum gera. eða hvessu ver sculum renna hug varom í Bethleem borg Dauið. ok minnasc þæirra luta er þar gerðosc á þesse tið. En af þui mæltu þær sua “faorum ver allt í Bethléém” sva sem þær ætte langa læið at fara. I þui er þær mæltu sva. Þa sýndu þær os hvat vér sculum gera. Faorum vér ok þa í hugrenningum varom allt í ena himnesco Bethleem þat er brauðs hus. egi þes er manna handum er gort. hælðr lifanda brauðs þes er niðr ste af himni. Þar manum vér finna drottenn eigi liggianda í eto. hælðr rikianda yfir ænglum. Hirðar foro scyndilega ok “funno Mariam ok Ioseph ok barn lagt í eto.” ok kendo þær er þær sao orð þat er þæim var sagt fra svæini þessom. Hirðar funno drotten þa er þær foro scyndilega. Þvi at þær mego líta dyrð guðs er æigi

dvælia dag fra dægi at snuasc til drottens. hældr scynda þær at læita hans með goðum verkum. Oc fundo þær Mariam ok Ioseph ok barn lagt í eto. Með gløggum athuga ero merkiande guðspialleg orð. Hirðar funno fyrst Ioseph ok Mariam ok siðan svæin. Þui at þær er guðs vilia læita scolo fyrst sækia fulting arnaðar-orz hæilagra. en siðan mono þær finna guðs miscunn þa er þær læita. En er vér lysomsc af gæisla guðs miscunnar ok megom skilia taocn guðs. Þa scolom vér boða nangum varum þa er saomo guðs miscun. at aðrer rettesc af vaorom dæmom ok kenningum ok lofe guð. Þui at þat fær eptir í guðspialleno. “Aller undraðosc þær er høyrðo þat er hirðar saogðu þæim.” Hirðar saogðu þat er þær sa ok høyrðo. en aller undraðo er høyrðu orð þæirra. Þvi at lærðir menn sculu vita lyð sinum kenningar þær er þær scilia á bocom. en lyðren scal varðvæita i hiortum sinum með athuga kenningar þær er hann hæyrir. “Ða hurfu hirðar aptr ok dyrcaðo guð í ollum lutum þæim er þær sao ok hæyrðu.” Hvat merkir þat er hirðar foro fra hiorðu sinni ok læitaðo drottens. en þeir hurfo aptr til hirðar er þær funno hann. nema þat at vér sculom æigi gløyma guði fyri ælsco naongs. ok hafna æigi nangs ælsco fyrir guðs aost. hirðar hurfu aptr til hiarðar þa er þær funno drotten. Þui at kenni-menn sculu æigi fyr-lita varðvæizlu lyðs. Þo at þær cost-gæfe at skilia tacn dyrðar guðs. Hirðar hurfu aptr ok lofaðo guð í ollum lutum þæim er þær sao ok hæyrðu. Þvi at hvær er scilia ma tacn guðs mattar scal guði æigna en eigi sér allt þat er hann ma scilia gott ok gera. En með því at vér haoldum í dag burðar tið drottens vars Iesu Crist goðer brøðr. Þa scolum ver noccot ræða umm dyrð þessar haotiðar. Ðat er vitanda at hinn fyrsti maðr var scapaðr or ó-saugaðre iorðu sa er glataðe í dauða ser siolfum ok ollu kyni sinu. af því var maclegt at sa lete fra ræinni møyio berasc er bømte ens fyrsta mannz af-giærð. ok aptr læidde kyn hans allt til lifs fra dauða. Ðat er oc maclect at Cristr bømte með litillæte þa synd er Adam gerðe með ofmetnaðe. Hin forne Adam braut boðorð guðs ok lýddi tøygingo diofuls. ok hof sic up í ofmetnað ok vildi líc vera guði. en hinn nyie Adam sa er Crist. var lyðin guði fæðr ok lægðe sic. ok toc

manns licam á sic. ok ste niðr til iarðar af himni. at hann læiddi til himins af iorðu man-
kyn þat er faresct hafðe í enne fyrsto synd. Mykit er tacn astar guðs ok litillætes. Maðr
hafnaðe guði. ok hvarf braut fra honum. en guð ælscaðe mann ok com hingat til manna.
ælscaðe hann syngan ok gerðe retlátan. ælscaðe hann síucan ok gerðe hæilan. ælscaðe
hann anauðgan. ok gerðe frialsan. ok æscaðe sva framarla at hann selði sic til dauða at
ver mættim lifa. En þat er vitanda at þriar ero tiðer hæims. Æin fyrir log. en onnur undir
logum. en þriðia undir miscunn. Tið var fyrir log allt fra upp-hafe hæims til þes er
Moyses gaf hin forno log. Tið var undir laogum fra Moysi allt til burðar Crist. En
miscunnar tið er fra burð Crist allt (til) ennda hæims. Þui at drotten væitti miscunn í
burð sinum ollu mankuni því er var fyrir log ok unndir logum. ok ollum þæim er eptir
burð hans como í hæim. Þessar tiðir þrennar merkiar. iii. messor þær er þessas hotið
þiona. Not-messa merkir þa tið er callasc fyrir log. Þui at þa var enn æigi lyst miscun
burðar Crist fyrir alldar-fæðrum. sva sem not-messo scal syngua fyrir allt dags lios.
Miðmessa en sungin er at döggra-mote merkir laga tið. Þvi at log spamanna lysto noccot
yfir burð Crist þo at hann kome siðar fram. sva sem þessar messo tið hefir lut af nott ok
af dæigi. Dag-messa merkir miscunnar tið. Þui at burð drottens rac braout alla villu-not
or hiortum truaðra ok syndi æilift lios retlátum maonnum sva sem salma-scaldet mælte.
“Upp rann lios retlatra eptir myrcr miscunsamr ok retlátr drotten.” Gofgum vér ok þa
goðer brøðr ok systr taocn endr-bøttar varar með ræinum hug. ok lofum vér drotten í
ollum vercum miscunnar hans. Elscum ver drottenn Iesum Crist boren í varom licam at
vér megem sia hann konung. dyrðar lifanda ok rikianda í sinu velde fyr y-utan enda.
AMEN.

English Translation

Lectio: Luke: 2, 1-20

The Gospel tell (us) about the miracles that took place when our Lord, Jesus Christ, was born, when He let (Himself) be born in the most holy of nights by Virgin Mary. King Augustus sent word to the whole world that a census should be organized in every city, in order for him to establish the taxes to be collected from each county. Cyrenius, the Earl of Syriah, was the first to start the census, and (for this count) everyone went to his county (of origin). Joseph left Galilee (and went) to the city of David, the one called Bethlehem, together with his fiancée, Mary, because they descended from David's family. And when they were there, the days had come for her delivery, and she gave birth to her first-born son, swaddled him and put him in a manger, because there was no room for them at the inn. And shepherds abided there in the county, keeping watch over their flock at night. (Suddenly) God's angel stood before them and shone brightly upon them, and they were scared. But the angel said to them: "Fear not, for I carry a message of great happiness which shall be (given) to all people. For on this day the world's Savior, the Lord Christ, has been born in the city of David. And this is the sign you shall look for: you shall find a child swaddled in a manger." And a multitude of angels joined the first angel and they all praised God and said: "Glory to God in heaven and peace on earth for men of good will." Then the angels withdrew, and the shepherds said to one another: "Let us all go to Bethlehem and see the Word that has come to be and that (the) Lord has made known to us." Then they hurried along and found Joseph, and Mary, and the child who lay in the manger. And when they (the shepherds) saw this, they understood the word that had been said, and everyone (present) wondered at the tidings that they had heard, and at what the shepherds had said. And Mary guarded all these words in her heart. And the shepherds returned (to their fields) and praised God for all the things that they had seen and heard.

Omelia Gregorij:

We shall not speak lengthily to explain this Gospel, dear brothers, as we on this day shall celebrate three masses. However, we ought to say something about the birth(day) of our Redeemer.

What does it mean that all people were registered when Christ was born? (It means) that He revealed Himself in the flesh, he who has recorded every human being in the world in his Book of Life. On the other hand, about evil men it has been said: "Their names shall be blotted from the Book of Life, and will not be recorded with the righteous." It (was) appropriate for Christ to be born in Bethlehem, because Bethlehem means "house of bread." Like the Lord Himself said: "I am the living bread that came down from heaven." The city where our Lord was born had been called the "house of bread" for a long time, for it was predestined that he should be made flesh there, to feed his men's hearts with heavenly food. He was not born at home with his family, but on the road, so that he was on another man's pasture rather than on His own: and the invisible God became visible man. But when I said "another man's pasture" I was not thinking of His power to acquire pasture, but rather of what had been written about Him, that He should come to His own. He had been conceived in His own form (long) before time by the Father, but in our form He came in (our) time. And the eternal God became temporal man. However, He came to someone else's ancestral pasture. Said the prophet Isaiah: "All flesh is grass." And when God became man, he turned pasture into wheat fields, and said about Himself: "Forlorn is the corn of wheat that falls to the ground and dies."

He was placed in a manger when He was born, because He feeds holy creatures, i.e. men of faith: their souls shall not lack spiritual food if they taste His flesh. An ox and an ass stood over the manger, because some Jews and heathens understood that Christ was born. The ox marks (signifies) the Jews and the ass (signifies) the heathens.

An angel appeared before the vigilant shepherds, and God's light shone brightly upon them, because those who guide God's flock with gentleness shall access heaven. And God's mercy shines more brightly upon those who faithfully watch over God's herd. It was appropriate that the angel appeared before them with light when Christ was born for He is Himself the light of the righteous, and He shines for every man that comes into this world.

It was (also) appropriate that the shepherds kept watch over their herd, because He who was born said: "I am the good shepherd." The shepherds heeded the wise men, (because) the *night* when they kept watch over their herd *signifies* the danger of temptation. They carefully guarded themselves against temptation, and kept watch over people who had rejected the slumber of indifferent neglect. And when the angel had brought the message about the birth of the King, a multitude of angels confirmed the news, and exclaimed: "Glory to the Lord in heaven and peace on earth to men of good will."

When our Redeemer was born, we were in disagreement with the angels, we were far from their holiness, separated (from them) by the existence of the first sin and by our daily misdeeds. We were banned from God because of our sins, and the angels—who were citizens of God's community—had banned us from their company. However, when we recognized our King, they accepted us as their fellow citizens. And (ever) since the King of Heaven assumed human form, the noble angels no longer despise our unruliness. The angels seek peace with us and have put down the previous animosity. They now embrace as their companions (all) those who were banned and whom they used to look down upon with contempt. It has been said that the forefathers kneeled for the angels, and it was not forbidden. But when John the apostle kneeled for the angel, he (the angel) forbade him (to do so) and said: "Be careful, because I am a fellow servant like yourself and your brothers." What does it mean (then) that men knelt for the angels

before the coming of our Redeemer, that it was not forbidden then, but that later men were not allowed to kneel? (It means) that they (now) fear showing contempt for our (human) nature because they are themselves subordinate to Christ our Redeemer. And they do not dare consider human nature inferior to their own (nature) or powerless, because they honor the King of heaven. They now reckon Man as their peer because they consider the God-Man their superior.

Attention, good brothers, that no dirt defile us, and that we are being honored as the equals of angels, citizens of God's society. Let us not be stained by thoughts of lust and shame. Let not ill temper and envy consume us. Let no wind of conceit and arrogance sweep us away, nor let wrath guide us. Let not cupidity turn our mind towards earthly occupations. Let us pay attention to what the angels said: "Peace on earth for men of good will." Why did they say "peace for men of good will" rather than "peace for those who do good," if not because good deeds cannot exist without good will, and good will is never void of good deeds. Having good will means happily doing every good act that a man should do and wanting to do more (good deeds) than he is capable of. Such people will obtain true peace in God, even if they live in such harsh conditions that they can do only a few good acts. Because: "God judges more your will than your work." Some people seem to be doing good deeds, but do not have peace, and that is because they do not possess true goodwill and only seek earthly rewards for their actions.

"When the angels disappeared from the shepherds," says the Gospel, "they said to one another: 'Let us go to Bethlehem and see the Word that has come to be and that our Lord has made known to us.' Both in words and deeds, the shepherds show us what we should do: go to Bethlehem—to the City of David—in our thoughts and remember the things that happened there at this time (of the year). And therefore they said: 'Let us all go to Bethlehem,' as though they had a long way to go. By saying this, they showed us

what we ought to do. Let us all go there in our thoughts, (let us go) to the heavenly Bethlehem that is the “house of bread,” not (bread) made of human hands, but living bread which descended (to us) from heaven. There we shall find the Lord, not laying in the manger, but commanding the angels. The shepherds went quickly and found Joseph, Mary, and the child in the manger, and (they) understood the word that had been said about this boy. The shepherds found the Lord because they hurried, and they found God’s glory because they did not defer from one day to the other to turn to the Lord, but (willingly) hastened to seek Him. And they found Mary, Joseph, and the child in the manger. Let us read the words of the Gospel with discernment. The shepherds found Joseph and Mary first and *then* the boy. This means that those who look (to understand) God’s will shall first seek the assistance and interception of the saints. Later they will find what they were looking for, (namely) God’s mercy. When we are in the ray of light of God’s mercy, we will understand God’s sign, and we shall tell our neighbors about this mercy so that others may be guided by our example and knowledge, and start praising God. For the Gospel continues thus: “All those who heard it, wondered at the things that had been said.” The shepherds reported what they had seen and heard, and everyone wondered at their words. Learned men shall communicate to people the knowledge that they extract from (holy) books, and people shall carefully safe-guard in their hearts the knowledge that they hear. “And the shepherds returned (to their fields) and praised God for all the things that they had seen and heard.” What does it mean that the shepherds left their flock and went looking for the Lord, that they returned to their flock when they had found Him, if it is not that we should never forget God for the love of our neighbor, nor forget our neighbors for the love of God? The shepherds returned to their flock when they had found the Lord. Likewise, the priests shall not abandon people, although they struggle to understand the mysteries of God. The shepherds returned and praised God for all the things that they had seen and heard. Whoever

understands the signs of God's might shall dedicate to God—and not to himself—everything that he understands and (everything) that he does good. And, good brothers, since we celebrate today the birth of our Lord, Jesus Christ, we shall explain something about this holiday.

It is well known that the first man was created from clean earth, and that he destroyed (in death) both himself and all his kin. Therefore it was appropriate that He who let Himself be born from a pure virgin atoned for the trespasses of the first man, and thereafter led all His kin away from death to life. It is also appropriate that Christ atoned humbly for the sins which Adam committed with arrogance. Old Adam disobeyed God's command and (instead) listened to the devil's temptations, and elevated himself with conceit and (in his folly) wanted to be equal to God. The new Adam, which is Christ, obeyed God the Father, he humiliated himself, appeared in human flesh, and descended from heaven to earth in order to lead Mankind from earth to heaven after they had gone astray (as a result of the first sin). The signs of God's love and humility are evident. Man left God and turned abruptly from him, but God loved Man and came down to him. God loves the sinner and makes him righteous, He loves the sick and heals him, He loves the slave and frees him. He loves (Man) so much that He sold Himself to death so that we may live. And it is well known that time on earth can be divided into three eras: the first time was before the law, the second under the law, and the third (and present), time of mercy.

The time of the law spans from the origin of the world till God gave old Moses the Ten Commandments. The time under the law spans from Moses till the birth of Christ. And the time of mercy is the time from the birth of Christ till the end of the world.

By being born, the Lord showed mercy for all Mankind, those who lived before the law, those who lived under the law, and all those who came into this world after His birth. These three times are represented in the three masses that we celebrate during this

holiday. The Night Mass marks the time we call “before the law,” (the time in which) the mercy of Christ’s birth had not been revealed to the patriarchs. Therefore we sing the Night Mass before the light of day. The Middle Mass is celebrated when day and night meet, because the prophet’s message illuminated the birth of Christ even though he would only come forth later. This Mass belongs to both day and night. The Day Mass marks the time of mercy, as the birth of (our) Lord abruptly expelled the night of bewilderment from the hearts of believers and revealed the eternal light to the righteous. As the Psalmist said: “Unto the upright there arises a light in the darkness, the merciful and righteous Lord.” So let us glorify, then, good brothers and sisters, the signs of our restitution with an unsullied mind, and let us praise the Lord for all His merciful accomplishments. Let us love our Lord Jesus Christ, born into human flesh so that we can recognize Him as the king of glory, living in and ruling over His kingdom forever. AMEN.

Visio Sancti Pauli

There are many versions of this popular visionary text, some featuring the apostle Paul, some featuring other known personalities, such as the *Visio Philiberti* and the *Visio Bernardi*. The *Visio* exists in both shorter and longer versions and is representative of a medieval tradition of anonymous mystical material. The Latin text in its earliest form dates back to the 3rd century. Originally composed in Greek, it was translated into Latin in the 6th century and was widely disseminated throughout Christianity. During the Middle Ages, it was translated into a number of vernaculars, and also into Old Norse. Two distinct Old Norse versions have been preserved—AM 619, 4^o and AM 624, 4^o—and I have included both in this survey. Brandes reproduces two Latin texts, whereof the second is the more known and disseminated version of the *Visio sancti Pauli*. The *Visio*—in essence a dialogue between Paul and the archangel Michael on the various aspects of the Apocalypse—is in many ways related to a number of medieval dialogues between the body and the soul, to a medieval tradition of mystical writing.

The visionary literature aimed primarily at inciting faithful Christians to greater virtue and piety. The dreamer in *Visio sancti Pauli*, falls into an “unnatural” slumber on Saturday night—the night when one used to believe that the soul was able to leave the body temporarily—to wake up much later to tell of his journey through Hell, purgatory and back, and to warn people of the dangers ahead if they did not conform to the prescriptions of God (i.e. the Church). The theme of the visionary’s travel down to the underworld and back was also used by Dante (1265-1321) in *La divina commedia*. In Europe, the visionary genre was thus a common literary form of expression.

The Latin Text

The following medieval Latin text has been extracted from Brandes, Herman (885) *Visio S. Pauli: ein Beitrag zur visionslitteratur, mit einem deutschen und zwei lateinischen Texten*. Halle: M. Neidermeyer, pp. 75–80.

Dies dominicus dies est electus, in quo gaudent angeli et archangeli maior diebus ceteris. Interrogandum est, quis primus rogaverit Deum, ut anime habeant requiem in penis inferni. Id est beatus apostolus Paulus et Michahel archangelus, quando iverunt ad infernum, quia Deus voluit, ut Paulus videret penas inferni. Vidit vero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas et peccatores cruciatos et suspensos in eis. Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachiis. Et iterum vidit fornacem ignis ardentem per septem flammis in diversis coloribus, et puniebantur in eo peccatores. Et septem plage erant in circuitu eius: prima nix, secunda glacies, tertia ignis, quarta sanguis, quinta serpens, sexta fulgur, septima fetor. Et in illa anime peccatorum puniuntur, qui non egerunt penitentiam post peccata commissa in hoc mundo. Ibi cruciantur et recipiunt omnes secundum opera sua. Et alii flent, alii ululant, alii gement, alii ardent et querunt mortem, quam non inveniunt, quia anime non possunt mori. Timendus est nobis locus inferni, in quo est tristitia sine leticia, in quo est dolor sempiternus, in quo est gemitus cordis, in quo est bargidium magnum, in quo est habundancia lacrimarum, cruciatio et dolor animarum, in quo est rota ignea habens mille orbitas. Mille vicibus uno die ab angelo tartareo volvitur, et in unaquaque vice mille anime cruciantur in ea. Postea vidit flumen orribile, in quo multe bestie dyabolice erant quasi pisces in medio maris, que animas peccatrices devorant sine ulla misericordia quasi lupi devorant oves. Et desuper illud flumen est pons, per quem transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitatione, et multe peccatrices anime merguntur unaquaque secundum meritum suum. Ibi sunt multe bestie dyabolice multeque mansiones male preparate, sicut dicit dominus in ewangelio: *Ligate*

eos per fasciculos ad comburendum; id est similes cum similibus, adulteros cum adulteris, rapaces cum rapacibus, iniquos cum iniquis. Tantum vero potest quisque per pontem illum ire quantum habet meritum. Ibi vidit Paulus multas animas dimersas, alie usque ad genua, alie usque ad umbilicum, alie usque ad labia, alie usque ad supercilia, et perhenniter cruciantur. Et flevit Paulus et suspiravit et interrogavit angelum: Qui essent dimersi usque ad genua? Cui angelus dixit: Qui se mittunt in sermonibus alienis aliis detrahentes. – Alii dimersi sunt usque ad umbilicum? – Hi sunt fornicatores et adulterantes, qui postea non recordantur venire ad penitenciam. – Alii mersi usque ad labia? – Hi sunt, qui lites faciunt inter se (et) in ecclesia non audientes verbum dei. – Alii usque ad supercilia? – Hi sunt, qui gaudent de malitia proximi sui. Et flevit Paulus et dixit: Ve his, quibus preparantur tante pene! Deinde vidit alium locum tenebrosum plenum viris ac mulieribus comedentes linguas suas. De quibus ait angelus: Hi sunt feneratores pecuniarum, qui usuras querunt et non sunt misericordes. Propterea sunt in hac pena. Et vidit alium locum, in quo omnes pene erant, erantque ibi puellae nigrae habentes vestimenta nigra, indute pice et sulfure et dracones igneos et serpentes atque vipere circa colla sua. Et erant .iiij. angeli maligni increpantes eas habentes cornua ignea, qui ibant in circuitu earum, dicentes: Agnoscite filium dei, qui mundum redemit. Et interrogavit Paulus, quae essent. Tunc sic respondit angelus: He sunt, quae non servaverunt castitatem usque ad nuptias et maculate necaverunt infantes suos et in escam porcis et canibus dederunt et in fluminibus vel aliis perdicionibus proiecerunt et postea penitenciam non fecerunt. Post hoc vidit viros ac mulieres in loco glaciali, et ignis urebat de media parte et de media frigebat. Hi erant, qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt. Postea vidit viros ac mulieres super canelia ampnis et fructus ante illos erant. Quibus non licebat aliquit sumere ex eis. Hi erant, qui solvunt ieiunium ante tempus. Mox vidit in alio loco unum senem inter .iiij. dyabolos plorantem et ullulantem. Et interrogavit Paulus, quis esset. Dixitque angelus: Episcopus negligens fuit; non custodivit legem dei, non fuit castus de corpore vel de verbo nec cogitatione vel opere, sed fuit avarus et

dolosus atque superbus. Ideo sustinet innumerabiles penas usque in diem iudicii. Et flevit Paulus. Et dixit ei angelus: Quare ploras, Paule? Nondum vidisti maiores penas inferni. Et ostendit illi puteum signatum .vij. sigillis et ait illi: Sta longe, ut possis sustinere fetorem hunc. Et aperto ore putei surrexit fetor malus et durus superans omnes penas inferni. Et dixit angelus: Si quis mittatur in hoc puteo, non fiet commemoracio eius in conspectu domini. Et dixit Paulus: Qui sunt hi, domine, qui mittuntur in eo? Et dixit angelus: Qui non credunt, filium dei Christum venisse in carnem nec nasci ex Maria virgine et non baptizati sunt nec communicati corpore et sanguine Christi. Et vidit in alio loco viros ac mulieres et vermes et serpentes comedentes eos. Et erat anima una super alteram quasi oves in ovili. Et erat profunditas eius quasi de terra ad celum. Et audivit gemitum et suspirium magnum quasi tonitruum. Et postea aspexit in celum a terra ac vidit animam peccatoris inter dyabolos .vij., quum ululantem deducebant eo die de corpore. Et clamaverunt angeli dei contra eam dicentes: Ve, ve, misera anima, que operata es in terra? Dixerunt ad invicem: Vide istam animam, quomodo contempsit in terra mandata dei. Mox illa legit cartam suam, in qua erant peccata sua, et se ipsam iudicavit. Tunc eam demones susceperunt mittentes in tenebras exteriores. Ibi erit fletus et stridor dencium. Et dixit ei angelus: Credis et agnoscis, quia sicut homo fecerit sic accipiet? Post hoc in uno momento adduxerunt angeli animam iustam de corpore portantes ad celum. Et audivit vocem milium angelorum letancium ac dicencium: O anima leta, felicissima, o beata, letare, quia fecisti voluntatem dei tui. Deinde dixerunt hoc simul: Levate eam ante Deum et ipsa leget opera sua bona. Postea Michahel collocavit eam in paradiso, ubi erant omnes sancti. Et clamor factus est contra animam iustam, quasi celum et terra commoverentur. Et exclamaverunt peccatores, qui erant in penis, dicentes: Miserere nobis, Michahel archangele, ac tu, Paule, dilectissime Dei, intercedite pro nobis ad dominum. Quibus sic ait angelus: Flete et flebo vobiscum et Paulus fleat, ut, si forte misereatur vestri, oremus, ut vobis donet misericors Deus aliquid refrigerium. Audientes hoc, qui erant in penis, exclamaverunt una voce et

Michahel archangelus et Paulus apostolus et milia milium angelorum. Tunc audito sono eorum in quarto celo dicencium: *Miserere, Christe, filiis hominum*. Deus descendit de celo et dyadema in capite eius. Quem ita deprecantur, qui in inferno erant, una voce dicentes: *Miserere nobis, fili Davit excelsi*. Et vox filii Dei audita est per omnes penas: *Quit boni fecistis? Quare postulatis a me requiem? Ego crucifixus fui pro vobis. lancea perforatus, clavis confixus, acetum cum felle mixtum dedistis mihi in potum. Ego pro vobis me ipsum in martirio dedi, ut vinceretis mecum. Sed vos fuistis fures et avari et invidiosi, superbi et maledicti, nec ullum bonum egistis nec penitenciam nec ieiunium nec elemosinam, sed mendaces fuistis in vita vestra*. Post hoc prostravit se Michahel et Paulus et angelorum milia milium ante filium Dei, ut requiem haberent die dominico omnes, qui erant in inferno. Et ait Dominus: *Propter Michahelem et Paulum et angelos meos et bonitatem meam maxime dono vobis requiem ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima hora secunde ferie*. Mestus ergo hostiarius baratri, cui nomen canis est Cerberus; eternaliter elevavit caput suum tristis super omnes penas. Vere letati sunt omnes, qui cruciabantur ibi, ac clamaverunt dicentes: *Benedicimus te, fili Davit excelsi, qui donasti nobis refrigerium in spacio unius diei et noctis. Nam plus est nobis remedium huius diei et noctis quam totum tempus vite, quod consumptum est super terram*. Ideo qui custodierunt ipsum sanctum diem dominicum, habeant partem cum angelis dei. Et interrogavit Paulus angelum: *Quot pene sint in inferno*. Cui ait angelus: *Sunt pene .c.xliiij. milia, et si essent .c. viri loquentes ab inicio mundi et unusquisque .c.iiij. linguas ferreas haberent, non possent dinumerare penas inferni*. Nos vero, karissimi fratres, audientes ista mala convertamur ad dominum, ut regnemus cum ipso et vivamus in secula seculorum. Amen.

Un samedi par nuit or La descente de saint Paul en enfer

It has been suggested that the (anonymous) French visionary poem known as *Un Samedi par nuit* may have been one of the immediate sources to the Old Norse versions

of *Visio sancti Pauli*. The *visio* was translated into many vernaculars in the Middle Ages, and also into Old Norse. The French poem reproduced below is found in manuscript No. 815—dating back to the 14th century (originally preserved at Toulouse Public Library)—in which it appears in the last four folios. How old the poem is remains uncertain, but the surviving manuscript is the work of one single scribe, and the language reflects the spoken (somewhat degenerate) vulgar French of 14th century England, and not the more acceptable language spoken at the French court. Nevertheless, the exact geographical origin has not been identified.

The vernacular versions of the *visio* became popular reading. In view of the close ties to both Anglo-Norman England and the continental French territories, the manifest interest for literature from the French territories in medieval Norway, and the fact that *Un samedi par nuit* follows the Latin text quite closely, I have included this text as one of the many sources which inspired the author of the Old Norse text as it appears in *Humiliúbók* (Codex AM 619, 4^o). The French poem can be found in P. Meyer's article in *Romania* 1895, pp. 365-375.

Un samedi par nuit

Oyez qe jeo treve en escrit
Des peines qe seint Poul vit.
Les almes unt repos al dimayne,
Car [le] livere prent a temoyne;
Et si vous voillez de voir savoir
Qui fist almes repos avoir,
Jeo vous dirrai en parole:
Ceo fut seint Michel e seint Poul,
Car Deu moustra a ces turmenz

K'en enfern seufrent les dolenz;
Pur ceo qe les ama a volenté
Les peines d'enfern l'ad moustré.
Mettez entente, jeo vous pri,
Tut sanz priere si frez, jeo qui.
Quant vous les orrés counter
N'i ad tel que ne dust plurer.
Oiez les peines qe jeo moustrai,
E pur vour garnir les vous dirrai.
Ore fet seint Michel: "Poul, veiez;
Les peines d'enfern ore entendez."
Devaunt la porte vit arbres ardanz
E sur eus peccheurs pendre pluranz,
Les uns par les meins, autres par les piez,
Acuns par les chevus, acuns par les niez
Uns par les langes, uns par les oiez,
Plusurs par les bras furent pendez.

Après s'en alerent plus avant.
Lors vit Poul un furn ardent;
La flanme qe issit fut set colurs;
Illuk arderent les peccheours.
Checune peine par diverse manere.
Neif esteit la peine premiere,
La secunde fust flanme de feu
La tierce un horrible serpent fu,

La quarte sanc, la quinte glace:
N'i out nul qe haite sa face.
La syme peine foudre estoit,
La setyme fume qe mult puoit.
Ffet seint Poul: "Qi sunt iceles
Qe tanz peines seuffrent eles?"
Seint Michel respund" "Jeo vous dirrai,
Car les peccheours garnir voderai:
Ceus qe mourrunt sanz repentaunce,
E de lour oevres ne firent penaunce,
Illuk arderunt dolorousement,
Plurent cremerunt sanz sessement.
Mort desirent, mès nul ne finira,
Car alme morir ne purra."

Pus vit un fluvie horrible a ver,
Debles cum pessons en moer
Devoranz almes k'en l'ewe erent,
Cum leons berbiz estranglerent;
Sur un pount outre la fluvie passerent.
Les almes qe dreture[l]s erent
L'alme outrepasser poiei[en]t,
Si cum deservi avei[en]t.
La vit Poul almes turmentez:
Les uns as genuls furent plungés,
Les uns al ventre, les uns a umbils,

Les uns furent dekes a sorsils.

Seint [Poul] en plure mult tendrement,

E demaund l'angel mult faitement:

“Dite, Michel, ne le celez nient,

Pur quei sunt eus plungez diversement?”

Jeo vus dirrai queus ces sunt :

“Ces ke a genoil en l'ewe estunt

Envie e tricherie ceus amerent,

Et sur lour preomes⁴³⁶ mal parlerent,

E de ceo ne pristerent confessioun.

Pur ceo unt tele dampnacioun.

Ces ke a les levres veiés plunger

En les eglises volient tencer,

E quant relement furent as eglises,

Unkes ne atendirent a Deu servises,

Ne a Deu [ne] tendrent nul pleit,

Mès a fable tut ke le prestre chanteit.

Ceus qe a sorsil sunt aval

Sunt qi virent lor proemes aver mal,

Mult furent joios en corage

Quant les virent aver damage.”

”Mar,” fet seint Poul, “fur eus neez

A qi ce turmens sunt aparileez!”

436 Proemes = proches.

De illuk fu mené en autre lus,
En un oscur leu e tenebrus.
Illuke vit hommes e femmes plusurs
Mangans lor langes en grant dolurs.
Tus iceus furent usurers
Ki pristerent a gable lur deners;
Nuls ne pristerent si non pur quei;
Pur ceo merci ne averunt en sei.

Pus vit un leu mult tenebrus;
En lui furent hommes plusurs.
Illek femmes eschiverent dedenz.
Vestues furent de neir vestemenz;
De piz e de foudre furent medlez
E en granr feu estoient liez.
Dragons e crapons les agregeient,
E plusurs serpens sur eus pendeient,
E quatre diables les avironeient.
Un ardant bastoun checun porteient;
Checun de eus ferement crieit
E maldist Deu qi le monde feseit.

Seint Poul demand qi ceus erent
Ke si dolerousement waimenterent.
Li angel respund mult faitement:

“Ceus perderunt lur virginement;
Lur cors despenderent en putage
E en tricherie trestut lur age;
Ne atendent qe espousés erent,
Mès de Deu sei aloynnerent,
Lour enfans a pors jetterent
E chiens, e en ewe les neierent.
De ceo ne voillent penaunce fere;
Pur ceo lour covint tel doil trere.”

Pus vit un leu mult glacial
O merveilleouse peine e mal;
De l’un part ardant estoit,
D’autre part ardant estoit.
“Ceo ke tu veies en ces turmenz
Mal fierent a totes genz,
Car a mal fere ceo acoustumerent
E de nul homme pité ne averent.
Iceus sur la reo mys sunt,
Freid a chaud graunt seuffrunt.
Mil foiz les diables la reo turnerent;
De freit e de chaud peinés erent.”

Entre vous, riches, bien dymez,
De seint Eglise rien ne tolez,
Ke dues sunt a Deu rendez,

E vos feirez bien gardez.
Pus fut il mené maintenant
A un leu orrible e mult graunt.
La vit un peccheour waimentant;
Entre quatre diables dut seiant.
“Les comendemens Deu ne vout garder
Ne de Deu ne vout unkes penser.
Il ne estoit chaste de son cors
Ne de pensés ne de parols;
Orgoillous estoit e avers,
Ensement estoit grant trichers;
Pur ceo fut pené en ceste manere.
Car sa peine estoit mult fere.”
Seint Poul plura mult tendrement
E li angel respondit mult faitement:
Uncore n’as veü le granz turmentz
K’en enfern seuffrent les dolenz.”

Dunkes un peut li moustreit
Ke large e parfund estoit,
Qe de seet seals fut enselé
E de granz barres fut fermé.
Seint Poul de loins sei reteneit
Pur la pouour ke de illek munteit.
“Mar,” fet seint Poul, “furent il neez
Ke en ceste leu erent penez!”

Dunt dist li angel: "Poul, vous di
Ceux ke plungés erent ici,
Tank cum le secle pur[ra] durer,
Merci de Deu ne purrunt aver."
"Queus sunt ceus e dites, pur Dieu!"
"Ces sunt le paiens e li Judeu
Ke ne creirent pas ke Deus
De la douce virgine fu neez.
Baptême n'urent ne crestienté,
Ne del cors Jhesu furent acuminé.
Pur ceo sunt en cest turment
E dampnez ici perpetuelement."

Pus vit il hommes e femes ou erent,
... (texte manquant) ...
Les queus vermes les penetrent
Et grantz serpens les decirrerent.
Checun alme sur autre seiet,
Checun autre trop presseit.
Ou parfund furent il mis
Si cum de ciel en tere, li fut a vis.
La vit seint Poul estrange doil fere,
Crier, braier cum tonere.

Pus vit seet diable amunt
Ke un alme peccheresse unt.

Icel jour de sun corps pris estoit,
Criant, waimentant, deol fesoit.
Les anges crierent a la cheitive:
“Alas! Ke fiz tu en ta vie?
Ores en peines tu irras
E jammès de illik ne repeieras:
Les comandemens Deu ne gardas;
Ore est tun cri: Alas! Alas!”
La chartre de ses pecche[z] li fu baillé.
Il les vit, e sei mesme ad jugé.
Les diables le pristerent erraument,
En peines la mistrent a son jugement.

Pus est seint Poul amunt gardant;
Les anges vist em l’eir volant
Ki porterent vers le ciel
L’alme de un dreiturel.
Plus de mil anges encountre li
Vindrent a joie, disant ici:
“Tu, seint alme, par es benuré;
En grant joie ers demené.
Tu gardas les precepts Jhesu Crist.”
La chartre le baillant; ces fèz list;
Ces bons fèz pus ad lu,
Par unt en ciel est sun leu.
Lors seint Michel en paraïs

Les mist od les Deu amys.

Les peccheours d'enfern ceo veient,

E[n] haut criant, e diseient:

“Michel e seint Poul, amys Jhesu,

Requerez Deu pur nostre salu.

Priez pur nous ensemblement

Ke de nos penes faces aleggement.”

Michel repund mult faitement:

“Plurez touz e criez ensement,

E Poul od nous plur[r]a; si saverom

Si Deu veut fere acun pardoun.”

Quant ceo oierent k'en peines erent,

Touz en haut ensemble crierent.

Michel e seint Poul crierent hautement

E mil milliers des anges ensement.

Dunke le cri al quarte ciel fut oï:

“Jhesu, le fiz Deu, de nous eiez merci.”

Pus est Deu de ciel descenduz;

E quant ceus en peine il unt veüz:

“Merci, douce sire, nous vous prioms,

Car grant mester nous en avoms.”

Dunke fut la vois Deu oïe:

“Qe feistes pur moi en vostre vie?

A quei crïez ore merci

Quant nul[e] n'avez deservi?"
 "Michel," dit Poul, "dites moi
 Queus sunt ces homes qi jeo voi ?"
 "Oiez," fet il, "de celes gens
 Pur quei il seuffrunt teus turmens
 En seint eglise furent ordinez
 Prestres a servir Dampnedeez,
 Mès de matyn n'av[e]ient cure,
 Amerent folie e demesure;
 Messes ne voilleient unkes chanter,
 Meuz voleient en pareïs muser.
 Nel di jeo pur esclaundre:
 Meuz voleient en chambre
 Ove les dames foulement juer;
 Pur ceo reseyvent il tel luer."
 Dieu qe de ci[e]l descendu estoit
 A touz iceus dolens dunkes disoit:
 "Les costés percés pur vous avoi,
 E vous ne festes unkes pur moi.
 Eisel me donastes pur estancher mon soy,
 Mès tele guster ne porroy.
 Pur vous avoi les meins liez
 E les pes e meins a fust fichez.
 Avers vous fustes e envyous,
 Lecchers, medïanz e orgoillous,
 Larons, robbeours e trichers,

Ffaus jurours, persouz e pecchers.
Trestut festes ke la char voleit;
Pur ceo est trestut dreit
Ke vous en peine demergez.
E pardoun jammès ne eiez.”
Michel e Poul dunkes enclinerent
E mil mil angles qe illek erent
Devant le fiz Deu aourerent,
E umblement a li tous prierent
Ke le dimenge urent les armes repos
K’en enfern esteient clos.
Dunkes li haut roi de merci
A eus trestuz parlad ici:
“Ne mie seulement pur Michel,
Ne pur Poul mon elit e Gabriel,
Ne pur touz mes freire que en terre sunt,
Ke pur vifs e mors oblacions funt,
Mès seulement pur ma benigneté,
Ma misericorde e ma pité,
Jeo engranterai aleggement
A trestouz qe sunt en turment,
Del heure de noune, le samadi,
Deskes al prime heure en lundì,
Ke il averunt touz aleggement
De lur peines e lur turment.”
Dunt celi mult tres benuré serra

Ke bien le dimeinge gardera.

Kant les diebles ceo entenderent

Ke les cheitifs almes turmenterent

(The end is missing from the manuscript)

Visio sancti Pauli (AM 624, 4°)

The following text has been copied from Tveitane, Mattias (1965) *En norrøn version av Visio Pauli* (AM 624, 4°). Bergen/Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 8-13. I have added quotation marks to indicate direct speech.

This Old Norse version of a text entitled *Visio sancti Pauli* has been transmitted in conjunction with another medieval visionary text, the *Visio Tnugdali*. The most complete Old Norse version of this *Visio* is found in AM 624, 4°, a rather complete manuscript of which only a minor part of the beginning is missing. The Old Norse text follows the Latin Brandes version quite closely, starting at *et desuper illud flumen est pons, per quem transeunt anime iuste...*

The Old Norse *Visio sancti Pauli*

... aana ok ganga þar yfer godra manna saaler aan allri hræzlu, enn syndogra manna saaler ganga miog hræddar, ok s(ko)lu þær af falla brwne. ok ganga sumar. leing[ra] enn sumar skemmra ok s(ka)l j þeirre aa brenna sem j elde likur meður likum enn illr meður jllum. [Su]mer standa til j þeirre aa til nafla eda til knia sumer under hendr, sumer under hauko sumer til uarra enn sumer til brwna ok huern dag ero þeir eilijfliga pijnder. Þa komz paal p(osto)li vid ok klauck uesauld þeirra ok eynd ok spurde eingill hueriu þetta gegndi eda sætti. enn eingell sagdi honum: “Þeir menn sem standa til kni[a] ero þeir sem baak-maaluger woro ok gott þotti margt at mæla wm adra

munnskvalldur ok [o]hlíðon giordo j kirkiu þa er enn helga messa var sungin, enn þeir menn er til nafla standa woro hord[omsmenn] ok aatu ofmicit ok drucku ok eigi uilldo lata hungra sic firi guds saker. Enn þeir er under hendr standa ræntu ok staalu jafn kristna sier, enn þeir er under hauko standa suikia annan til lijfs ok fiar. enn þeir er til munnz standa lifdi efter munadar rade ok ei þyrmdo fodr ok modur j illum ordum ok firilietu guds ord ok helga trw. enn þeir til brwna standa baurdo fodr sinn ok moodr ok sooro eida raanga ok myrto menn til fiar sier ok toko fie illa edr ræntu kirkiur ok eigi uilldu firigefa odrom ok eigi uilldu til skriftar ganga nie yf[irb]æta.

Þuij nest komo þau i þann stad er [menn] aatu twngar sijnar. Þesser eru þeir sagdi eingell er selldu aar leigu ord sijn ok toko uid mwtum ok uoro omyskunnsamer uit þurfamenn, blotrijfer ok gaudrijfer eru. nu komo þeir j þann stad er konur ungar ok margar uoro. Þær uoro i bikod[om kyrt]lum, brunno þær jnnan enn fruso utan. ormar ok pauddor hrauhto ok [. . .] sarliga, enn fiandur staungodo þær med spiotum enn sumer baurdo med uaundum. Þa spurdi pall p(osto)li huat þær hofdu giort til sua micilla pijsla, ei[n]gellsuar(rar) honum : “Þessar saurgodoz under frændur sijna ok giordu hordom under bændr sijna, ok drapu aa laun baurn sijn ok þær konur er fie toko a sier, þad woro pwtor ok eigi idroduz firi daudan. Þa komo þeir j þann stad er menn aatu froska pauddr ok naudror ok allzkyns kuikendi. Þa spurdi pall p(osto)li huat þær hofdo giort. Þa suaradi eingell: “Þesser menn aatu ok drucku aa haatijðum ok satu j maurgum dryckium ok uilldu eigi hlyda þa er enn helga messa war swngin ok uilldu eigi fasta ok uoro offaster af fie sijno wit fataeka menn ok helga stade.

Þa gengo þau enn ok fundu hus micit ok sau j þui menn marga ok alla nockta ok woro sumt konur enn swmt karlmenn ok uoro jlla pijnder af froste ok elldi. P(aul)us spyr: “huat giordo þesser menn til sua micilla pijsla? Eingell sua(rar): “Þesser menn uilldo eigi gefva firi gud saker klædi nie skuo ok eigi mat nie dryck ok lietuz eigi siaa nie uita uesauld nie eymd fataekra manna f[au]durlausra barna, eckna ok kuenna

forstaudolausra ok ecki uilldo hialpa frændum sijnum ok uisudo wr herbergium sijnum turfamonnum.

Þa komo þeir j þann stad er madur stod uid stiku ok twnga hans dreigen wt ok inn um kuerkr honum ok negld uit stikuna ok stodu uid fiandr ok baurdo, hana medur iarnuolum. Þal spurdi p(osto)linn þui sia madur þoldi sua micla pijno. eingell suar(ar): “Þesse madurinn ok huerr annara er sua eru pijnder woro jller j tungu, um baru skiott uitne ok þeir er þui oollo er frændur urdo fiandmenn, ok uiner [hro]parar (?) uoro af hans rog[i] ok margyrdum, ok sua gramde hann gud att sier med sinne twngo, þar er hann soor oosæra eida ok m(æ)l(t)i uid fodr sinn ok modur, brædr ok systur eda presta eda kennimenn þa er messor syngia ok foro med lygi ok lausung manna j millum. enn komo þeir i þann st[ad er] menn uoro grafner j iord nidr under hendr ok war lagdr aa herdar þeim endr ok aa [k]etill ok woro þar i saaler kristinna manna ok wall sem maatte. Þa s(pyrr) pall p(osto)li huad þesser menn hefdi giort. eing[e]ll sua(rar): “Þeir woro drottins suikarar, ræntu heilaga kirkiu, drapu b(ysku)pa ok lærda menn adra ok baurdo faudr ok modr, baurn eda syskin eda skynda fræ[n]dur ok foro med galldra ok giornijngar eda firigiordo monnum eda bwfie af fiandans krafte. Þa m(æ)l(t)i pa(II) p(ostoli): “Uei uei ydr syndogum monnum: oosyniu uoro þier borner i heimen.” þa suaradi eingell: “Þui lætr þu sua aumliga att þessara manna saalum ok pijslum: eigi hefer þu enn sied þeira manna pijsler er mestar eru i heluijti.”

Þa leidde han p(osto)lan at siaa einn brunn med vij innseglum. Þa m(æ)l(t)i eing[e]ll uid p(osto)lan at han skyldi standa langt fra att hann mætti standaz þa enu miclu oopefan er þadann laust wr þeim enum fwla brunne. enn wr þessum enum fwlla pytt ok illa þa laust sua illum þef at hann uar uerre enn allar adrar heluijtis kualer. ok enn sagdi eingell sua att huerr þeirra er j þenna pytt fellr saal aa alldri uon til guds. Þa sua(rar) p(all) p(osto)li: “Huerir eru þeir er sua eru aumer.” mich(ael) eingell sua(rar): “Þeir sem eigi uilldo trw aa gud almattigan ok þeir sem taulodu lygi att gud uæri fader

ok s(on)r ok heilagur ande, ok þui at hann sie af helgum anda ok borinn af mariu meyio ok ei trwdo bwrð kristz nie upprisú hans, ok þui at hann uæri krossfestur ok þeir er toko uid trw ok kristne ok hiełldu eigi sijðan, ok eigi uilldo taka holld ok blod drottins uors ihesu christi ok eigi uilldu til skriftar ganga. nu komo þeir j þann stad er uoro konor ok karlar ok þoldu illar pijsler, æptu sem hæst ok hofdo micla raudð ok hræðiliga, ok war þar leidiligur krytur ok gratr, op ok gabb ok gnistann tanna. Þeir menn uoro brender aa baale ok sinndranda griote, ok aumliga uellder ok barder med sleggium, enn suma rijfu wargar ok hundar j sundur, en suma hiuggo ormar ok naudror ok sua illa kualdar att það fær einge talid nie tint mannligri twngo at eij þylde það folk fleira ok uerra ok woro þær saaler j sua diupum stad sem er j mine [h]imens [ok] jardar, ok sagði eingell at það uoro bannsetter menn þeir sem gud pijsdo ok j hofuðsyndum ok j glæpum uoro ok uilldu eigi aflata nie yferbæta nie sættaz uitt gud, ok þeir er aurvilnaudoz guds myskunnar ok alldri uilldo firigefa audrum misgiorder.

[O]k þa saa p(osto)linn borna saal syndogs mannz til heluijtis ok fylgdo vij einglar fiandans ok foro med hana jlla ok baurdo hana ok brugdo brixlom ok m(æl)l(t)o sua uit hana: uei uerde þier syndlog sala, aum ok uesaul ertu. aa uorar fortaulor hlydder þu þier miog oohagligar ok eigi giorder þu þurfter þijnar medan þu maatter biarga þier hier j u[er]olldinne. Þa saa hann adra saal borna tjł himinrikis ok fylgdo henne vij einglar guds med miclum saung ok dyrdligri raudð ok ooumræðiligum fagnadi ok gledi ok m(æl)l(t)o þeir uit saalina: “Gledz þu enn helga þui at þu gerder þijns drottins uilia ok alldri sk(an)tu þijna samuist uid hann skilia. Þui at þu skilder likam þinn fra maurgo, þui er honum þotti gott att hafa ok giorder það firi guds saker þess sk(all)tu nw niota ok taka þa sælu aa moti er einge kann fra att seigia ok er sw sæla endalaus. Þaa æptu syndogra manna saler er i heluijti woro med aumligri rauddo ok m(æl)l(t)u sua: “Myskunna myskunna.” Michaell ok pall p(osto)li heyrdó til huersu aumliga þessar saler gretu ok bado. sijðan badu þær þessum ordum: “Michael ok Pall p(osto)li, myskunna myskunna

guds uestligum saalum ok ueit þeim nockra hialp ok myskun. ok þa suarar drottinlig
raudd sua mælandi: “Ek uar krossfestr firi ydrar saker ok ek uar þremr nauglum negldur.
mier uar gefit eitur at drecka, ok ek þoldi haduligar hrakningar ok [uard] uid uerde
selldur. sijdan þoldi ek drap ok dauda firi ydur att þier skylldot uera med mier j eilijfum
fagnadi. Enn þier lietud j moti koma lygi ok lausung dramb ok manndrap ok aagirne ok
aufond, skraukuitne ok munneida hordom ok lostaseme, hlaatur ok skelke ofaat ok
ofdryckiu, lete ok lijkams munod, mikelæti, blot ok bann ok wmyskunnseme uidr þer
ydar þurfto. Þier fostodud jlla minn pijslardag ok hielldut illa heilagt minn upprisudag,
enn helga drottins dag. ek liedu ydr allt þad er þier þurftod att hafa, enn þier uilldot ecki
gefa til minna þacka huorki mat nie dryck. ouerdogur er saa at þiggia myskunnina
seiger bokin er aungva uill audrum ueita, þa uard illur rytur i þeim uestaulum saalum ok
baadu enn myskunnar.

Þa suarade guds raudd ok m(æ)l(t)i: “Firi mijna micla myskun ok bænn Michael
eingels ok Pals p(osto)la, þa gef ek ydr huijld fra noni laugardagsins ok til fyrsto tijdar
maanudags. Þa glaudozt allar kristnar saaler uit þa giof, enn þær hinar uestlaugo saler
hrygdoz uid þa giof ok huijld er aungva uon aattu til guds. enn m(æ)l(t)u kristnar saler:
“Blezadur siertu guds [sonr] er þu gaft oss huilld þessa. er oss ok meiri huijld at þessum
helgum dægum enn at ollom daugum lijfs uors nw mæler sua bokin af guds ordum:
“Saa er helldur uel hinn helga drott ins dag ok hinn helga pijslar dag uors herra ihesu
christi ok gengur riettiliga til skrifta, hann s(ka)l riettliga med gudi uera utan enda.

Pall p(osto)li spurdi eingell: “Huersu margar pijsler woro j heluijte.” Eingell

suarar: “Þo at uæri hundrad tungna ok uær aurtalin. Þa uinnaz þær eigi til at telia
allar pijsler er i heluijte eru. ok þær saumo twngur uæri fyrr mæddar maadar ok moodar
enn fiengi talt alla þa hluti gæzsku ok sælu er med gudi eru j himnum ok hans helgum
monnum.” Nw hofum wier heyrte huersu micit skilr eilijfa sælu ok eilijfa kuau. giorum
sem dauid seiger j psalltarnum: *Declina a malo et fac bonum*. Laatum af jllu ok giorum

gott. Þa eigum uier uist hia kriste ok erum þa wid skillder þessar piisler sem nu hefer werit fra sagt ok saa er æ sæll er þar s(ka)l blijfa ok wera. Nw gerum af þui þaurf wora ok naudsyn ok latum eigi ganga aa oss oorækt ok hirtunarleysi sem flesta menn tæler þa hina litlu stund er uier erum hier j heime. Nw eigum uier sua at gera sem uier uilium þessa hina litlu stund att uier sewm utan enda sæler med gudi. Þad uill hann ok hans helger menn, *per omnia secula seculorum*. Amen

English Translation

... And the souls of God's good men went over fearlessly, whereas the souls of sinful men crossed with much fear, and some fell into the flames. Some went far and some went a shorter distance, but they shall all burn in the river of flames, the likeable with the likeable, the wicked with the wicked. Some stand in the river up to the navel, some to the knees, others to the arms, others again up to the chin, some to the lips, some to the eyebrows, and every day they suffer intolerable pain. Then (one day) Paul the Apostle came by and was moved by their misery and misfortune and asked the angel who these people were. The angel answered: "The men who stand in the river (of flames) up to their knees are those who spoke ill about other behind their backs, and who only sought to talk about gossip and who made much noise in church when the holy Mass was celebrated. And the people who are in up to their navel were men who delighted in harlotry, who ate and drank too much, and who never were hungry for the sake of God. Those who are in up to their arms, are men who robbed and stole from other Christians, and those who have the flames up to their chin are the ones who betrayed others (or life and) money. Those who are in up to their mouth are those who lived according to the advice of desire and who in their words had no respect for their father and mother and who showed no esteem for the word of God or the holy faith. Those who are in to the brows are the ones who stood firmly against their parents,

swore falsely and killed men for money, took bad money, or robbed churches, never wanted to forgive others, and who never confessed and never wanted to do penitence.”

Then they arrived in a place where men ate their own tongues. About these, the angel said that they sold or lent their words and accepted bribes and were merciless with people in need, carried out pagan sacrifices and had a foul language. Next they came to a place with women, children and many other people dressed in black robes, burning hot on inside, and freezing cold on the outside, chased by toads and serpents [...] and pain, and enemies stabbed them with their spears, others were beaten savagely. Paul the Apostle asked what these people had done to deserve so much suffering. The angel answered: “These people defiled their friends and family and committed harlotry while praying, they killed their own children for (the sake of) money. The wives that they took were prostitutes and they never feared death.” Then they came to a place where men ate frogs, toads, serpents and all sorts of living animals. Paul the Apostle asked what they had done. And the angel answered: “These men ate and drank during the holidays and went to drinking parties and would not listen when Mass was celebrated and would not fast and were eating before poor people in church.

They went further ahead and saw a large house and saw in it many wealthy people, some women and some men who were badly suffering by fire and ice. Paul asked: “What made them deserve so much pain?” The angel answered: “These men would not, for the sake of God, give clothes, shoes, nor food and drink, and would not see or hear about (the plight of) poor people. They had no pity for the children of the poor, widows or women without guardians, and would not help their friends and family nor give them shelter for a night.”

Then they came to a place where men were tied to poles and their tongues were forced up and down their throats, their nails were pulled out, and they stood by the Enemy (the Devil) who transpierced them with an iron rod. Paul asked why these men

suffered so much pain. The angel answered: "These men and all the others who are punished in this way all had bad tongues, spreading rumors about and slandering family, friends and enemies. (They all were the victims of his) loose tongue and then he irritated God with his tongue when he committed perjury and quarrelled with his father, mother and siblings, as well as with the learned men (priests) who celebrated Mass. He lied and sought the company of depraved men." Thereafter, they arrived in a place where men were buried in the ground up to the arms or to the shoulders, some (were) in kettles. These were the souls of Christian men. They were wailing (loudly). Paul asked what they had done. The angel answered: "They were the Lord's traitors; they robbed the holy church, killed bishops and other learned men (priests), stood against their fathers and mothers, children or siblings; they hurried their friends, spoke spitefully and delved into sorcery, or wasted other men and their property with the help of power of the Enemy. Paul the Apostle then said: "Woe sinful men, unjustly you were born into this world." Then the angel answered: "Why do you have pity on the suffering souls of these men? You have not yet seen to what degree a man can suffer in Hell."

Then he led the Apostle to see a well with seven seals. And the angel warned the Apostle that he should keep a distance because of the stench that emanated from the foul well. Because this foul and evil pit exuded a stench that was much worse than any other (stench) in Hell. The angel said that everyone in this well had fallen in because (their) souls never put their trust in God. Paul the Apostle asks: "Who are these miserable people?" The (arch)angel Michael answered: "They are those who never wanted to believe in God the almighty, and those who lied to God our Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who was of the Holy Spirit, born to Virgin Mary, and those who did not believe that Christ was born and resuscitated, or that he was crucified. They were against the Christian faith and would never take the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and never confess." Now they came to a place where women and men

suffered severe torture according to their sins and they were awfully red and dreadful. They wailed terribly and cried. There were cries and mockery, and the gnashing of teeth. These men were burned at the stake or (perishing) in red-hot cauldrons. Some were boiled, others struck with sledgehammers, yet others torn to pieces by dogs and wolves, and others were stung by serpents: they were all under so much pain that they could not talk or (they) had forgotten (lost) human speech and could not talk clearly as other people. These souls were in the deepest abyss between heaven and earth, and the angel said: "These men were excommunicated and God punished them for the capital sins and mischief (that they committed) that they would not give up. They did not repent nor solicit a reconciliation with God; they gave up God's mercy because they would not forgive other people's misdeeds."

The Apostle then saw the souls of sinful men carried into Hell, and seven angels accompanied the Enemy who maltreated them and struck them and accused them. They said: "Alas, you miserable and sinful soul! You did not heed our warnings and now you have much discomfort because you never did your duties when you still had the time to save yourself on earth." Then he saw one of the souls that were carried into Hell, accompanied by seven of God's angels who sang gloriously and with indescribable beauty and joy: "Rejoice in holiness—soul—and act according to God's will so that you never will suffer or be separated from him. Separate your body from many (sins), so that it will be good to you. Do this for the sake of God, and do not enjoy or take that which is against the soul, and that it cannot resist or denounce, and then your soul will be eternal." Then souls of the sinful that were in Hell then exclaimed miserably: "Mercy, Mercy!" (Archangel) Michael and Paul the Apostle heard how these miserable souls cried and prayed, and entreated them with the following words: "Michael and Paul, mercy, mercy upon God's most despicable souls, bring them assistance and pity." The Lord answered them: "I was crucified for you, and I was nailed with three nails, and I

was given vinegar to drink, and I was treated with shameful scorn and sold for money. Later I was killed and died for you so that you should be with me in eternal bliss. But you (repaid me) with lies and unrestrained arrogance, manslaughter, cupidity and jealousy, perjury and false testimony, harlotry and lust, laughter and merriment, overindulgence and excessive drinking, the spirit's and the body's desire, pride, pagan sacrifice and swearing, inclement toward s those who needed you. You did not fast for my Passion, and poorly commemorated my resurrection, and (did not worship on) the day of the King Saint. I gave you everything you need and you did not even thank me for food and drink. It is unworthy, says the Book, for the one who has sought his fate in another place to beg for mercy." The miserable souls started to whimper and continued to beg for mercy.

God answered angrily: "Because of my great mercy and the entreatises of the (angel) Michael and the apostle Paul, I will grant you your rest between noon Saturday and the first daylight on Monday. Then all the Christian souls rejoiced for the gift, but the miserable souls were sorrowful for the gift of rest and gave up (?) hoping for God's mercy. The Christian souls exclaimed: "Blessed be you, Son of God, for the respite you granted us, it will benefit us more on this holy day than on any other day of our life." The Holy Scripture says: "Whoever celebrates God's holidays and (remembers) the Passion of Jesus Christ our Lord, and whoever regularly confesses, shall righteously abide with God for ever and ever."

Paul the Apostle asked the angel: "How many punishments are there in Hell?" The angel answered: "There are hundredfolds and innumerable (punishments) and no one is able to count them all. Likewise, it is just as difficult for men and minds to count all the good things and the souls that are with God in heaven and all his saints." Now we have heard how eternal life and eternal damnation are separated. Do as David said in the Psalm: *Declina a malo et fac bonum*. Let us abandon evil and do good (deeds) so that

we for sure will earn Christ and push away all the pain that we now have seen. Blessed be the one who shall remain (with Christ). Let us act according to (our) needs and misery, let us not go astray, (let us be) free from punishment for the short time that we lived on earth. We owe it (ourselves) to act in such a way that we experience eternal bliss with God, as he wants and (as) his saints (want), *per omnia secula seculorum*. AMEN

Visio sancti Pauli apostoli in Humiliúbók (AM 619, 4º)

The Old Norse text has been taken from Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, pp.148-153.

The *Visio sancti Pauli* which appears in *Humiliúbók* (*Codex AM 619, 4º*) does not mention Saint Paul by name at all, he is only referred to in the title, and the text is not a direct translation of the Latin *Visio* as we know it. The narrator (maybe Paul, maybe not) recounts a dialogue between his body and soul. In fact, the text in *Humiliúbók* in many instances is more akin to Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae* (of which there exists an Old Norse-Icelandic translation, see Harðarsson 1995), i.e. more a dialogue than a monologue, despite the deceiving title.

In the Apocalyptic Old Norse *Visio*, the soul takes on the role of Archangel Michael, and guides the body through Purgatory, through a series of terrible visions of the body's fate in after-life, of the torment it will suffer if it does not amend its sinful behavior. The soul explains the sins that lead to the misery, at the same time admonishing the listener to greater piety and devotion. The soul accuses the body, but the body returns the accusation. The exact source text for this *Visio* is uncertain, but there were probably more than one source text, from which the Norse translator-writer composed his own (almost original) work. Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, which had

been translated quite early on, may have given the author of the *Visio* some of its material.

In the 14th century, visionary literature flourished in Europe. In Northern Europe, Birgitta of Vadstena (1303-1373) established a new order based primarily on her experience as a visionary. In Norway, the most famous visionary poem remains without a doubt *Draumkvedet* (The Dream), which has survived in the collective memory well into modern times.

The Old Norse version

Ein loaugar-dag at kveldi svafek í hvilo mínni. ok sá ec í draume mínum mycclassion. Þat syndisc mér at líc æit lá folget unndir gulu clæðe. ok sálan var ór faren. Sva syndisc mer at hon være noccevið ok í barns liki. ok væinaðe sér mioc. ok var sú hin auma græn graslaucr. ok henne hermdisc við licamenom ok blotaðe honom ok sagðe: “Licámr ec món sægia till tiðenðe fra þér. Þvi at þu gerðir aldrigin þat er mér være til gagns. ok aldrigin helz þu æin-orð hvarke við guð ne við mik. Ðu hafðer aldrigin aost við guð scapara þin. Þu ferdær honom aldrigin fórn flærð-laust. Þu vart illz lofta fullr þes er menn calla ágirnd. Oll u-trú hafðe fæst røtr sinar í brioste þino. Þu hafðer þa sótt er engi maðr fær bót af. at heitir idropicus. Þat caollum vér vatn-calf. Þes mæir er hinn dræcr er þa sott hefir. Þes mæir þystir hann. ok værdær aldrigi fullr. Þva þes flæira er þu hafðer þes flæira girndiz þu. Þvi var þat synduct værc. (er) þu hugðilsc lifa ávalt.

Grannar þínir ok cunnir menn fóro ór hæiminum. Þat rædisc þu aldrigin. born þæirra ok ærfingia gerðir þu sækia ok toct fe þæirra. með slícri illzu oxso aouðæfe þin. Vsæl ok ámur. illu hæille var þu fædr at þu þionaðer æigi guði meðan þu lifðir. Þvi at fyrr en þu léter lifet være maol at iðdras misgerninga þinna. Nu hefir þu latet lifet ok aouðæfe mykil. Þu sialfr est glataðr u-sæl ok fyrir-faren. Hvar ero nu penningar þínir þeir er þér þóttu iam-goðer er þu vart vånar at samca ok iðulega at tælia. Hvar ero nu silf-kær þaou

er þér þotto sva fógr. Hvar ero scickior þinar ok onnur clæðe. Hvar ero nu hæstar þær er konnungar ok iarlar hofðu gefet þer. Nu mát þu ekki af nyta. her værðr þu at liggia fúl ok døyande. Frændr þinir ok kunningar hværr þæirra hefir tækit lut sín af aouðesum þinum. Illo heilli samkaðer þu fra því er þu vart alen þat allt er þu hefir nu glatat á æinum dægi. Þeir aller er tækit hafa þeir muno gera sér gaman af. Þeir hafa gort sem vargar. Þeir hirða æigi hvær þa sér meðan þeir scripta song sin. Nu sia þeir þic andaðan. Þæim er enskis ugágnis af þér vón. script er yður vináta. heðan í fra monu þær þic æigi rædasc. Aller ero fiánder þinir nu. aldri siðan scaltu hitta vín þin þann er þore mæla vuð þic. ok allt mæter þér þat er þu hefir fyrr gort þat scal þér nu fram kuma. øleg er su fórn. vindr scal þec fækia. fræ þit er þrotet orðet at engu. Þu toct við scírn með oleum ok crismo sneresc til guðs. ok næitaðesc dioflinom. Þæirri gøzsco fylgðir þu litla stund. sem þu mátir sciostast lezt þu laoust sannande. ok ælscaðer þu flærð er þu næitaðer guði ok sneresc áptir ok áttz þu spyo þina.⁴³⁷ Vesol scepna. Þu vart illz fullr. ok lausungar fullr. ok ofundar fullr. Hordómr þin máte alldrigin fyllasc. Þu hafðer hunang í male þino en gall í brioste þinu. meðan þu mæltir slét við mann. Þa hugðir þu honum flærð. Þu for-øðesc eigi æiða. hælir fyrir-sórt þu þic opt. Drotens-sviki þa var engi þín make nema Iudas æin. er svæic scapara sin. Þu vart illa lunndaðr ok drambs fullr. ok þes kenni ec nu. fyrir þinar misgerningar missi ec himinrikis vist. ok fyrir mít høglect herbyrgie þole ec nu mykit illt. at ec ma æigi sia guð. ok enga vist með honum hafa. Ec var goleg scapað ok skír ok fræls-borenn. en þu hefir gorfa mic at ambót. Sva mæla hælgar bœcr at þu scyldir mer þiona meðan ec var með þér. Þu gerðir alt hofuct sem hinn illi þræl gerir er svícr sin droten.⁴³⁸ ok læitar honum til ó-soma. Ec máttu þic æigi hepta ok æigi fra

437 A reiteration of Alcuin's *Canis revertitur ad vomitum suum*

438 Kark? The slave Kark betrayed his master earl Hákon who was hiding from the King in the pigsty. King Olaf Tryggvason had put a price on the earl's head. Kark was immediately executed by the king.

illu hværfa. Þa er þu comt til andláz ok vart sæccr við guð. Þa vildir þu þit fe æigi scripta ok æigi vasalingum gefa til guz þacca. Þo matte varla vinnaz at þu gæfer allt fyrir guz sacar. Ðat sægir hin hælgi Augustinus at sá hefir varla ennda-lóc góð er avalt søfr unnz at hann kennir bána vísan. Þvi segi ec þér vesol vétr at þu vart avalt aflátr. Þu hafðer mykin styrc-læic meðan ec var í þer. Ec gerða þic gang-føran. mælande. ok høyrande ok sofande. Nu em ec fra þer scild ok þit dramb er nu fallet. Þit oflæte er nu fallet. nu ertu sem fouski. Þu vart drambvisare en bersercr ok potesc vera hære en gron er væx á hæsta fialle. ok synisc yfir alla mork. Þau trio er næst standa henne mego æigi þrifasc fyrir hennar ofriki. Sol má æigi til kuma at værma þau. Þau ero ávalt í myrcr bæðe vætr ok sumar. Slícr var-tu vesal oc meðan þu lifðir. sa-tøcr cristin maðr mátte æigi hia þér vera ne hafisc. engi máte hia þer vera er æigi scyldi hungraðr ok þyrstr vera. Ðu rænter alla ok fargaðer unndir þic. nu ero þæir fegnir u-farnaðr þins. ok mæla sín í millum. Synir þinir ok þæir er vinir þínir caollaðasc. Faðer vár hann var ricr rytta. hann cugaðe sína granna ok gerðe sér alla lyða. hann oðlaðesc mykit riki. ok drap margan mann fyrir riki þat er sva mykit er. nu taokum vér dømme eptir honum ok leitum við at fá bornum varum onnur riki iam-mykil. Þolum æigi þat at sa se granne vár er æigi lúte unndir os. ok æigi þore upp hefia hofuð. Verum sem licaster fæðr varum. hann var avalt vikingr. leggium þioð unndir os þa erom vér synir hans. hann unne ós almykit. sva er æigum vér at unna varum bornum. Vesol scepna er tu. hus þín ok hyski stændr nu eptir þic þér til enscis gagns. Þvi at aldrigin scal vera gorr æin almosa fyrir þer ne fyri mér. en ef gorr være þa myndi occr þat ecki stoða. Nu can ec sægia þér tiðende er þér man æingi fagnaðr at vera. kona þin hefir gipsc manne þæim er hon kaus sér meðan þu lát á nastrám. hon let at daouðe þecte henne mykit embætte er þec toc. langt þotte henni þit lif ok illt þit felag. nu hefir hon tækit unngan mann sa þyccir henne vænne. sa þionar henne sem hana lyftir til. Þvi hefir hon aost við hann. vit tu hvat hon scal gera fyrir saol þína. Engi er sa maðr í husi þínu er þore næmna þic. Hvat scal ec flæira umm røða. engan lész tu eptir þec er

þér være trvr. Þvi er hvær sa hæimscr er sæter þvi at annar gere eptir hans daga. Ðu vart illr ok sva vándr at þu røcter hvarke guð ne goða menn. Þu sotter alldrigin guðs husa forn nema fyrri manna male. Postola guðs eða aðra hælga menn dyrcaðer þu alldrigin. nu sculu þæir enga biorg þér væita. hældr man tu vera dæmdr fyrir illzu þina. En ec vesol vetr. Þvi þole ec hungur ok þorsta ok rænta ec þo engan mann. ok ænscis manz fe át ec ne drac ec. ok engan þorða ec at dæma. Þu ætter at þola þesse pinsl fyrr en ec. nu dæme guð almatigr occar í millum. Licamr meðan þu vart hæil þa var-tu morgum manne þecr. en nu er-tu hverium læiðr. Þu ilmir illa ok þínar vistir ero í illum stað. ok þat er maclect fyrir illzu sacar þínar.”

Þa svaraðe lícamr salenne ok mælte hart við salo: “Ráðalaus fála illo hæilli var-tu scapað. Þu røger míc fastlega en ec þic. Nu hyggium vít at bæða umm þetta róg ok verði sa dæmdr til dauða er rangare hefir. Ec em buin at gera sát ef þu vilt mér lyða at vit bæðe fyrri þina illzcu hofum mist æilífan fagnað. En þat er maclect er þu hefir mist þvi at þu hugðir fyrr en gort være. Þvi at hvetvitna er hugt fyrr en gort se. Þu systir þat æt er illt var ok eggiaðer þu mic til. en ec lydda raðum þinum. Adamr myndi oc æigi syngasc ef æigi være órmr ok a-æggian kono. sva æggiaðer þu mic. blotað værð þu. Drotén mín scapare væit þat ec var engu verri en þu. Þvi at ec af-røcta scapara mín fyrir á-æggian salu minnar. En við þic at mæla saol þat er sannast er. ec var nøydr til at lifa eptir þér. mér myndi ecci stoða at hafa u-sæt við þic. Þvi at ec var gorr or moldo. ec var þit í-lát. Þu qvæictir mic sva sem guð vildi í ondverðo þa er hann scapaðe ocr. hann festi ocr saman ok endr-fødde af scirn sinni. Vit qvaoðum nei við diofligum ok við ollum hans vercum. vit tocum ócr hald þar er guð var. er mát sic sva litils at hann toc hold fyrir sakar vaorar. en siðan læt næglasc á cros. Þvi at hann vildi þva syndir várar ok hina forno synd er Adamr hafðe aflat os. Enga sina scepno vildi guð ælsca iam-væl sem ós ef vér brytim æigi hans boð-orð. með fiandans á-æggian. Ðu gerðir at ec kenda illt. ok at ec gecc í illan stað ok ec laoug. ik allt illt þat er ec gerðe með þinni á-æggian. Nu er þat

auð-synt at alldrigin mynda ec syngasc ef æigi være þu mér. ok eigi mynda ec rørasc hældr en stæin ok mynda ec þa æigi í hælviti cuma. Nu vilda ec guð þes biðia at ec være æinhvær onnur scepna. ok æigi þurfta ec þa luti ræðasc er nu ræðumc ec. Þat at mín uprisning mér man vera hvarke goð ne fógr. ok mon vera fyrir þinar sakar. Gæfe guð sunr Mario at loken være þin æfe. Þa myndi hvarke occat til hælvitis kuma. Hvat stoðar mér þat er ec mæla nema ecki. occar u-fagnaðr man æigi aptr sæigasc. Nu være þat mín vili at ec mætta þic drepa. Þvi at þu scyldir stýra mér ok fœra til hafnar. en þu fœrðir mic utan borz. ok drectir míc á diupi. Með illum styris-manne mínum em ec cumín í pinsl. Þu ert ávita værð. Þu scyldir fyrir mer raða. en þu hefir spilt fyrir báðom ocr. Ec var guðs hus. nu hefir þu gort þiofs fylsni. Ec var bœnar hus. nu em ec hordóms buð ef noccor maðr vildi í bua. En siðan þu scildisc við mik þa sótte engi maðr til mín. ok engi mapr vildi nér biorg væita. sva hefir þu fyrir mér spilt. Nu hefir þu mic røgðan en ec þíc. ok þesse deild man ocr gera ecci nema mæin. Nu scal tu væita svor. en vit þu þat at mér er rangt boðet en guð hann væit þat væl. Nu late hann þat vita þa menn er enn lifa. Þvi at ecci stuðar þat at þæim se sagt er daouðir ero. Þvi at of siðla er. En occar hágr er sva comenn at ocr hælpr ecci hvat sem fyrir ocr er gort. Þat man ocr vera til engra lausna.”

Enn mæler sá er þenna draoum sa: “Sva syndisc mér at bucren lagðest niðr ok rétte sic sva hvart at kistu-fialar tóco at braca. en sialfr hann andvarpaðe sva sem maðr er andasc vil. En salan þa er hon sa þat. Þa toc hon at ræðasc ok øymde sec ok mælte sva: “Vesol scepna em ec at ec scal bíða guðs ræiði. guð hvi metr þu þic þes at syna áfl þit við iam-u-styrct vætr sem ec em. Þvi at þu scapaðer mic dauðlegan. ok meðan ec mátte lifa. Þa var engi sá dagr at ec scyldi æigi syndir gera. ok engi maðr annar lifir sva at hann syngasc æigi. Vesol er su scepna er slict er fyrir lagt. Guð scapare mín hvi scapaðer þu mic ok ofsacaðar siðan. Undarlect þyccir hvi þu visdóms brvnnr scapaðer þa luti er æigi gafosc væl. Þeir aller er fara til hælvitis ecci monu þæir lofa miscun þina.

ok þeir er en lifa í veroldo. Þeir þætta sín í millum. En flestir mæla sva at þeim þyccir unndar-lect er þin scepna scal fyrir-farasc siðan þu mazt son þin sva lítils at þu lézt hann taca manlega á-syn. Fyrir vára laousn þolde hann þínsl ok var á cros nægldr. Þvi næst þa þolde hann dauða. Nu er þat unndarlect hvi fianden er sva diarfr at hann þorer misgranda ok mis-þyrma þvi er guðs sonr þolde dauða fyrir.”

Oc sva væinaðe sér su sál. En i svi como fiandr ok toko hana á braout ok báro hana sva u-þyrmilega sem vargar marger bera saouð æin. En hon øpte ascrámlega. en þat stoðaðe henne ecci. Þvi at dómr hennar vár þa loken.

English Translation

Visio Sancti Pauli (or Debate between the Body and the Soul)

A Saturday night as I lay sleeping on my bed I had a wondrous sight. It seemed to me as though a corpse lay under the yellow bedsheet and that the soul had left it. To me the corpse seemed naked and in the form of a child. It moaned (painfully), the wretched thing was green as chives. It castigated the body and said: “Body, I have bad news for you, because you never did that which could benefit me. You never kept your promises, neither to God nor to me. You never loved God, your creator. You never brought Him an honest offering. You were full of (that which men call) greed. Distrust had made roots in your heart, you were afflicted with the disease for which there is no cure: *Hydropicus* which we call dropsy. The more the dropsy patient drinks water, the more he thirsts, and his thirst will never be quenched. It was the same with you: the more you had, the more you yearned for, making it a sinful occupation, and you believed that you would live forever. Your neighbors and well-known men left this world, but you never feared: you outlawed their children and heirs and seized their property. With (such) wickedness you increased your riches. Miserable and pitiable (creature)! From (the day of your) birth

you were afflicted. You never served God when (you were) living, and before you departed you should have regretted your misdeeds. Now you have left life and your riches, and are yourself destroyed, miserable and damned. (Now) where is your money that gave you such pleasure and that you used to collect and eagerly count? Where is your silverware now that you used to find so lovely? Where are your fur capes and other clothes now? Where are the horses that kings and earls gave you? Today you cannot use them, you will remain lying here, dead and rotten. Your kinsmen and acquaintances have taken a share of your riches. Towards your misfortune you gathered everything that you now have lost in one day, and all those who have taken it will benefit from it. They have been like wolves, no one heeds the others as they share the loot between them. Now they see you dead and you can do them no more harm. Gone is their friendship, and from now on they will no longer fear you. They are all your enemies now, and never again shall you find a friend who dares talk to you. Everything that you have done shall come to you and be revealed. This message is miserable. The wind shall blow you away, your seed is useless, reduced to nothing. At your baptism, you received the onction and turned to God and disavowed the Devil. These good virtues you practised for a short while, but you soon let go of truth for the love of mischief; you abandoned God and turned to eat your own vomit. Miserable creature, you were full of evil and imprudence, full of envy. Your lust was never satisfied. You had honey on your tongue but gall in your heart: while you were talking amicably with a man, you were conspiring against him. You did not shy from swearing, often you preferred perjury. No one could more than you betray his lord but one: Judas who betrayed his Creator. You were wicked and full of conceit, and this I know now: because of your misdeeds I will certainly lose (my place in) heaven, and because of my easy lodgings I must suffer much pain, that I shall not see God nor abide by Him. I was created good, pure and free, and you have made me a slave. The Holy Scriptures say that you should have served me

while I was with you. You did everything wrong, like that wicked slave who betrayed his master and lead him to disgrace. I could not hinder you nor turn you from wickedness. When you were dying and standing guilty before God, you would not settle your succession or give your riches to the poor in gratitude to God. Hardly was it expected that you should give (anything) for the sake of God. Saint Augustine says that the end is hardly good for the one who sleeps until he (knows that) death is certain. Therefore I tell you, miserable, you were always haughty, you had much strength while I was within you. I enabled you to walk, talk, listen and sleep. Now I am no longer with you and your smugness has fallen, your pride has gone, and you are like rotten wood. You were prouder than a berserk and thought you were higher than a spruce tree growing on the top of a mountain, visible from all sides. The trees (growing) close to this tree cannot thrive because of its might. The sun cannot warm them, they are always in the shadow both winter and summer. In the same way you were miserable when you lived. A poor Christian man could not be near you without feeling hunger and thirst. You robbed them all and subjected them to you. Now they benefit from your unhappiness and between them they say, your sons and those who called themselves your friends: "Our father, he was a rich scoundrel, he subjugated his neighbors and made them all obey him. He gathered much land and killed many (a man) for his realm. Now we have learned from him. Let us see to it that our children will have as much as he had. Let us not tolerate a neighbor who is not subjugated to our will, but who dares lift his head up high. Let us be like our father. He was always a Viking (robber). Let us make people subservient and be his true sons. He loved us much, and we shall love our children in the same way." Miserable creature you are! Your house, farm hands and livestock cannot profit you any longer, because never will anyone give alms on your behalf or for me, and even if someone should (give alms) it would not change our situation. I will now tell you news that you will not cherish: your wife has married the man she was

with when you lay dying. She let it be known that death did her a kind service by removing you. Your life seemed long to her and your company unpleasant. Now she has taken a younger man that she finds handsome, and who serves her as she pleases. Therefore she loves him. What will she do for your soul? No one in your house is man enough to mention your name. What shall I tell you more? You left no one behind who is loyal to you, and (anyway) it is foolish to believe that one can influence people's actions after death. You were so evil and wicked that you heeded neither God nor man. You never sought God's house with an offering, except to have people talk. You never revered God's apostles or other holy men, and now they will not help or save you, instead you will be punished for your misdeeds. I, too, poor creature, must suffer thirst and hunger even though I never robbed anybody, or ate his food, or drank his drinks, and although I never judged anyone. You should suffer the pains of judgment more than I, but God Almighty will judge between us in heaven. The body, while you were still living, was treasured by many, but now you appear hideous to all. You reek badly and sojourn in a sinister place, and rightly so, because of your wicked deeds."

Then the body responded and cautioned the soul: "Helpless soul, you had bad luck when you were born. You blame me and I (blame) you. Now we should think and know that we both will be judged and that the one who sinned the most will be sentenced to death. I am ready to reconcile if you will listen to me and know that we both, in view of our wickedness, have lost eternal bliss. It is however befitting that you should lose it because you thought before doing (your misdeed), and so everything was planned before it was carried out. You sought evil things and incited me to the same, and I listened to your advice. Adam may not have sinned had the serpent not been, and had not his wife entreated him. In the same way you incited me, you accursed. My Lord and Creator knows that I was no worse than you, because if I refused my Creator it was because my soul egged me on. And to tell you the truth, soul, I was obliged to live according to you,

because it would have been to no avail quarreling with you. As I was made of earth, I was your receptacle. You awoke me (to life) as God had wanted at the onset when he created the two of us. He bound us together and let us be born again through his baptism. We said no to the Devil and to all his undertakings, and we took our existence from where God is, he who thought himself so little that he took on (human) existence for our sake, and later let himself be nailed to the cross so that he could take away both our own sin and the one inherited from Adam. God would love none of his creation more than us if we had not let our enemy incite us to break his law. You made me judge badly, go to bad places, and lie. All the bad things that I did, I did on your incitement. It is now evident that I never would have sinned had you not been there, and that I should not have moved more than a stone, and not have come to Hell. I wish to God that I was someone else (another creation) and that I need not fear what I now am afraid of, namely that my resurrection will be neither pleasant nor pretty, and that it be so because of you. Give that God, Mary's son, put a lid on your life so that none of us will come to Hell. But what help is it to me that I talk when nothing can be said about our misfortune? I now wish to kill you because you should have guided me to harbor. Instead you led me astray and drowned me in the deep. Because of my evil helmsman, I came to perdition and pain. You deserve punishment. You decided for me and you made both of us perish. I was God's temple, now I am a shelter for thieves. I should have been a house of prayers, (but) now I am a place of harlotry if anyone would like to reside there. Since you left me, no man has come to see me and no one has wanted to bring me salvation. This much you have ruined for me. Now you have said yours and I (have said) mine, and this dispute gives us nothing but pain. Now you must look for an answer and realize that I received bad orders and that God knows this very well. Now let Him make this known to the living, for it cannot benefit those who are dead, (for them) it is too late. But for us, the situation has gone so far that nothing can be done (for us) and nothing can give us salvation."

Then he said, the person who had the dream: "It seemed to me as if the corpse lay down and stretched out so brusquely that the coffin squeaked. And (that) he heaved for breath like a dying man. When the soul saw this, it was frightened, moaned and said: "How miserable I am, that I shall wait for the wrath of God. God, why do you measure your strength against a weekling like me, you who created me mortal? While I was alive there was not a day that I did not sin, since there is no man alive who does not commit sin. Miserable the creature who has been created this way. God, my Creator, why did you create me like this and then accuse me (so) harshly? It seems bizarre that you, fountain of wisdom, created things that are not good. Those who go to Hell will not praise your mercy and those who remain on earth quarrel amongst them. Many of them say that they find it strange that your creation shall perish, (in view of the fact that) you reckoned your Son so lowly that you let him take on human shape. For our redemption he suffered pain and was nailed to the cross. Then he suffered death. It is then strange that the Enemy is so bold as to dare hurt and dishonor those for whom God's Son suffered death." Now the soul started weeping. In the same instance, the Enemies came and took him and carried it away brutally like wolves carrying away a lamb. The soul screamed with terror but to no avail. Sentence had been rendered.

Honorius of Autun: *Elucidarium*

Honorius of Autun (c.1080-c.1156) was a theologian and disciple of Anselme (1033-1109), archbishop of Canterbury. Little is known about his private life, and he preferred to remain anonymous. As he says in the prologue: “Nomen autem meum ideo volui silentia contegi, ne invidia tabescens suis juberet utile opus contemnendo neglegi.”⁴³⁹ However, there is common consensus as to him presumably being English. He became a recognized vulgarizers of his time, a fervent advocate of enlightenment and correct teaching of the faith. Like Vincent of Beauvais (c.1190-1264) more than a century later, and other medieval scholastic compilers (both before and after him), Honorius commented on the *auctores* and explained the more complicated aspects of religious thought for both clerics and lay people.

His writing reflected the view of the emerging universitarians. He deemed ignorance the greatest enemy of mankind, and wrote *Elucidarium* as an questions-and-answers book. Both this book and his *Imago mundi*—a world history and geography book—knew a wide dissemination throughout medieval Christianity. The book aimed at summarizing the accepted Roman Catholic theology in the form of a dialogue.

The Latin Text

The Latin text taken has been extracted from Yves Lefevre (1954) *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires: contribution par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au moyen âge*. Paris: Boccard: pp. 356-477.

439 “And I shall not mention my name, so that no one will be prejudiced by envy and disregard a useful book.”

Prologus (p. 359)

Saepius rogatus a condiscipulis quasdam quaestiunculas enodare, importunitati illorum non fuit facultas negando obviare, praesertim metuens illo elogio multari si creditum talentum mallem in terra silendo occultari. "Divitas quas devoravit extrahet Deus de ventre ejus (Job. xx, 15)," quas abscondit a verbi Dei famem patiente. Et ut labor meus non solum praesenti proficiat aetati, disputata curavi stylo transmittere posteritati, rogans ut quicumque his studuerit legendo incumbere, pro me satagat Deo preces effundere. Titulus itaque operi, si placet, Elucidarium praefigatur, quia in eo obscuritas diversarum rerum elucidatur. Nomen autem meum ideo volui silentia contegi, ne invidia tabescens suis juberet utile opus contemnendo negligi; quod tamen lector postulet ut in caelo conscribatur nec aliquando de libro viventium delatur. Fundamentum igitur opusculi supra petram Christum jaciatur et tota machina quatuor firmis columnis fulciatur: primam columnam erigat prophetica auctoritas; secundam stabiliat apostolica dignitas; tertiam roboret expositorum sagacitas; quartam figat magistrorum sollers subtilitas.

Liber primus: De divinis rebus (pp. 364-365)

D. - Creavit per partes?

M. - Omnia simul et semel fecit, ut dicitur: Qui manet in aeternum creavit omnia simul (Eccli. XVIII, 1). "Distinxit autem omnia per partes sex diebus, tribus elementa et tribus ea quae sunt infra elementa. Prima itaque die fecit diem aeternitatis, scilicet spiritualem lucem, et omnem spiritualem creaturam. Secunda die caelum quod spiritualem creaturam secernit a corporali. Tertia mare et terram. Aliis tribus diebus, quae infra sunt, prima die fecit diem temporalitatis, scilicet solem et lunam et stellas, in supremo elemento, quod est ignis. Secunda die in medio elemento, quod est aqua, pisces et volucres. Et pisces quidem in crassiori parte aquae reliquit;

volucres autem in tenuiorem partem aquae, quod est aer, sustulit. Tertia die bestias et hominem de ultimo elemento, id est de terra, condidit.

D. - Sentiunt elementa Deum?

M. - Nihil unquam fecit Deus quod insensibile sit. Quae enim sunt inanimata, nobis quidem sunt insensibilia et mortua; Deo autem omnia vivunt et omnia creatorem sentiunt. Caelum quippe eum sentit, quia ob ejus jussum incessabili revolutione semper circuit; unde dicitur: "Sol et luna et stellae eum sentiunt, quia loca sui cursus inerrabiliter servando repetunt. Terra eum sentit, quia semper certo tempore fructus et germina producit. Flumina eum sentiunt, quia ad loca unde fluunt semper redeunt. Mare et venti eum sentiunt, quia ei imperanti mox quiescendo obediunt. Mortui eum sentiunt, quia ad ejus imperium resurgunt. Infernus eum sentit, quia quos devorat eo jubente reddit. Omnia bruta animalia Deum intelligunt, quia legem sibi ab eo insitam jugiter custodiunt. [Quae tamen omnia per ministerium fiunt angelorum.]

Liber secundus: De rebus ecclesiasticis (pp. 405-406)

M. - Quaere quae vis et audies quae cupis.

D. - Dicitur malum nihil esse et, si nihil est, valde mirum videtur cur Deus angelos vel homines damnet, cum nihil faciant. Si autem aliquid est, videtur a Deo esse, cum omnia sint ex ipso, et sequitur quod Deus sit auctor mali et injuste eos qui hoc faciunt damnet.

M. - A Deo nempe sunt omnia fecit bona valde; et ideo malum probatur nihil per substantiam esse. Omnia autem quae fecit Deus subsistunt; omnis vero substantia bona est, sed malum non habet substantiam: igitur malum nihil est. Quod autem malum dicitur nihil est aliud quam ubi non est bonum, sicut caecitas ubi non est visus aut tenebrae ubi non est lux, cum caecitas et tenebrae non sint substantiae. Tria sunt: creatur, natura, factura; creatura ut elementa; natura ut ex eis nascentia;

factura quae angelus vel homo facit aut patitur. Faciunt peccata, patiuntur poenas peccati; haec Deus non fecit, sed fieri permisit, ut dicitur: “Deus mortem non fecit (Sap. I, 13).” Peccatum autem nihil est aliud quam quod praeceptum est non facere aut aliter quam praeceptum est agere, sicut nec malum est aliquid nisi bono, id est gaudio, carere. Quod saltem vocabulum habet a Deo; tali modo habet, cum fit per illam substantiam quam fecit Deus. Juste vero damnat eos Deus, id est non dat eis gaudium, qui non faciunt vel aliter faciunt quam sit praeceptum.

Liber secundus (p. 412)

D. - Unde sunt dignitates?

M. - A Deo sunt utique omnes dignitates vel potestates malorum seu bonorum, ut dicitur: “Non est potestas nisi a Deo (Rom. XIII, 1).” Cur autem aliquando mali, aliquando vero boni potestates sortiantur, jam superius dictum est.

D. - Quam sentiam profers de his qui eas emunt vel vendunt?

M. - Qui eas emunt, cum Simone interitum subibunt; qui vero vendunt, cum Giezi lepram animae incurrunt.

D. - Habent prelati majus meritum apud Deum?

M. - Ordo officii aut dignitas potestatis nihil confert homini apud Deum si desit meritum.

Porro qui in ecclesiasticis praesunt, ut episcopi [abbates] et presbyteri, si verbo et exemplo bene praesunt, tot praemia prae aliis habebunt, quot animae per eos salvae fiunt, ut dicitur: “Super omnia bona sua constituet eos (Matth. XIV, 47).” Si autem subditis verbum salutis subtrahunt et eos in foveam mortis per prava exempla ducunt, tot poenas prae aliis haereditabunt, quot animae eorum exemplo perierunt, vel quot salvare praedicando neglexerunt, ut dicitur: “Cui plus committitur, plus ab eo exigitur (Luc. XII, 48);” et iterum: “Potentes potenter tormenta patientur (Sap. VI, 7).” Qui autem in saecularibus praelati sunt, ut reges et iudices, si juste judicant et

subjectos clementer tractant, maiorem gloriam prae aliis a justo iudice Deo consequuntur, quia “qui bene ministrant, gradum bonum sibi acquirunt (1 Tim. III, 13).” Si autem injuste et crudeliter populum opprimunt, atrocia supplicia prae aliis habebunt, quia “durissimum iudicium his qui praesunt fiet (Sap. VI, 6)” et “iudicium sine misericordia ei qui non facit misericordiam (Jac. II, 13).”

Liber tertius: De futura vita (pp. 447-448)

D. - Quid est infernus vel ubi?

M. - Duo sunt inferni: superior et inferior.⁴⁴⁰ Superior infima pars hujus mundi, quae plena est poenis; nam hic exundat nimius aestus, magnum frigus, fames, sitis, varii dolores corporis ut verbera, animi ut timor et verecundia; de hoc dicitur: “Educ de carcere,” hoc est de inferno, “animam meam (Psal. CXLI, 8),” id est vitam meam. Inferior autem locus spiritualis, ubi ignis inexstinguibilis, de quo dicitur: “Eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori (Psal. LXXXV, 13).” Qui sub terra esse dicitur, ut, sicut corpora peccantium terra cooperiuntur, ita animae peccantium sub terra in inferno sepeliuntur, ut de divite dicitur: “Sepultus est in inferno (Luc. XVI, 22).” In quo novem speciales poenae esse leguntur.

D. - Quae?

M. - Prima ignis qui ita semel est accensus, ut, si totum mare influeret, non exstingeretur; cuius ardor sic istum materiale vincit ignem, ut iste pictum ignem; ardet et non lucet. Secunda est intolerabile frigus, de quo dicitur: “Si igneus mons immitteretur, in glaciem verteretur.” De his duabus dicitur: “Fletus et stridor dentium (Matth. XXIV, 51),” quia fumus de igne excitat fletus oculorum, frigus stridorem dentium. Tertia vermes immortales, id est serpentes et dracones visu et

440 Compare this passage with *Visio sancti Pauli* (AM 624,4°)

sibilo horribiles, qui, ut pisces in aqua, ita vivunt in flamma. Quarta est fetor incomparabilis. Quinta flagra caedentium, ut mallei ferrum percutientium. Sexta tenebrae palpabiles, ut dicitur: “Terra tenebrarum, ubi nullus ordo et sempiternus horror inhabitat (Job. x, 22).” Septima confusio peccatorum, quae omnia ibi omnibus patent et se abscondere non valent. Octava horribilis visio daemonum et draconum, quos igne scintillante vident, et miserabilis clamor flentium et insultantium. Nona sunt ignea vincula, quibus singulis membris constringuntur.

Liber tertius (p. 459)

D. - Qualiter fiet iudicium?

M. - unc sunt boni et mali mixti et multi videntur boni qui sunt mali et multi putantur mali qui sunt boni. Tunc ab angelis boni a malis, ut grana a paleis, secernentur et in quatuor ordines dividuntur. Unus ordo est perfectorum cum Deo iudicantium. Alter justorum, qui per iudicium salvantur. Tertius impiorum sine iudicio pereuntium. Quartus malorum, qui per iudicium damnantur.

D. - Qui sunt qui iudicium?

M. - Apostoli, martyres, monachi, virgines.

D. - Quomodo iudicabunt justos?

M. - Monstrant eos suam doctrinam et sua exempla fuisse imitatos et ideo regno dignos.

Old Norse Translation

The Old Norse translation has been extracted from Firchow, Evelyn Scherabon & Kaaren Grimstad (1989) *Elucidarium in Old Norse translation*. Reykjavik: Stofnun Arna Magnussonar.

Elucidarium was translated into Old Norse in the last half of the 12th century, probably close to the beginning of the 13th century. The text has survived in many more or less complete manuscripts, the earliest being AM 674a, 4^o and AM 675, 4^o, the latter was part of the manuscript known as *Hauksbok*. Like many of the surviving medieval texts in the vernacular—like the first historical chronicles—it came into being at a time when the Church was by way of establishing firm roots in Norway and the archdiocese in Trondheim was established. However, as the Church consolidated its position as both a secular and ecclesiastical authority, Norway was the scene of incessant quarrels between the various pretenders to the throne (Indeed, the civil wars did not end until far into the reign of Håkon Håkonsson [r. 1217-1263]).

Against a backdrop of societal unrest and strife, the Norse translator must have found Honorius' *The Norse translator of Elucidarium* remains anonymous: he may have been either a Norwegian or an Icelander. *Elucidarium* was not the only text by Honorius in Old Norse, he is also believed to be the probable source to *De exaltatione sancta crucis* in *Humiliúbók*. Honorius worked in a time of doctrinal dispute, the dispute over lay investiture in the wake of the reformation initiated by Pope Gregory VII, in essence a struggle between secular and ecclesiastical powers striving to gain control of the Church and the wealth that it held, and it was therefore important to clarify and “elucidate” the main articles of faith and ensure correct interpretation of the Scriptures.

Prologus (p. 2)

Ofst vas ek beþenn af samlere sueinom minom at leysa or yandreþom necquerra spurninga oc syndesc mer omaclect at neita þeim fyse sinne allra helzt af þvi at ek hreddomc at fyr dōmasc ef ek fela þegiande í iorþo pund þat es Gop selde mer þuiat Gop tekr fra þeim aupove es þeira vill einn niota oc spara viþ þurfanda. Enn af þvi reit ek oc sendac boc þessa. at sysla mín stopaþe eige at eins þessar tiþar monnom heldr oc

þeim es siþarr ero. Enn huerr biþe fvrr mer es þessa boc less. Bok þessa kalla ek elucidarium enn þat es lvseng þuiat ihenne necquerer mvrquer hluter. Enn af évi þagþa ek vuer nafne mino at eige egiþe ovvnnd ohlvþna menn at hafna nvto verke. Enn sa es boc þessa less biþe at þat nafn se ritet alifs bok a himne. Enn þessa verx grundvollr scal setr vesa vuer biarg þat es christus oc oll sia smiþ es studd meþ .iiii. stoplom. Enn fvrrsta stopol reiser spamanna scēnseme. en annan styþr postola tign. en þriþia efler speke feþra en enn .iiij. fester vitr. ahvggia lerefeþra. Enn sia boc es oll gór efster tuegia viþr mele. þat es spvrianda leresveinns oc varannda lerefopor. Boc sia heiter elucidarius.

Book I (pp. 6-8)

D. - Vas honom duol necquer at scapa eþa scapaþa hann alt senn.

M. - Aei-no avga bragþe scapaþe hann alt senn sem ritet es. Saes eiliver scapaþe alt senn. Enn hann scifste ollo ihlute á .vi. dogom hofop scepnom .iii. daga en aþra .iii. þeim hlutom es fvr innan hofop skepnor ero. EN fvrrsta dag scop hann eilifs dag þat es andlect lios oc alla andlega skepno. Annandag scop hann hímin þann es skilr licamlega scepno fra andlegre. EN en þriþia dag se oc iorþ. EN .iiii. dag scop hann tiplegan dag þat es sol oc tungl oc stiornor á eNne ofsto hofop scepno. Þat es áhimne. EN .v. dag scop hann fogla oc fisca. oc sette fogla ílof-ste enn fisca ívatne. EN .vi. dag scop hann dyr oc man ór enne neþ-sto hofop scepno. þat es ór iorfio.

D. - Kenna scepnor Gop

M. - Etke gerþe Gop þat es eige kenne hann þui at andlauser hluter ero oss dauþer. oc oscynsameer EN aller hluter lifa Goþe oc kenna scapera sinn. Himinn kenner hann þui at hann snvsc of valt efster boþorþe hans sem ritet es. Gop gerþe himna ískilningo. Sol oc tungl oc stiornor kenna Gop þui at þau varþ-veita staþe rasar sínar at vilia hans. Iorþ kenner hann þui at hon gefr ávoxt oc gros ásinne tíþ. Ár

kenna Goþ þuiat þér huerva afstr avalt til staða sinna þápan es þér falla. Ser oc vinndar kenna Goþ þuiat þeir stopasc at boþorþe hans. Dauper menn kenna hann þuiat þeir risa up at raþe hans. Heluite kenner hann. Þuiat þat geldr sem hann býr þa es þat glévpþe. Oll cvquende kenna Goþ þuiat þau halda logom þeim es hann gaf þeim.

Book 2 (p. 62)

D. - Hvaðan com tign ok velldi?

M. - Af gvði er oll tign ok velldi goðra ok illra sem sagt er Ekci er yelldi annat en af gvði.

D. - Hvat dæmir þv vm þa er kav þa eða selia tignar vellde?

M. - Þeir er þat kavpa fara til davða með Simoni mago en þeir er selia þat yerða fyrir andar likðro.

D. - Hafa hofðingiar meira velldi firir gvði en aðrir?

M. - Kenni manz þionosta er tignar velldi tior manni ekci yið gvð er yerðleiks misser.

En kircna hofðingiar þat ero biskopar ok prestar en þeir geya goð dæmi iorðvm eða yerkvvm þa taka þeir sva myklv framar dyrð sem margar ander hialpaz af þeira dæmvm sem ritat er en ef þeir spara heilso orð yið lyð sinn eða leiða þa í davða grof með illvm dæ dæmvm þa taka þeir þeimvm fleiri pinslir en aðrer sem margar andar faraz af þeira dæmvm eða sva margha sem þeir orøkto at grøða ikenningv sem ritat er. Af þeim heimter gvð meira er hann leir meira ok taka amot qvaler. En þeir er yeralldrir tign hafa sem konongar eða domenðr ok kynna millega yar kynna lyð sinvm þa mvnv þeir meiri miskvn taka en aðrer menn af gvði rettlatom domanda því at þeir eignaz goðan sess af gvði er yel þiona hanom. En þeir er fyrir

døma at grimleika þa taka þeir meiri kvaler en aðrer því at þeir hafa miskvnn lavsa doma.

Book 2 (p. 81)

D. - Hvat er helvíte. Eda hvar er þat.

M. - Tvenn erv helviti annad et nedra. en annat et efra. Et efra helúti er hin nedste hlvt þessa heims. En sa stadr er fyllvr mýrkra og meína. ellz og frostz. hvngvrs og þorsta og annarra likams kvala. bardaga og ecka og hræslv. sem ritad er: Leid þv ond mina or dýflizv. Þat er at skilia fra helvite. Hit nedra helviti er anndlig kvol. Þat er o slavckviligvr elldr sem ritad er: þv leýster avnd mina fra helvite hinu nedra. Sa stadr er vnder iordv. at svo se ander sýndvgar gafnar j pisler sem likamer j iord. j þeim stad ero .ix. hofvd pisler. En fýsta er svo akafligvr elldr. at eigi mvnde slokna þott j felli avll votn og sior. Sa elldr brenner og jýser eigi. og þeim mvn heitare en vor elldr. sem sia se likneske skrifad eptir hinvm. Avnnvr er frost svo mikid. at elldligt fiall mvndi verda at svelli ef þangat felle. Vm þessar písler er ritad: þar er gratvr og gnotrvn tanna. Þviat reýkv af elldi giorer grat avna. En frost tanna gnotrvn. Þridía kvol erv hrædiliger ormar ok drekar (o...leger) j sýn og j roddv. Þeir er svo lifa j ellde sem fiskar j vatne. Fiorda kvol er leidiligvr davn. Fimta grimlegr bardage. Setta mýrkvr þat er þreifa ma vm. sem ritad er: Mýrkra iord og meina. Þar er býgger margr hite og eilif hræsla. Siovnda er sýnda skemd. Þviat þa ma ecke liott verk leýnast. Atta er hræsla ogvrligrar sýnar diofla og dreka. Þeirra er blasa elldi og brennv steine. og vesalig heýrn grasz og diofla hlatvrs. Nivnda kvol er elldlig bond er þran þva ollvm lidvm.

Book 3 (p. 89)

D. - Huerso gøresc domr sa.

M. – Nu ero samblandner Goþer oc iller oc svnasc marger goðer. Þeir es iller ero. enn þeir sumer iller es Goþer ero. en þa skilia englar Goða fra illom sem corn fra ognom. oc scifsta þeim ifiorar sueiter. Ein sveit es algorra [...] dōma með drotne onnor retlatra þeira es hialpasc idome. En þriýia omildra es fvr farasc ón dóm en fíorþa ilra es fyr farasc idome.

D. - Huerer scola dōma?

M. - Postolar oc pinder oc munkar oc meýiar.

D. - Huerso dōma þeir retlata?

M. - Svna þeir þa dyrþar fvr þar es þeir botnoðo afkenningom þeira oc dōmom.

D. - Huerer hialpasc idome?

M. - þeir er gerþo miskunnar verk ílogsamlegom hiuscap oc þeir es svnþer sinar botto með íþrunn oc olmoso gøþe. víþþa es sva melt. Komeþ ér blezaþer foþor minns. Þuiat mik hungraþe oc gofoþ ér mér at eta.

English Translation

The English translation has been taken from Firchow, Evelyn Scherabon & Kaaren Grimstad (1989) *Elucidarium in Old Norse translation*. Reykjavik: Stofnun Arna Magnussonar.

Prologus (p.3)

I have often been asked by my fellow disciples to answer questions and clear up doubts. (Hence) I did not think it right to refuse their request especially since I was afraid to be damned, if, by remaining silent, I hid in the earth the talent that God had

given to me (Matth. 25: 25). For God takes away riches from those who use them only to further their own benefit and keep them from those in need. For this reason, I wrote and published this book so that my efforts would be of use not only to contemporaries but also to posterity.

Let everyone who reads this book pray for me. I shall call this book *Elucidarius*, i. e. illuminator, because a number of unexplained matters are clarified here. I shall not mention my name, so that no one will be prejudiced by envy and disregard a useful book. But whoever reads this book should pray that its name be recorded in the book of life in heaven, that the foundation of it be set up on the Rock which is Christ (1 Cor. 10: 4), and that the whole be supported by four columns. The first column serves to hold up the understanding of the prophets; the second to support the honor of the apostles; the third to strengthen the wisdom of the fathers; and the fourth to uphold the wise concerns of the teachers.⁴⁴¹

This book is entirely made up of dialogue, of the questions of the Disciple and the answers of the Master. This book is called *Elucidarius*.

Book 1 (pp. 7-9)

(D): Did it take him long to create everything or did He create everything at once ?

(M): He created everything in the twinkling of an eye, as is written: "He who lives eternally created all at once (Eccle. 18: 1)." And He divided everything in six days: the elements in three days, and in the next three days those things which are contained in the elements. On the first day He created eternal day, which is spiritual light, and all spiritual creatures. On the second day He created heaven, which separates the earthly from the spiritual creatures. On the third day He created the

⁴⁴¹ The Churchfathers.

sea and the earth. On the fourth day He created temporal day, that is sun, moon and stars in the highest element which is heaven. On the fifth day He created the birds and the fish, and put the birds in the sky and the fish in the water. On the sixth day He created animals and Man out of the lowest element which is earth.

(D): Do all creatures know God ?

(M): God made nothing which does not know him. Although lifeless things seem dead and not rational to us, nevertheless all things live for God and know their Creator. Heaven knows Him and forever turns according to His command, as is written: "God made the heavens by wisdom (Ps. 135/136: 5)." The sun, moon, and stars know God because they stay in their tracks according to His will. The earth knows Him and produces vegetation and grass at the appropriate times. The rivers know God and they stop at His command. The dead know Him and they rise at His will. Hell knows Him and it returns those it devoured as He commands. All animals know God and they observe the laws which he gave them.

Book 2 (p. 63)

D. - Where do honor and power come from?

M. - From God come all honor and power for the good and the wicked, as is written:

“There is no power but of God (Rom 13: 1).”

D. - How do you judge those who buy or sell honorable positions?

M. - Those that buy suffer death with Simon Mage (Acts 8: 9-24). But those who sell contract spiritual leprosy.

D. - Do leaders have more power before God than other men?

M. - The teacher's job is an honorable position, but it is of no use before God if there is no merit. If leaders of the churches, that is bishops and priests, provide good examples in words and deeds, then they receive as much glory as the number of souls that are redeemed by their example, as is written. But if they hold back the words of salvation from their people, or lead them to the grave of death by their bad example, then they will suffer as many torments as souls were lost by their example or as many as they neglected to save by their teaching. As is written: “God required more from those to whom He gives more (Luke 12: 48),” and they will receive their torments. Those who possess worldly honor, like kings and judges, and who can nobly pardon their people will receive greater mercy from God, the righteous Judge (2 Tim. 4: 8), than other men, because they will be given a fitting seat by God who serve Him well. And those who cruelly condemn others will suffer more pain because they have “delivered” judgment without mercy (Jas. 2: 13).

Book 2 (p. 81)

D. - What is hell and where is it?

M. - There are two hells: one is the lower, the other is the upper. Upper hell is the lowest part in this world. That place is full of pains and darkness and disease, fire and frost, hunger and thirst, and other pains of the body, such as fighting, grief and fear, as is written: "Bring my soul out of prison (Psal. 141: 8 and 142: 7), which is to be understood out of hell. Lower hell is spiritual torture, that is inextinguishable fire, as is written; "You delivered my soul from the lower hell (Psal. 85/86: 13)." This place is below the earth so that sinful souls are buried in torment as bodies are buried in the earth. In this place there are nine main torments. The first is such extreme fire that it could not be extinguished even if all lakes and the ocean would cover it. That fire burns but does not shine, and it will be to the same extent hotter than regular fire as fire is hotter than a picture painted of it. The second is frost, so great that a mountain of fire would turn into ice if it covered it. About this torment is written: "There is weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matth. 8: 12 & 24: 51)," because the smoke of the fire makes the eyes weep and the frost makes the teeth gnash. The third torment is terrible snakes and dragons, horrible in appearance and in the voice, which live in fire just as fish live in water. The fourth torment is repulsive stench. The fifth is fierce battle. The sixth is darkness that can be touched, as is written: "The earth of darkness and disease where much heat lives and eternal fear (Job. 10: 22)." The seventh is the disgrace of sin, because no ugly deed can be hidden there. The eighth is fear of the dreadful sight of devils and dragons which spew fired brimstone, and the miserable noise of weeping and the laughter of the devils. The ninth torment is fiery fetters which bind all members.

Book 3 (p. 89)

D. - How will the judgment take place?

M. - Now the good and the wicked are blended together, and many seem good who are wicked and some seem wicked who are good. But at the time of judgment the angels will separate the good from the wicked like wheat from chaff, and they will divide them into four hosts. One host consists of the perfect who judge with the Lord; the third consists of the ungodly who perish without judgment; and the fourth are the wicked who perish in the judgment.

D. - Who will judge?

M. - The apostles and the martyrs, the monks and the virgins.

D. - How do they judge the righteous?

M. - They show that they are worthy of glory because they have been improved by their teaching and examples.

D. - Who will be saved in the judgment?

M. - Those who accomplished works of mercy in lawful marriage and those who atones for their sins through repentance and charity. To them it is said: "Come you blessed of my Father, for I was hungry and you gave me to eat (Matth. 25: 34)."

D. New Orientations: Incursions into French Literature

Hans Mogensen: *Philippe de Commines. Memoirer*

The work of Philippe de Commines (c.1447-1511) became very popular in the 16th century, and more than thirty-three editions of his *Mémoires* were printed. The first part of his memoirs was printed posthumously in 1524, i.e. the section about Louis XI (r.1461-1483) and the second part about Charles VIII (r.1483-1498) was published in 1528. The text was translated into many European vernaculars. The German Reformation-century historian and philosopher Johannes Sleidanus (1506-1556) translated Commines's work into Latin in 1545. Hans Mogensen (1525-1595), bishop in Trondheim translated the history into Danish(-Norwegian) in 1574.

Philippe de Commines was born into the bourgeoisie, his father was Bailiff of Gent in the Flanders, and godson of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He was quite well read and developed an interest for history at an early age, although like many young men from the rich middle and upper classes, he was never taught Latin. The perception that Latin was necessary for anyone with intellectual aspirations was typical of the period. Says Arild Huitfeldt—the man who edited and published Mogensen's translation in 1605—"Jeg haffuer ofte forwndret mig, att aff en wlærdt mand, som icke forstoed latinen, nogit sligtt dett fuldkommen wor, skulle kunde forebringes, men der jeg seer heden thill dend lange forfarenhed, øffuelse oc brug, hand haffuer hafft thill hoffue, vdi krig oc legationer, forundrer mig thes icke saa saare, och maa well bekiende, att lærdom oc forfaring vdi latinen oc goede konster er goed, oc till huad som vdi skriff

skall wdgaæ thienlig; men ett forstandigt hoffuit aff øffuelse, land brug oc forfaring er dett meste som gjør werckid.” (Nørlund 1913, p. 7).⁴⁴²

At approximately twenty years of age, De Commynes moved to Lille, to the court of Burgundy, where he entered into the service of Charles of Charolais (1433-1477)—later Duke of Burgundy—whom he accompanied in the Battle of Montlhéri in July 1465, and later in the Battle of Dînant in 1466. He had first hand knowledge of the conflict. De Commynes became a skilled diplomat in the service of the Duke and was sent on numerous delicate missions abroad, to England, Brittany and Spain. His merits were many, and in 1472, the King—Louis XI—convinced him to join him as chamberlain and confidential advisor in his struggle against Charles, an ally of Edward IV of England, whose sister became his third wife in 1468. The change of allegiance was not De Commynes’ first choice. In fact, Louis withheld De Commynes’ annuity as a means of pressurizing him to abandon Charles and to enter into his own service. De Commynes soon advanced to become the head of the King’s diplomatic corps, a position he held until the King’s death in 1483. His work was always handsomely rewarded, and De Commynes became one of the richest proprietors in France. As a result of his close personal relationship with the key players in French politics during the tumultuous second half of the 15th century, Commynes wrote a history with a different touch. He was not merely the historian of events, the external observer, but also, to a considerable extent, an insider to the conflict, an active participant in the happenings, a man whose work influenced the very outcome of the various political

442 I have often wondered if a man without learning—a man who does not know Latin—could produce something perfect. As I see how he [de Commynes] has made good use of his head, his long experience and practice, [both] in war and [diplomatic] missions, I no longer wonder as much, and must confess that although learning and experience in Latin and the arts are indeed good and convenient for anyone who writes, a good head, practice and long experience will do the work, too.”

adventures. In his capacity of personal advisor—first to Charles, the Duke of Burgundy; then to Louis, the King of France—he had first-hand access to what happened both behind the scenes and in public. A conscientious man, he did not like to report on things to which he had not himself been witness, and if he did, he warned the reader of the fact, and was careful to mention his sources.

Hans Mogensen, according to Nørlund, used a certain Jean de Selves' abbreviated edition of De Commynes' *Mémoires* as source text when translating this French history. I have not been able to locate any edition of Commynes' history published by a Jean de Selves. It is therefore not possible to compare the translated text with its direct source. This may be why Mogensen's version does not quite correspond to the extracted (and standardized) French version by Gaston Paris that I have used. Mogensen's Danish-Norwegian is fairly homogenous, however, in Chapter XVIII the orthography deviates somewhat from the earlier chapters, especially as regards the personal pronoun "hand" (he) which sometimes is spelled "han." The link "oc" (and) becomes "och" and the verb "vor(e)" is spelled "waar", where the double -aa- only suggests a long vowel and not the traditional "å" (o). In Chapter XVIII, Mogensen, or maybe the posthumous printer, also augments the use of the German double-s "ß"—replacing both double and single s—even at the end of words, which is rather unusual. This usage is not, however, consistent throughout the chronicle. The increased presence of the double ß in the narrative (and especially in the chapter concerned) may have been due to influence from translations of German devotional material after the Reformation as well as being a remnant of medieval manuscript paper-saving techniques. The German capitalization of nouns was, however, not adopted.

The selected text passages includes De Commynes' description of the battle of Montlhéri from his time with the Duke of Burgundy, and his description of Louis XI, his new master from 1472.

The French Text

The selected text has been extracted from Paris, Gaston & Alfred Jeanroy (Eds.) (1927) *Extraits des chroniqueurs français: Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commines* (avec notes et glossaire). Paris: Hachette. For an established English translation of Commines' history and description of Louis XI, see Jones 1972.

Épisodes de la bataille de Montlhéri

(Paris & Jeanroy 1927, pp. 358-371)

(The Count of Charolais, knowing that Louis XI, who was at Bourbonnais, had started returning to Paris, put up his position at Longjumeau, intending to block him, while his back-troops, under the commandment of the Count of Saint-Paul, had directed his men two miles further south, at Montlhéri. The King had wanted to avoid an engagement, but one of his lieutenants, Pierre de Brézé, great seneschal of Normandie, had other intentions. The head troops of the royal army, at the village of Montlhéri, ran into Saint-Paul's troops on July 16, 1475. The Count of Charolais, as soon as he heard, hastened to assist his lieutenant.)

Il avoit esté dit que on marcheroit a trois foyz, pour ce que la distance des deux batailles estoit longue. Ceulx du roy estoient vers le chasteau de Mont le Héry, et avoyent une grant haye et ung fossé au devant d'eulx. Oultre estoient les champs pleins de blédz et de febves, et d'autres grains très fors: car le territoire y estoit bon.

Tous les archiers du dit conte marchoient a pied devant luy et en mauvais ordre : combien que mon advis est que la souvereine chose du monde pour les batailles sont les archiers, mais qu'ilz soient par milliers (car en petit nombre ne vallent rien) et que ce soient gens mal montez, a ce qu'ilz n'ayent point de regret a perdre leurs chevaulx, au que de tous les poinctz n'en ayent point; et vallent myeulx pour vray, pour ung jour, et

cest office ceulx qui jamais ne veirent riens que les bien exercitez. Et aussi telle opinion tiennent les Angloys, qui sont la fleur des archiers du monde.

Il avoit esté dit que on se reposeroit deux fois au chemin, pour donner alayne aux gens de pied, pour ce que le chemin estoit long, et les fruict de la terre lons et fors, qui les empeschoient a aller; toutesfois tout le contraire se feist, comme se on eust voulu perdre a son escient. Et en cela monstra Dieu que les batailles sont en sa main, et dispose de la victoire de son plaisir. Et ne m'est pas advis que le sens d'ung homme sceust porter ne donner ordre a ung si grant nombre de gens, ne que les choses tinssent aux champs comme elles sont ordonnees en chambre; et que celluy qui se estimeroit jusques la mesprendroit envers Dieu, s'il estoit homme qui eust raison naturelle; combien que ung chascun y doit faire ce qu'il peult et ce qu'il doit, et recongnoistre que c'est ung des accomplissemens de oeuvres que Dieu a commencees aucunes foys par petites mouvetez et occasions, et en donnant la victoire aucunes foys a ung, et aucunes foys a l'autre; et est ce mistere si grant, que les royaumes et grans seigneuries en prennent aucunes foys fin et desolation et les autres accroissement et commencement de regner.

Pour revenir a la declaration de cest article, le dict conte marcha tout d'une boutee, sans donner alayne a ses archiers et gens de pied. Ceulx du roy passerent ceste haye par deux boutz, tous hommes d'armes; et comme ilz furent si près que de getter les lances en arrest, les hommes d'armes Bourguignons rompirent leurs propres archiers, et passerent dessus sans leur donner loisir de tirer ung coup de flesche, qui estoient la fleur et esperance de leur armee; car je ne croy pas que les douze cens hommes d'armes, ou environ, qui y estoient, qu'il en y eust cinquante qui eussent sceu coucher une lance en arrest. Il n'y en avoit pas quatre cens armez de cuirasses, et si n'y avoit pas ung seul serviteur armé. Et tout cecy a cause de la longue paix, et que en ceste maison de

Bourgogne ne tenoient nulles gens de souldée,⁴⁴³ pour soulager le peuple de tailles; et oncques puis ce jour ce quartier de Bourgogne n'eut repos jusques a ceste heure, qui est pis que jamais.

Ainsi rompirent eulx mesmes la fleur de leur armee et esperance; toutefois Dieu, qui ordonne de tel misere, voulut que le cousté où se trouva le dit conte (qui estoit a la main droite vers le dit chasteau) vanquist sans trouver nulle deffense: et me trouvay ce jour tousjours avec lui, ayant moins de crainte que je n'euz jamais en lieu ou je me trouvasse depuis, pour la jeunesse en quoy j'estoie, et que je n'avoie nulle cognoissance du peril, mais estoie esbahy comme nul ne osoit deffendre contre tel prince a qui j'estoie, en estimant que ce fust le plus grant de tous les autres. Ainsi sont gens qui n'ont point d'experiance: dont vient qu'ilz soustiennent assez d'arguz mal fondez et a peu de raison. Par quoy l'on ne se repent jamais pour parler peu, mais bien souvent de trop parler.

A la main senestre estoit le seigneur de Ravestain⁴⁴⁴ et messire Jacques de Saint-Pol, et plusieurs autres, a qui il sembloit qu'ilz n'avoient pas assez d'hommes d'armes pour soustenir ce qu'ilz avoient devant eulx; mais dès lors estoient si approuchez qu'il ne falloit plus parler d'ordre nouvelle. En effet, ceulx la furent rompuz a plate costure, et chassez jusques au charroy; et la pluspart fouyrent jusques en la fourrest, qui estoit près de demye lieue. Au charroy se rallierent quelques gens de pied Bourguignons. Les principaulx de ceste chasse estoient les nobles du Daulphiné et Savoysiens, et beaucoup de gens d'armes aussi; et se attendoient d'avoir gainé la bataille; et de ce cousté y eut une grant fuyte des Bourguignons, et de grans personnaiges, et fuyoient la pluspart pour gaigner le Pont Sainte Maixence, qui cuydoient qu'il tinst encores pour eulx. En la

443 Le terme "soldat" signifie a trained soldier ("soldé" – i.e. salaried).

444 Adolphe de Ravestain (d.1528) , son of Duke of Clèves and Marie de Burgundy, Philippe le Bon's sister. Adolphe de Ravestain was thus the cousin of the Duke of Charolais, whom he served loyally all his life.

fourest y en demeura beaucoup, et, entre autres, s'y estoit retiré monseigneur le connestable,⁴⁴⁵ qui estoit assez bien accompagné; le charroy estoit assez près de la dicte fourest, et monstra bien depuis qu'il ne tenoit encores pas la chose pour perdue.

Le conte de Charoloy chassa de son costé demye lieue, oultre le Mont le Hery, et a bien peu de compaignie; toutesfois nul ne se deffendoit, et trouvoit gens a grant quantité; et ja cuydoit avoir la victoire. Ung vieil gentil homme de Luxembourg, appelé Anthoine Le Breton, le vint querir, et luy dist que les François s'estoient ralliez sur le champ, et que s'il chassoit plus gueres, il se perdrait. Il ne se arresta point pour luy, non obstant que il luy dist par deux ou trois foys. Incontinent arriva monseigneur de Contay⁴⁴⁶ (dont cy dessus est parlé), qui luy dit semblables parolles comme avoit faict le vieil gentil homme de Luxembourg, et si audacieusement, qu'il estima sa parole et son sens, et retourna tout court: et croy que s'il fust passé oultre deux traictz d'arc, qu'il eust esté prins comme aucuns autres qui chassoient devant luy; et passant par le village trouva une flote de gens a pied qui fuyoient: il les chassa, et si n'avoit pas cent chevaulx en tout. Il ne se retourna que ung homme a pied, qui luy donna d'ung voulge parmy l'estomac; et au soir s'en veit l'enseigne. La pluspart des autres se sauverent par les jardins; mais celuy la fut tué.

Comme il passoit rasibus du chastel, veismes les archiers de la garde du roy devant la porte, qui ne bougerent. Il en fut fort esbahy, car il ne cudoit point que il y eust plus ame de deffense. Si tourna a costé pour gaigner le champ, ou luy vindrent courre sus quinze ou seize hommes d'armes ou environ (une partie des siens s'estoient ja separez de luy), et d'entrée tuerent son escuyer trenchant, qui s'appelloit Philippe d'Oignies, et portoit ung guidon de ses armes: et la le dit conte fut en très grant dangier, et eut

445 Louis de Luxembourg had been knighted in 1465; he was beheaded in 1475.

446 Louis de Chantai, in the service of the Duke of Burgundy.

plusieurs coups, et entre les aultres ung en la gorge d'une espee, dont l'enseigne lui est demouree toute sa vie, par deffault de sa baviere qui luy estoit cheute, et avoit esté mal attachee dès le matin; et luy avoie veu cheoir; et luy furent mys les mains dessus, disant : « Monseigneur, rendez vous, je vous congnois bien: ne vous faictes point tuer. » Tousjours se deffendoit: et sur ce debat le filz d'ung medicin de Paris nommé maistre Jean Cadet (qui estoit a luy), gros et lourd et fort, monté sur ung cheval de ceste propre taille, donna au travers, et les despartit. Tous ceulx du roy se retirent sur le bort d'ung fossé, ou ils avoient esté le matin; car ils avoient craincte d'aucuns qu'ils veoient marcher, qui s'aprochoient; et luy, fort sanglant, se retira a eulx comme au milieu du champ; et estoit l'enseigne du bastart de Bourgogne⁴⁴⁷ toute despeece, tellement qu'elle n'avoit pas ung pied de longueur; et a l'enseigne des archiers dudit conte il n'y avoit pas quarante hommes en tout; et nous y joignismes (qui n'estions pas trente) en très grant doubte. Incontinent il changea de cheval, et luy bailla ung qui estoit lors son paige, qui avoit nom Simon de Quingy, qui depuis a esté bien congneu.

Le dit conte se mist par le champ, pour rallier ses gens; mais je veiz telle demye heure que nous, qui estions demourez la, n'avions l'oeil que a fouyr, se il fust marché cent hommes. Il venoit a nous dix hommes, vingt hommes, que de pied, que de cheval; les gens de pied blessez et lassez, tant de l'oultrage que leur avions faict le matin,⁴⁴⁸ que aussi des ennemys, luy revint incontinent qui n'amena pas cent personnes, mais peu a peu en venoit. Notre champ estoit aussi ras en demie heure; devant les bleds estoient si granz et la pouldre la plus terrible du monde, tout le champ semé de mors et de chevaulx, et ne se congnoissoit nul homme mort, pour la pouldre.

447 Antoine, "the bastard of Burgundy," natural son of Philippe le Bon (1421-1504), captain in the successive services of the Duke of Burgundy, Louis XI and Charles VIII.

448 The row of archers had been broken by their own cuirassiers that morning.

Incontinent veismes saillir le conte de Saint Pol du boys, qui avoit bien quarante hommes d'armes avec luy, et son enseigne; et marchoit droict a nous, et croissoit de gens; mais il nous sembloit bien loing. On luy envoya trois ou quatre foys prier qu'il se hastast; mais il ne se mua point, et ne venoit que le pas, et fit prendre des lances a ses gens, qui estoient a terre; et venoit en ordre (qui donna grant reconfort a noz gens), et se joignirent ensemble avec grant nombre, et vindrent la ou nous estions; et nous trouvastes bien huyt cens hommes d'armes, de gens de pied peu ou nuls, qui garderent bien le dit conte qu'il n'eust la victoire entiere: car il y avoit ung fossé et une grande haye entre les deux batailles dessus dictes ...

Des deux parties y mourut deux mille hommes du moins: et fut la chose bien combatue, et se trouva des deux coustez de gens de bien, et de bien lassez. Mais ce fut grant chose, a mon advis, de se rallier sur le champ et estre trois ou quatre heures en ceste estat, l'ung devant l'autre, et devoient bien estimer les deux princes ceulx qui leur tenoient si bonne compaignie a ce besoing: mais ilz en firent comme hommes, et non point comme anges: tel perdit ses offices et estatz pour s'en estre fouy, et furent donnez a d'autres, qui avoient fouy dix lieues plus loing. Ung de nostre costé perdit auctorité, et fut privé de la presence de son maistre; ung mois après eut plus auctorité que devant.

Cloz que nous feusmes de ce charroy, chascun se logea le mieulx qu'il peut. Nous avions grant nombre de blecez, et la pluspart fort descouragez et espouvantez, craignans que ceulx de Paris, avec deux cens hommes d'armes qu'il y avoit avec eulx, et le mareschal Joachim,⁴⁴⁹ lieutenant du roy en la dicte cité, sortissent, et que l'on eust affaire de deux coustez. Comme la nuyt fut toute close, on ordonna cinquante lances, pour veoir ou le roy estoit logié. Il y en alla par adventure vingt. Il y pouoit avoir trois

449 Joachim Rouault, the king's lieutenant in Paris.

gectz d'arcs de nostre camp jusques ou nous cuydions le roy. Cependant monseigneur de Charroloys beut et mangea ung peu, et chascun en son endroit, et luy fut adoubee sa playe qu'il avoit au col.

Au lieu ou il mengea fallut oster quatre ou cinq hommes mors pour lui faire place, et mit l'on deux boteaulx de paille ou se sist: et en remuant illec, ung de ces pauvres gens nudz commencea a demander a boire; on luy getta en la bouche un peu de ptizanne de quoy le dit seigneur avoit beu, dont le cueur luy revint, et fut congneu, et estoit un archier de corps du dit seigneur, fort renommé, appellé Savarot, et fut pensé et guery ...

Environ mynuit revindrent ceulx qui avoient esté mis dehors, et pouez penser qu'ilz n'estoient point allez loing; et rapporterent que le roy estoit logié a ces feuz qu'ils avoient veu. Incontinent on y en envoya d'autres: et une heure après se remettoit chascun en estat pour combattre; mais la pluspart avoit myeulx envye de fouyr. Comme vint le jour, ceulx que on avoit mis hors du camp rencontrerent ung charretier qui estoit a nous et avoit esté prins le matin, qui apportoit une cruche de vin du village, et leur dist que tout s'en estoit allé. Ilz envoyerent dire ces nouvelles en l'ost, et allerent jusques la. Ils trouverent ce qu'il disoit et le revindrent dire: dont la compagnie eut grant joye: et y avoit assez de gens qui disoient lors qu'il falloit aller après, qui faisoient bien mesgre chiere une heure devant. J'avoye un cheval extremement las et vieil. Il beut ung seeil plein de vin: par aucun cas d'aventure il y mit le museau; je le laissay achever; jamais ne l'avoye trouvé si bon ne si fraiz ...

Tout ce jour demoura encores monseigneur de Charroloys sur le champ, fort joyeux, estimant la gloire sienne, qui depuis luy a cousté bien chier : car oncques puis il ne usa de conseil d'homme, mais du sien propre : et estoit très inutile pour la guerre paravant ce jour, et n'aymoit nulle chose qui y appertinst; mais depuis changerent ses

pensees, car il y a continué jusques a sa mort; et par la fut finee sa vie et sa maison destruite, et si elle ne l'est du tout, si est elle bien desolee. Trois grans et saiges princes, ses predecesseurs, l'avoient eslevee bien hault, et y a peu de roys (sauf celluy de France) plus puissans de luy, et pour belles et grosses villes, nul ne l'en passoit. L'on ne doibt trop estimer de soy, par especial un grant prince; mais doibt congnoistre que les graces et bonnes fortunes viennent de Dieu. Deux choses plus je diray de luy: l'une est que je croy que jamais nul homme ne peut porter plus de travail que luy, en tous endroicz ou il faut exerciter la personne; l'autre que a mon advis je ne congneuz oncques homme plus hardi. Je ne luy ouy oncques dire qu'il fust laz, ny ne luy viz jamais faire semblant d'avoir peur, et si ay esté sept annees de renc en la guerre avec luy, l'esté pour le moins, et en aucunes l'iver et l'esté. Ses pensees et conclusions estoient grandes; mais nul homme ne les sçauroit mettre a fin, si Dieu n'y eust adjousté de sa puissance.

Caractère de Louis XI

(Paris & Jeanroy 1927, pp. 372-377)

Je me suis mys en ce propoz pour ce que j'ay veu beaucoup de tromperies en ce monde, et de beaucoup de serviteurs envers leurs maistres, et plus souvent tromper les princes et seigneurs qui voluntiers escoutent. Et entre tous ceulx que j'ay jamais congneu, le plus sage pour soy tirer d'un mauvais pas, en temps d'adversité, c'estoit le roy Loys onzieme, nostre maistre, et le plus humble en parolles et en habits, qui plus travailloit a gagner ung homme qui le pouoit servir ou qui pouoit nuyre. Et ne se ennuyoit point a estre reffusé une foys d'ung homme qu'il praticquoit a gagner; mais y continuoit, en luy promettant largement, et donnant par effect argent et estatz qu'il congnoissoit qui luy plaisoient. Et ceulx qu'il avoit chassez et deboutez en temps de paix et de prosperité, il les rachaptoit bien chier quant il en avoit besoing, et s'en

servoit, et ne les avoit en nulle hayne pour les choses passees. Il estoit naturellement amy des gens de moyen estat et ennemy de tous grans qui se pouoient passer de luy. Nul homme ne presta jamais tant l'oreille aux gens, ny ne s'enquist de tant de choses comme il faisoit, ny ne voulut congnoistre tant de gens; car aussi veritablement il congnoissoit toutes gens d'auctorité et de valleur qui estoient en Angleterre, Espagne et Portingal, Ytalie et seigneuries du duc de Bourgongne, et en Bretagne, comme il faisoit ses subjectz. Et ces termes et façons qu'il tenoit, dont j'ay parlé icy dessus, luy ont sauvé la couronne, veu les ennemys qu'il s'estoit luy mesme acquis a son advenement au royaume. Mais sur tout luy a servy sa grant largesse; car ainsi comme saignement conduysoit l'adversité, a l'opposite, dès qu'il cuydoit estre asseur, ou seulement en une treve, il se mettoit a mescontenter les gens par petiz moyens qui peu luy servoyent, et a grant peyne pouoit endurer paix. Il estoit legier a parler de gens, et aussi tost en leur presence que en leur absence, sauf de ceulx qu'il craignoit, qui estoient beaucoup, car il estoit assez craintif de sa propre nature. Et quant pour parler il avoit receu quelque dommaige, ou en avoit sospesson, et il le vouloit reparer, il usoit de ceste parolle au personnaige propre: « Je sçay bien que ma langue m'a porté grant dommaige, aussi m'a elle faict quelque-foys du plaisir beaucoup; toutes fois c'est raison que je repare l'amende. » Et ne usoit point de ces privees parolles qu'il ne feist quelque bien au personnage a qui il parloit, et n'en faisoit nulz petiz.

Encores faict Dieu grant grace a ung prince quant il scet bien et mal, et par especial quant le bien le precede, comme au roy nostre maistre dessus dict. Mais a mon advis que le travail qu'il eut en sa jeunesse, quant il fut fugitif de son pere et fouyt soubz le duc Philippes de Bourgongne, ou il fut six ans, luy vallut beaucoup, car il fut contrainct de complaire a ceulx dont il avoit besoing; et ce bien luy apprit adversité, qui n'est pas petit. Comme il se trouva grant et roy couronné, d'entrée ne pensa que aux vengences, mais tost luy en vint dommaige et quant et quant la repentence, et repara ceste follie et ceste erreur

en regaignant ceulx a qui il tenoit tort, comme vous entendrez cy après. Et s'il n'eust eu la nourriture autre que les seigneurs que j'ay veu nourrir en ce royaume, je ne croy point que jamais se fust ressours; car ils ne les nourrissent seulement que a faire les folz en habillemens et en parolles; de nulles lettres ilz n'ont congnoissance, ung sage homme on ne leur met a l'entour, ilz ont des gouverneurs a qui on parle de leurs affaires, a eulz riens; et ceulz la disposent de leurs affaires. Et telz seigneurs y a, qui n'ont que treize livres de rente en argent, qui se gloriffient de dire: « Parlez a mes gens, » cuydans par ceste parolle contre-faire les très grans. Aussi ay je veu bien souvent leurs serviteurs faire leur prouffit d'eulx, et leur donner bien a congnoistre qu'ilz estoient bestes. Et si d'aventure quelc'un s'en revient, et veult congnoistre ce qui luy appartient, c'est si tard qu'il ne sert plus de gueres; car il fault noter que tous les hommes qui jamais ont esté grans et faict grans choses ont commencé fort jeunes. Et cela gist a la nourriture, ou est de grace de Dieu.

Danish-Norwegian Translation

The text has been extracted from Nørlund, Poul (Ed.) (1913) *Hans Mogensens (1525-1595) Oversættelse af Philippe de Commines «Memoires» [1574]*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel.

Første Bog

Hertog Carl slar sin leiger for Monthleri, oc stod en slactning der samme steds, imellom kongen aff Franckerig oc hannem.

Cap: V.

(Page 35) Der hertog Carl (som sagd er) fick aff kongens optog aff Borbonois at vide, oc at hand kom (som hand mente) dragendis lige at hannem; fick hand oc i sinde at drage hannem under øignene, oc da fremsagde hand for sitt folck her offuen bemelte breffs indehold, personen wneffnd som det skreff, paa det at huer mand skulle vere

fortenckt wdi at holde sig well, fordi hand wor til sinde at ville forsøge sin løcke. Di lagde hand sig i en bonde by hoss Pariis, kalled Longimeau, oc greffuen aff S: Paul med alt fortoged lagde hand til Montlheri, huilcked er to mile lenger frem. De vdsende speidere og reigsener offuer landit, at forfare om kongens komme, oc huad veig hand drog...

(Pages 39-41) Alle hertogens skytter droge for hannom, ilde wdi ordning. Nu siunis mig at i en slachtning ere skøtterne den beste part aff folkid, met saa skell, at de ere mange i følge; fordi ere de faa, da er de til ingen ting nøttige. Det er oc gott at de ere ilde ridindis, at de icke achte om at miste deris heste: eller at de aldelis ingen haffue. De erre oc strax første dag nøtteligere til denne gierning, de det aldrig saae, end de som ere der udi well forsøgte. Saaledis mene ocsaa de Engelske, som ere blomsterid for alle skøtter i verden. Det wor sagd, at mand tyßer skulle raste paa veyen, at folckit kunde faa till aande, fordi veyen wor long, oc grøden paa iorden høy oc tyck, huilcked dennom sinckede paa deris gong. Dog skede det alt tuert emod, lige som mand vilde haffue tabt med vilge, oc der wdi gaff gud tilkiende; at slachtinger staa i hans hand, oc hand skicker seyeren effter sin vilge.⁴⁵⁰

Oc siunes mig, at it meniskis forstand icke skulde kunde formaa, at raade saadant it stort tall folck, oc skaffe det saa, at det holdis i marcken, saa som det i et kammerß eller stue kand besluttis. Oc achter ieg, at huem sig kiender der god fore: forhomodede sig, oc forgrebe sig imod gud, der som hand ellers vore det meniske som haffde naturlig fornufft. Saa bør dog huer i sin sted der wdi at giøre, huad hand kand, oc hans befaling vdkreffuer, oc vide at det er at fuldkomme enn aff de gierninger, som gud haffuer budit.

450 Mogensen has inverted the order of the text. In Commynes' history the first four sentences are at the end of the paragraph.

Seyeren, aff ringe orsage, giffuis stundum den ene, stundum den anden. Oc er dette saa stor en hemmelighed; at konger oc store herrdømme der aff tage derið ende oc ødeleggelser, oc andre derið grøde oc fremuext til at regnere.

At igien komme till denne slachting at fortelie, drog hertog Carl frem met it ryck, oc icke gaff sine skøtter oc fod folck raaderom till at hente aande. Kongens folck gaffue sig paa tuende stæder till dette gærde, oc alle vore de kyrißer. Oc der de vore saa ner, at de lagde glauffuene i røsten, spille de Burgundiske derið egne skytter, oc offuer rede dennom, at icke finge tid till at skiude it skud, huilke dog wore blomsterid oc fortrøstning aff deris herr. Fordi ieg icke tror, at aff XII^c kyrißer som vi haffde, vore L som viste rett at legge it glauffuen wdi. Der vor icke en eniste thienere eller suend, som haffde røsting paa. Oc dette altsammen kom aff den longuarendis fred, oc att det huß Burgundien icke holt meged folck i stedze besolding, paa det, at de kunde skone folckit med skat. Men effter den dag, som ieg her omtal, haffde diße land aldrig huile, indtill denne time, paa huilken det er verre med dennom, end det nogen tijd veredt haffuer.

Saaledið spille de selff blomsterid of fortrøstningen paa deris herr. Dog wilde gud (som i saadanne himmelige sager haffuer at raade oc biude) saa haffue det, at paa den side, som hertog Carl vor, (huilket vor paa den høyre haand emod slottet) vant hand seyer, oc fant ingen synderlig modstand. Oc denne dag lod ieg mig altid finde hoß hannom, oc haffde minde frøct, end ieg nogen tijd siden haffuer hafft, ehuor ieg haffuer verid i krig. Det volte den vngdom, som ieg vor wdi, oc at ieg haffde ingen forstand paa, huad fare ieg vor wdi. Men ieg forundrede mig, at ingen torde sette verye emod min herre, oc kom i den mening, at hand haffde ingen lige. Saadanne ere folck som icke erre forsøgte, oc der aff kommer det, at mand offte holler oc forsuarer mange meninger, som erre ilde grundede oc føye skellige. Der fore er det got at bliffue ved hans mening som sagde, at mand aldrig angrer, at mand haffuer forlidet taled: men offte mand angrer, at haffue taled for megedt.

Paa den venstre haand vor herren aff Rauenstein oc her Iacob aff S:Paul oc mange andre, huilcke vel saage oc kunde forstaa, at de icke haffde reigsetøg nock, til at bestaa det folck medt, som de haffde for haanden, men de vore allerede komne hin anden saa nær; at det icke vor taleført, at tencke paa, sagen anderledis att bestille.

Diße bleffue plat spilte, oc slagne paa flucht, oc iagede indtil vougnborgenn, oc den største part flyde hen ind i den skouff, som vor der hoß paa en halff mileueigs. Hoß vougnborgen forsamlede sig noget igienn aff det burgundiske fodfolck. De fornembste som vore med at iauge ephter, vore de edle aff Delphinat oc aff Sauoien, oc mange kyrißer der iblant. Diße mente nu, at de haffde alt vundit slagedt. Der skede en stor flucht aff de Burgundiske, oc end aff merckelige personer, oc den største part gjorde deriß beste, at de kunde naa Pont S:Maxence, huilcked de mente at enda holt paa deris haand. Monge aff dennom bleffue hollendiß i skouffuen, oc iblant andre haffde greffuen aff S:Paul hullid sig der hen. Di der hand kom paa flucht, vor hand vel nær skouffuen. Oc lod siden vel paa kiende, at hand icke enda foreholt, at vi haffde tabt med alle.

Hertogen aff Burgundien bliffuer undsett oc reddit aff en, fød til Paris.

Cap. VI.

(Pages 41-43) Hertog Carl paa sin side iagede effter vell en halff mill paa hin side Montheri, med ringe følge oc selfskaff. Oc endog att hand fant megit folck for sig; vor der dog ingen som sette verye. Derfor tenckte hand at hand allerede haffde vundit. En gammell herre mand, kalled Antonius aff Brithanien, kom effter hannom, oc opnaade hannom, oc sagde hannom, at Frantzoserne vore igien sammen ruckte paa marcken, oc at der som hand noget lenger sette ephter fienden, forkaste hand sig selff. Hand stillede sig icke for den skyld, dog hand sagde hannom dette tho eller thre gange. Strax kom herren aff Contay (huilcken der offuen er omtaledt) oc sagde hannom lige samme ord, som den gamble ædel mand hannom sagd haffde. Oc sagde hand hannom det med

saadan dristighed, at hand gaf giem paa hans ord, oc andsaa hans forstandighed, oc vende kort igien. Oc tror ieg for vist, at haffde hand draged tu pilskud frem bæder, haffde hand bleffuen fangen, som nogle andre bleffue, huilcke iagede nogedt for wdt. Som hand nu drog tilbage igien igiennom lanßbyen, fant hand enn samling aff fodfolck som flyde. Denom sette hand ephter, oc haffde dog icke, alt beregnet, hundred mand met sig. Ingenn aff detthe fod folck vende sig, wden en fodgangere, huilcken gaff hannom it stød aff it knæbelspiud for sin mauge, huilcked om afftenen bor sit tegen med sig. Den største part aff de andre fielte sig iblant hauffuerne, men denne bleff slagen.

Der hand drog hart frem for slotted, der motte wy see for slotz porten skötter, som vore kongens draffuantere,⁴⁵¹ oc de stode stock stille. Ther paa forundrede hannom saare. Thi hand icke tenckte, at der skulle vere nogit meniske mere, som skulle sla fra sig. Hand vende aff til en side, at hand kunde naa marcken. Der møtte oc rende hannom an femten eller sexten kyrißer. En part aff hans folck vore allerede skilde fra hannom, oc de andre som rende hannom an, ihielsloge hans drost,⁴⁵² som førde en liten kiende fane med hans waaben wdi, hueß nauffnn vor Philippus aff Orgues.

Hertogen vore i saare stor faare, og fick mange hug, oc iblant andre it i sin hals, huor aff hand bar tegen alle sine dage. Det volte at baartid aff hans kyriß hannom vor undffaldet, oc haffde strax om morgenen verid ille anskrued, oc ieg saag at det falt fra hannom. Hannom bleffue hender paa lagde, sigendis, herre giffuer eder fangen, ieg kiender eder vell, lader eder icke slaa ihiel. Dog veriede hand sig, oc giorde sit beste, oc der de saa droges, sette tuert ind paa thennom en lægis søn aff Parijs, med nauffnn Iohan

451 The “drabants” (of Old German origin) were a king’s or ruler’s personal guardsmen. The Danish-Norwegian adjective “drabelig” (strong and valliant) probably derives from this term (Cf. Norsk Riksmålsordbok 1983).

452 From Old German “droste,” equivalent of the Norwegian “stallare”, from the Latin “stabularius” (French “Ecuyer”): the king’s most trusted man.

Cadet, som hannom tente, en stor oc groff karl sidendiß paa en sterck hest, oc saaledis skilde hand dennom adt.

Alt kongens folck holt sig hen paa bredden aff grøfften, der som de haffde verid om morgenen, fordi de begynte at beffrøgte sig for megit folck, som de saage komme dragendiß oc komme flux an. Oc hertogen, som vor megit blodig, holt sig hen i mod dennom, saa got som mit paa marcken, oc den bastart aff Burgundien hans fane vor aff reffuen, saa at hund icke vor offuer en fod long. Oc hoß hertogens draffuanteries fennicke vore aldt til hobe regnet XL mand, oc wy, som icke vore trediuige, sloge os til dennom, oc vor os saare ilde tilmode.

Strax skiffte hert. Carl hest, oc fick en som hans smaadreng reed, hues nauffn vor Simon aff Quingy, som siden bleff well nauffnnkundig. Hertogen gaff sig vd paa sletten at sancke sit folck: men det varede en halff time, at wi vore plat forladne, oc midler tid saag vort øige effter inthed andet, end at fly, som wy oc giort haffde, dersom wi haffde bleffuit anrende aff hundrede mand. Wort folck kom plockendis til oß igien, med thi mand oc med xx mand, somme till fods, oc somme til hest. Fodfolckit vor saart oc træt, saa vel aff det offuermaade arbeide, som wy om morgenen komme dennom til at giøre: som ocsaa aff det arbeide som de haffde hafft for fienden. Det vor den tijdt at der icke vore hundrede mand hoß hertogen: men komme da nogle, oc da nogle. Kornid wor høyt, oc støffuen saa forferdelig som hand kunde vere i verden. All marcken laag offuerstrødt med døde mend og heste, oc kunde man ingen død mand kiende for støff.

I allen de saa vi greffuen aff S. Paul dagis op aff skouffuen, som haffde vell XL kyrißer hos sig, oc drog lige ad oß, oc bleff io sterckere oc sterckere. Men det siuntis oß at vare well lenge før en hand kom frem. Wy sende hannom try eller fire bud, at hand skulle skynde sig: men hand achtete det inthed, oc kom aleniste fod for fod. Hand lod sit folck optage glauffuen som laa paa iorden. Oc kom i got ordenn, huilckedt gaff wort

folck fortrøstning, oc de sloge sig nu sammen i store hobe tall, oc komme did som wi wore, at wi bleffue omsiger well viii^c kyrißer, fodfolck faa eller ingen, huilcked volte os, at min herre icke fick fuldkommen seyeruinding. Thi der vor enn grøfft oc it stor gærde emellom begge slachtorden...

Kong Loduig effter det nederlag til Mondtheri holder sig hen til Corbeill.

Cap. VII.

(Page 45) ... Paa baade sider bleffue slagne tu tusind mand i det minste, oc det gick vel hart til paa baade sider, oc fantis paa begge sider erlige folck fulduell trette. Men det wor (som mig siuntis) meged, saa at samblis igien paa marcken oc bliffue i saadan skickelse tre eller fire timer, den ene emod den anden.

Begge diße førster haffde burt at holle meged aff alle dennom, som i denne nød hulde dennom saa got selskaff: men de giorde der wdi som mennisker, oc icke som engle. En møste sin befalning oc statt, fordi hand flyde, oc bleff samme ståt giffuen en anden, som flyde ti mil lenger. En paa vor side møste sin beffalning, oc ombar sin herris tieniste, en maaned der ephter kom hand høigre i spilled en hand vor før.

Der voris vounborg vor slagen, lægrede huer sig det beste hand kunde. Wi haffde monge saarede, oc den største part vor frychtsom oc mistrøstig, befrøctendis at de aff Parijs, med de iij^c kyrißer, som de haffde hoß sig, oc marschalck Joachim kongens stathollere der samme steds, skulle giffue sig vd aff byenn, of fienden saaledis skulle faa oß at tage vare paa baade sider. Der det vor natted bleffue udsende 1 kyrißer, at forffare huor kongen haffde slaged leiger eller taged herberge. Aff dennom vdrede hen ved xx, oc kunde der vere ved try pilskud fraa vor lieger, did hen som wi tenckte att kongen skulle vere. Disemellom od oc drack hertog Carl nogit lidit, oc huer for sig lige saa, oc bleff hans saar forbundit som hand haffde i halßen. Paa den sted hand fick sig mad, maate hand lade kaste aff veigen fire eller fem døde kroppe, at der kunde bliffue rom.

Der henlagdis tu knippe halm, at hand kunde sette sig der paa. Wdi allen de som mand velte affsted ett aff de arme nøgne menisker, begynde hand at kreffue dricke, hannom bleff giffuit noged lidet tilgiort byguand i munden, aff huilcked hertog Carl haffde drucked: da fick hand til sig, oc bleff kient, oc vor en aff hertogens draffuanter, vell nauffnkundig, kalled Sauaric, hand bleff forbunden og lægt... (p. 45)

(Pages 46-47) ...Ved midnatz tide komme igien de som vore udsende, oc kand mand tencke, at de haffde icke langt veridt; de førde tiender, at kongen vor leigredt hos den ild, som de haffde seet. Strax der effter vdsende mand andre, oc en time der ephter skickede huer mand sig til at slaa. Dog den største part aff folked haffde mere mod til at fly.

Ther det dagedis, møtte de, som vdsende vore, en vougnsuend, oß tilhørendis, som om morgenen tilforn vor bleffuen fangen, oc nu kom bærendis med en krucke vijn aff landsbyen: hand sagde dennom, at kongen vor alt vnduigt. De bortsende nogle til stæden oc funde som hand sagde, oc komme oc gjorde ord der aff, huor vid den hele her bleff ganske gladt. Der vore monge som haffde gierne villed, at wi haffde giffued os ephter fiendenn, di mand kunde well tencke at deris glæde vor icke megen. Ieg haffde en time tilforn en hest, træt paa det yderste, oc der til gammell. Det hendede sig saa, at hand drack enn hæll spand vijn vd. Oc der ieg saag at hand fick mund der wdj, lod ieg hannom dricke imen igien vor. Oc der aff bleff hand saa løstig, at ieg aldrig haffde befundit hannom saa god eller saa sterck, som hand vor siden.

Effter det slag till Montlheri lod det hws Burgundien aldrig aff, at helde oc undergaa, indtil hertog Carls dødt.

Cap. VIII.

(Page 47-48) ... All den dag bleff ennda hertug Carl paa platzen, oc vor megit glad, menendis at all æren aff alt det, som sked vor, hørde hannom till allene, huilcked siden

haffuer kosted hannom saare dyre. Di ephter den dag brugte hand aldrig folckes raad: men sitt egit allene, i den sted at hand indtiill samme dag haffde verid megit nøttig i krig, oc haffde icke taged sig fore nogen ting, som hannom icke burde. Men siden bleffue hans tancker omskiffte oc forvende, oc bleff der vid ind till sin dødt, oc i saa maade bleff hans liiff at ende, oc hans huss oc slecht forderffuid eller oc meget elendight, om det icke er aldelis forderffuidt. Trende stormechtige oc viise førster, hans forfædre, haffde set det vell høyt. Oc ere faa konger (vndtagen den aff Franckerige) mechtigere til krig en hand vor. Ingen mand, oc synderligen ingen stor første skall holle formegit aff sig selff: menn skall kiendis at all naade oc god løcke kommer aff gudt.

Tvende ting vill ieg sige om hannom: den ene, at ieg tror, at aldrig nogen tog siig mere arbeid till, end hand, ehuor itt meniske skulle lade sig bruge. Thet andit, at mig siunis ieg kiende aldrig it dristigere meniske. Ieg hørde hannom aldrig sige, at hand vor trætt. Oc aldrig saa hannom at hand lod sig mercke, at hand vor ræd. Oc end haffuer ieg været VII aar vd adt slæs i krig mett hannom, io om sommeren, oc i somme aff dennom baade vinther oc sommer. Hans tancker oc opsett wore store. Men inthed meniske kunde dennom fuldriffue, wden gudt med sin macht haffde gjort der till.

Kong Lodwig den XI wor ydmig i ordt oc klædesid, oc lagde vind paa att vinde en mand, och giøre hannom sig anhengig szom hannom kunde skade eller frome.

Cap. XVIII.

(Page 69-71) Jeg haffuer begynt denne tale, fordi ieg haffuer beedt møget aff denne verdzenz bedrog, aff mange tienere emod deris herrer, och aller mest att thienere haffuer daaret offuerdaadige førster och herrer, som ycke velde høre folk tale, ßnarere end de ydmige, som gierne høre och lade sig sige.

Jblant andre som ieg nogen tidt haffuer kient vor kong Lodvig den XI voris naadige herre den aller klaageste, att helpe sig aff wløcke i modgangs tydt. Hand vaar

den allerydmigiste i talle oc klædeßid, och gjorde største flyd till, att gøre sig anhengig en mand, som hannom kunde fromme, eller ßom hannom icke kunde skade. Och lod hand sig icke nøige met, att hand feck en gang ney aff en mand, som hand haffde taget sig fore at vinde oc tage paa ßin side: mend bleff bestandigh och hart ved, loffuendis och strax giffuendis hannom pendinge, ståt och befallning, ßom hand forstod adt hannom stod huu adt. Och de hand haffde foruiist och affthacked, dennom ygenkiøbte hand well dyre, och gjorde sig gaffun medt dennom, naar hand det behøffuede. Och waar dennom ike hadsk for nogen ting, ßom war forgangen. Aff natur wor hand folkis wen aff midell maade ståt, och de store deris wven, ßom haffde hannom inthet behoff. Aldrig nogen mand lod ßig saa gierne ßige aff folk, ßom hand, eller forspurde sig ßaa møgett, som hand, om allehonde, eller welde kiende saa møget folck ßom hand. Fordi i ßandhed kiende hand alle anßeelig och duelig folk, ßom vore y Engelandt, i Spanien, i Portugall, i Italien, och y hertogens aff Burgundien landt, jo ßaa well som hand kende ßine wndersatte. Och disse wilkor och sidvoner, ßom ieg her offuen haffuer omtalet, haffue reddet hannom ßin krone, andsiendiss de fiender som hand gjorde ßig ßelfff, der hand først kom thill riget. For alle ting haffuer hans store rundhed veret hannom nøttig. Och lige ßom hand wißeligen kunde ledßage ßig i modgang: ßaa och tuert emod, ßaa tillige ßom hannom siuntis at han waar forvared och wdi tryghed, ßette hand ßig till aff ringe orßage att fortørne folk aff ringe ståt, ßom hand haffde føyge gaffn aff. Och kunde hand ßaare ilde taale fredßomelighed. Hand waar rund att thale om folk, ßaa ßnart i deris nerværelsse, ßom y deris fraværelße (undetaget dennom som hand fryctede faare), fordi hand waar ßaare reder aff ßin egen nature, och naar hand haffde talet ßig thill skade, eller befryctede ßig, att ßaa skulle were: welde hand bøde och læge dett igen, och talde gierne ßadan ord thill perßonen ßelfffuer, som hand haffde tåld for nær. Jeg wed vell att min tunge haffuer giort mig stort skaade, ßaa haffuer hun offthe giort mig thill wilge, dog er det billigt, att ieg bøder mit faldßmaal. Oc disse wenlige ord brugte hand ike

nogen tidt, att hand io ocßaa gjorde perßonen ßom hand thaalde thill, mögett thill gode. Oc nor han velde gøre nogen mand thill gode, gjorde han det ike ßom føyge waar.

Gud gjør io stor naade med en første, naar hand giffuer hannom, at hand forstaar ßig paa ont och gott. Oc synderligen naar dett gode gaar fore ßom nu sagt er om vor naadisgte herre och konge. Men ieg troffuer well, att den ginwordighed ßom han haffde i ßinn vngdom, der han bleff fluctig for ßin fader, och henflyde thill hertog Philippus aff Burgundien, huor han waar y sex aar: gjorde stort gaffn paa hannom. Fordi han da nøddis thill att føyge ßig effther deris ßinnd, ßom hannd paa den thid trengde thill, och dette gode (huilcked icke er føige) lerte modgang hannom. Men der han bleff mectig och en kroned kong, thenckte hand i begyndelßønn icke paa andett enn heffungerighed. Men vell snart waar dett hannom skadelige, ßaa att hand dett storligen angrede, och rettede denne forßielße, och formotte thennom ßom hand haffde giort wrett, ßom y her effther skulle faa att høre.

Men derßom hand icke haffde hafft anden opfødzell, enn ßom ieg haffuer ßeet herene haffue her y rigett, troer ieg icke, att hand nogen tidt haffde gaait ßin ßag ßaa well igennom. Fordi di opfødes intet thill andet en daarlighed i klædeßid, ordt och taale. Wdi bogen haffue de intet lærdt. Jcke en eneste forstandige mand laade de vere y deriss omgengilße. De haffue hoffmesterer, huilcke mand skall thaale medt, om huiss dennom macht paaligger, och ey med dennom silff, och disse raade for alle deris ßaager. Och findes well denn herre, ßom icke haffuer offuer XIII pund ind att komme, och tager ßig dog ßodanne herre forer till, att huem ßom haffuer medt hannom att gøre, dennom forvißer hand, ßigendis, du mott thale medt mitt folk, och will ßaaledis gjøre de store herrer alting effther.

Jeg haffuer ochßaa well offthe ßeet deris tienere gøre deris egenn profit hoss dennom, och lærdt thennom att di ere bæst och ingen forstand haffue. Oc derßom ßaa skeer, att hand sig betencker, och will vende igien, och selff ßee thill medt, och vide huad hannom thilhører: er det menligen ßaa ßilde tagit, att det føige kand fromme

hannom. Fordi dette skall mand mercke: att huert menniske som haffuer verid nogit, och giort noget Bynderligt i verden, den haffuer begynt y sin wngdom. Och dett altßammen kommer paa opfødzelsøn och aff gudtz naade.

English Translation

First Book

(The Duke) Charles positioned his troops at Montlheri, and a great battle took place there between him and the King of France.

Chapter V.

When Charles—as mentioned above—was informed about the King’s mustering of the Bourbonnais, and that he was on his way, decided to keep an eye on him, and had the above-mentioned letter read to his people—the author of the letter is unknown—ordering that each man should prepare himself (for war), because he (the King) intended to try his luck. He positioned his own troops in a small village near Paris called Longimeau, and the Count of Saint Pol and the vanguard at Montlheri, two miles further ahead. Charles then sent scouts across to reconnoiter the King’s whereabouts and to find out from what direction he would be coming...

It was said, that they were to rest three times on their way to allow the foot-troops to regain their breath, since the route was long and the crop high in the fields, considerably slowing their progress. However, the contrary happened, as if they wanted to loose. God revealed his intent in their action: the battle was in his hands and he distributed victory according to his will.

All the Duke’s archers advanced ahead of him, in bad order. It seems to me that in a battle, the archers are the best of the foot people, provided that they are many, because

if they are just a few they are of no use. It is an advantage that they are not on horseback, because then they do not have to worry about losing their horse, as they have none to lose. They (the archers) are most useful the first day, even though this is not always understood, not even by those who have war experience. This is also the opinion of the English, who are well known for having the best archers in the world.

And it seems to me, that one man's wit alone would not suffice to command such a large number of people, and that it is difficult to perform in the field that which has been decided in the chamber or in the office. And I regard as conceited whoever claims to be capable of such a deed; he acts against the will of God, even if he is a man who usually displays discernment. So, everyone should do as best he can according to his rank and capabilities, and know that doing so means accomplishing one of the tasks that God has given us. The victory—of little consequence—is given alternatively to the contending parties. It is no secret that kings and great realms sometimes have been vanquished and destroyed in battle, yet others have been strengthened and given (expanded) command.

But let us return to the story of the battle. Lord Charles advanced without halt, and did not allow his archers and foot soldiers to rest and regain their breath. The King's men, however, stopped twice, and they were all cuirassiers. When they came close enough to touch the (enemy's) armor with their brands,⁴⁵³ the soldiers from Burgundy overtook their own archers before these had had time to send off a single shot.

The archers are after all the pride and consolation of their lord. However, I believe that of the 1200 cuirassiers under our command, only 50 were able to use their weapons. And there was not one servant or soldier who carried a coat of mail. This was the result of long-lasting peace, and the fact that the House of Burgundy did not keep a large army

453 "Getter les lances en arrest," meaning that they could check the enemy, stop them from advancing. Mogensen seems to have misunderstood somewhat: "en arrest" becomes "i røsten" ("in the armor, cuirass").

(on a regular basis), in this way sparing their subjects from taxation. Further to the battle, the peace in the region was broken, and the conditions are today worse than they have ever been.

(Behaving like they did) they wasted the pride and consolation of their lord; however, God (who commands in such secret events) arranged matters according to his own will, so that lord Charles, who was on the right flank, won victory. And he hardly met with resistance. I was with him the entire day, and was less fearful than I have been in subsequent battles. This, of course, was because of my youth, and (the fact) that I did not fully understand the danger that I was in. I wondered why no one put up a defense against my lord, and decided that he had no match. This of course was due to my inexperience. Inexperienced people often hold and defend opinions based on poor judgment and reasoning. Therefore I agree with the man who claimed that one seldom regrets having spoken too little, only having said too much.

To the left, lord Ravenstein and sir James of Saint-Paul and many others—who could well see and understand that they were not equipped to support the people under their command—realized that they were already so close to the enemy that there was no alternative but battle.

They were beaten and pushed into retreat, chased up against the circle of wagons.⁴⁵⁴ Most of the soldiers fled into the nearby woods, situated approximately half a mile from their position. In the circle of wagons, the foot soldiers of Burgundy had gathered. Amongst the men who participated in the chase were noblemen of the Delphinat and the Savoy, and many cuirassiers. They were of the opinion that they had already won the battle. The soldiers of Burgundy had taken to flight—even some of the

⁴⁵⁴ It was common military strategy to position the utility wagons in a circle, creating a mobile fortress into which the soldiers could retreat.

more exceptional men—the majority did their best to reach the Saint-Maxence Bridge, which they still believed to be under their control. Many of them kept to the woods, amongst others the Count of Saint-Paul, who had been close to the woods when he ran for cover, and who later admitted that he imagined that we had lost on all fronts.

The Duke of Burgundy is rescued and saved by a man born to Paris.

Cap. VI.

The Duke (lord Charles), on his side of Montlheri, had chased on approximately half a mile further with a rather battered detachment. And even though he encountered quite a number of people on his way, he met no resistance. He therefore presumed that he had already won. An old man, called Anthony of Brittany, came after him, reached him and told him that the French again were gathering in the field, and that if he continued to pursue the enemy he would forfeit his luck. He nevertheless did not stop his men, although the old man repeated his message two or three times. However, shortly after, the lord of Contay (mentioned above) came to him with the same message as the old man. He informed him so resolutely that the Duke heeded his words, acknowledged his perspicacity and turned around. Indeed, had he advanced but two more arrowshots, he would have been taken prisoner as had been those of his men who had chased some distance ahead. As he retreated through the village, he found a group of fleeing people.⁴⁵⁵ He set after them, accompanied by, all counted, less than a hundred men. None of them turned, except one, who charged at him with his short spear and wounded him in the stomach, a wound that he carried into the evening. Most of the people sought cover in gardens and fields, but this one man was killed.

⁴⁵⁵ The term “foot people” sometimes seems to refer to foot soldiers, othertimes to mere civilians. I believe that the foot people of this passage indeed are civilians.

When (the lord of Contray) approached the castle, we saw archers in front of the castle entry. These were the King's guardsmen and they remained quite motionless. He (the lord of Contray) was greatly surprised, because he had thought that there was no one left to defend the place. He immediately pulled his troops over to one side of the field where he was attacked by fifteen or sixteen cuirassiers. He had by now been separated from parts of his contingence, and the attackers quickly killed his marshal, who carried a small banner with his escutcheon, a certain Philip of Oignies.

The Duke was now in very dire straits and received many blows and cuts, amongst others one in the neck, the mark of which he carried throughout his life. This was mainly due to the fact that his coat of mails had fallen off, and that he had been poorly protected from the morning, when I had seen it come apart. He was captured, and was told: "Sire, surrender, I know you well and will not kill you." However, he still resisted, and did his best (to free himself) when the son of a doctor in Paris named John Cadet—a big and brave man in his service—charged directly at them on a strong horse and in this way managed to free the Duke.

All the King's men were by the ditch, in the same position as in the morning, because they had been scared by a group of people that they had seen approaching. And the Duke, who was wounded and bloodstained, remained with them, almost in the middle of the field. The Bastard of Burgundy's banner was torn: not more than a foot of fabric remained. Of the Duke's lieutenants, every man counted, only fifteen remained, and we—who were not even thirty—joined them, greatly disheartened.

Charles immediately changed horse, taking the one used by his page, a certain Simon of Quincy, who later earned an honorable reputation. The Duke then rode around the field gathering his men. This took him approximately half an hour, and we were left undefended, yearning to run away, which we probably would have done had we been attacked by a hundred men. Then our people (returned and) joined us, ten or twenty at a

time: some by foot, some by horse. The foot soldiers were terribly wounded and tired, as much by the manner in which we had treated them that same morning,⁴⁵⁶ as by the heroic struggle they had put up against the enemy. At one point, the Duke commanded less than a hundred men; however, people continued to join our ranks in trickles. The wheat was high and the dust thick and terrible. The entire battle field was strewn with dead corpses and horses, and the grime and dust made the dead almost unrecognizable.

We then caught sight of the Count of Saint Paul emerging from the woods, accompanied by about forty cuirassiers. They were heading in our direction. We all felt that he was not advancing quickly enough, and sent him three or four couriers, urging him to hasten to our rescue. He seemed, however, not to heed our pleas, but advanced slowly, picking up short spears and weapons on his way. He then organized his troops and came to join us—giving our people renewed hope—so that we, after some time, counted more than seven hundred cuirassiers. We had, nevertheless, very few foot soldiers, a fact that explains why my master did not win a complete victory, because there was a wide ditch and a hedgerow between us and the enemies.

After the defeat at Montlheri, King Louis keeps to Corbeil.

Cap. VII.

... At least two thousand men fell on either side. The battle had been fierce and on both sides many soldiers were exhausted. However, many (or so it seemed to me) still re-organized in the field, and engaged in new battles for another three or four hours, in man-to-man combat.

Both noblemen should have appreciated the effort of the men who had fought so valiantly for them in these times of great distress; however, they acted like men and not

⁴⁵⁶ The cuirassiers had broken the line of archers.

angels. One man lost his command and estate because he fled; his estate was given to someone else who fled even ten miles further. And one man on our side lost his command because he served his master ill; notwithstanding, one month later he had come higher in the game than before.

When our circle of wagons had been conquered, each man set up his quarters wherever he could find one. We had many wounded, and most of them were disheartened and weary, fearing that the people from Paris, with their two hundred cuirassiers, and Marshal Joachim, the King's governor, should set out from town so that we would be surrounded by the enemy. When dark fell, we sent one cuirassier to reconnoiter where the King had set up camp and taken in for the night. He reported that the enemies were approximately twenty and that they were approximately three arrowshots way from us, indeed in (the direction) where we had presumed the King to be. While the scouts were on their mission, the Duke ate and drank a little, and his men, too. The wound in his neck was dressed. In the place where he had his meal, we had to move four or five corpses to make room for him and found two hayballs for him to sit on. As the men moved the corpses, one of the poor naked bodies claimed that he was thirsty. He was given a little barley-water from (Duke) Charles' goblet and soon regained strength. This man later became quite famous, and served in the Duke's guard. His name was Savaric, and his wounds were tended to and healed...

... By midnight the scouts returned to our camp. They had not been far away, and told us that the King was in the camp whose fire they had seen. Immediately, new scouts were sent out, and an hour later everyone prepared for yet another battle. However, most of the men would have preferred to flee.

As the morning broke, the scouts met one of our young charioteers who had been captured the previous day. He emerged from the village, carrying a jug of wine, and told

them that the King already had retreated. People were sent into the village to verify this information and came back confirming the young man's tale. The whole army rejoiced. There were many who would have liked us to pursue the enemy, who—they thought—must have been a rather dispirited flock. I had a horse, exhausted to the limit, and old as well. It so happened, that he drank a whole bucket of wine. When I saw how thirsty he was, I let him drink what he liked. He became so strengthened from the drink: I had never seen him in a better shape...

After the battle of Montlheri, the House of Burgundy steadily declines until the death of the Duke (Charles).

Cap. VIII.

Charles (the Duke) remained in the field, rather cheerful, estimating that the victory was due to his effort alone, an opinion that later would cost him dearly. For after that day he would no longer take anyone's advice; but only act according to his own whim. Up until then, he had indeed been both valliant and useful in war, never doing anything inappropriate. But, from this day on his attitude changed and he became fickle and inconstant and remained such until his dying day. Consequently, by the time he departed, he had managed to ruin his house and lineage, and devastated what three great princes—his own ancestors—had assembled and built. And yet there have been few kings (except the French) who were better warlords than him. No man, and especially no great leader, should hold himself in too great an esteem, but rather recognize the fact that fortune and mercy are given by God.

There are two things that I wish to say about him: firstly, that I believe that no human being worked as hard as he did, never sparing himself. Secondly, that I have never met a more courageous man. I never heard him say that he was tired, and I cannot recall having discerned his fear, although I served him more than seven years in battle,

in summer as well as in winter, and in some years both summer and winter. His thoughts and ambitions were great, but no man could have accomplish as much if not God had put his powerful mercy in the balance.

King Louis XI was humble in words and apparel and (wisely) sought the support of people who would otherwise work against him.

Cap. XVIII.

I have decided to include the present comment, as I have witnessed much (foolishness) disloyalty and betrayal in this world. Impudent servants who have turned against their lords, in particular servants who have deceived their masters, and great princes and lords who have not heeded the advice of good and humble people.

Amongst all the people that I have known, the wisest was King Louis XI, our lord and master, who often let himself be guided through adversity and misfortune. He was humble in speech and dress, and sought the company and service of those who could otherwise have harmed him. And he did not let himself be discouraged if a man that he wanted in his service refused; he continued to approach him and give him money and gifts, always making his intentions clear. Even those that he had banished and cut off, he sometimes bought back with gifts if necessary, and never showed resentment towards any of them for what had passed between them. He was a friend of the people by nature—of middle stature—and the enemy of the mighty and powerful, of whom he had no use. No man listened so closely to what people said as he, or sought people's advice as often he, or knew as many people as he did. For truly, he knew every esteemed and clever person in England, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and in the Duchy of Burgundy, as well as he knew his own subjects. His behavior and the conditions (of his accession)—described above—saved his crown, and (eased relations with) the enemies that he got when he first came to the country. For in all things his generosity did him great service.

Nevertheless, just as he indeed knew how to behave in adversity, he could—when he thought himself safe and guarded—for some obscure reason ridicule and offend people of lesser rank, people whose services he eventually needed. He seemed not to be able to tolerate peacefulness, and often spoke about people, in their presence as well as behind their backs (except those that he feared, as he was fearful of nature). When he had spoken himself into trouble, or believed to have gotten himself into a tight spot, he would express his regret and make amends, often appealing directly to the person he had offended. “I know that my tongue now has done me harm, although it has often served me well. It is now proper that I repair the damage of my slanderous tongue.” And with such friendly words it never took him long to reconcile with the offended person. And whenever he wanted to settle with a person, he did what was necessary (and spared no expenses).

God has great mercy upon a prince when he teaches him the difference between good and evil. And especially when the good takes precedence over the bad as in the case of our merciful King and master. However, I do believe that the adversity he had encountered in his youth—when he was forced to flee from his own father and take refuge with Philip of Burgundy, with whom he stayed for six years—stood him well. Because he had been obliged to please the people whose protection he needed. Adversity taught him this skill (which in itself is not a small gift). In the beginning, when he acceded to power and crown, he thought of nothing but revenge. But he soon realized that revenge was more harmful to him than reconciliation. He therefore regretted and amended his actions, speaking to the person that he had wronged (I will tell you about him later).

I believe that if he had not been brought up the way he had, but rather in the fashion of this country’s lords, he would not have been able to govern as well as he did; for they (the lords of this country) are brought up to think about nothing but their

clothes and apparel, badly schooled in both writing and speech. Of bookly knowledge they are poor, and they keep not one wise man in their entourage.⁴⁵⁷ They have their chamberlains with whom they communicate and who govern and rule in their place. Such people—who sometimes earn less than thirteen pounds (a year)—often consider themselves great men, sending people who seek their advice to members of their staff, (in this way) emulating the truly great.

I have seen servants profit from their lords, making themselves irreplaceable, claiming that they are the only ones who really understand the matters at hand. When finally the master decides to have a look at things for himself in order to assess his possessions, it is often too late and of no avail. And one should notice this: every man who has become someone, and who has done great things in this world, has started in his youth. Success depends both on the upbringing and on God's mercy.

⁴⁵⁷ Confirming what we have stated earlier, that the upper classes were often poorly educated, as education was considered fitting for the professional classes.

Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas: Hexamaëron

The first Christian thinker to write about the six days of creation was Ambrosius of Milan (c.330-394), Saint Augustine's (354-430) distinguished teacher. In the next centuries, a number of hexameral poems and essays were composed, by reputable scholars such as Saint Basil and Bede (c.672-735). The Danish scholar Anders Sunessøn (c.1180-1223) also wrote a more than eight-thousand-line long *Hexamëron*, as did his contemporary Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253). Medieval hexameral literature reflects a long tradition of didactical and devotional writing which was revived by the humanists and later by reformed scholars. The hexameral tradition reached Norway when Anders Christensen Aarebo translated Du Bartas' rather rambling poem in the early 17th century.

Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* recounts and explains the history of the six days of creation, and in many ways reflects the persistent interpretation of Genesis in the Renaissance, both Catholic and Protestant. The world created by du Bartas is still geocentric, despite the discoveries of scientists such as Copernicus (1473-1543), who had published *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543). Copernicus' heliocentric view of the universe went against the inherited vision of Ptolemy, upon whose writings generations of learned medieval men had construed their understanding of the universe.

La Sepmaine respects the chronology of Genesis, but is over-strewn with digressions, often departing from the main theme on the cue of a word or an idea that has caught the imagination of the author. His epic vision of the creation was soon translated into a number of European languages, including Danish(-Norwegian). Despite the aspirations of the title, Du Bartas' poem on the Genesis mixes material from both the Old and the New Testament.

”...Je ne présente icy une confession de foy, ains un Poëme, que je pare
autant qu’il le peut porter, des plus exquis joyaux que je butine sur toutes
sciences et professions” (Preface).

The French Text

The French text has been extracted from Yvonne Bellenger (Ed.) (1981) *La
sepmaine [1581] de Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas*. Paris: Nizet, pp.1-36.

La Sepmaine ou Création du monde de Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas

Le premier Jour

Toy qui guides le cours du ciel porte-flambeaux,
Qui, vray Neptune, tiens le moite frein des eaux,
Qui fais trembler la terre, et de qui la parole,
Serre et lasche la bride aux postillons d’Aeole,
Esleve à toy mon ame, espure mes esprits,
Et d’un docte artifice enrichi mes escrits.
O Pere, donne moy que d’une voix faconde
Je chante à nos neveux la naissance du monde.
O grand Dieu, donne moy que j’estale en mes vers
Les plus rares beautez de ce grand univers.
Donne moy qu’en son front ta puissance je lis :
Et qu’enseignant autrui moy-mesme je m’instruise.
De toujours le clair feu n’environne les airs :
Les airs d’éternité n’environnent les mers :
La terre de tout temps n’est ceinte de Neptune :

Tout ce Tout fut basti, non des mains de Fortune,
Faisant entrechoquer par discordans accords
Du resveur Democrit' les invisibles corps.
L'immuable decret de la bouche divine,
Qui causera sa fin, causa son origine :
Non en temps, avant temps, ains mesme avec le temps.
J'enten un temps confus : car les courses des ans,
Des siecles, des saisons, des mois et des journees
Par le bal mesuré des astres bornees.

Or donc avant tout temps, matiere, forme et lieu,
Dieu tout en tout estoit, et tout estoit en Dieu,
Incompris, infini, immuable, impassible,
Tout-esprit, tout-lumiere, immortel, invisible,
Pur, sage, juste, et bon, Dieu seul regnoit en paix :
Dieu de soy-mesme estoit et l'hoste et le palais.
Prophane, qui t'enquiers, quel important afaire
Peut l'esprit et les mains de ce Dieu solitaire
Occuper si long temps ? quel souci l'exerça
Durant l'eternité qui ce Tout devança :
Veu qu'à si grand puissance, à si haute sagesse
Rien ne sied point si mal qu'une morne paresse ?
Sache, O blasphemateur, qu'avant cest Univers
Dieu bastissoit l'Enfer, pour punir ces pervers
Dont le sens orueilleux en jugement appelle,
Pour censurer ses faits, la Sagesse eternelle.

Quoy ? sans bois pour un temps vivra le charpentier,
Le tisseran sans toile, et sans pots le potier :
Et l'Ouvrier des ouvriers, tout puissant et tout sage
Ne pourra subsister sans ce fragile ouvrage ?
Quoy ? le preux Scipion pourra dire à bon droit
Qu'il n'est jamais moins seul, que quand il se voit :
Et Dieu ne pourra point (Ô Ciel, quelle manie!)
Vivre qu'en lou-garou, s'il vit compagnie ?
Quoy ? des sages Gregeois l'honneur Pryenien
Dira, que lui marchant, chamine tout son bien :
Et Dieu, qui richement en tous thresors abonde ?
Sera necessiteux sans les thresors du Monde ?
Dieu ne sort hors de soy pour prendre ses esbat.
Il ne mendie rien, ains tousjours haut et bas,
Il fait de l'Ocean de ses douces largesses
Regorger, liberal, mille mers de rishesses.
Avant qu'Eure soufflast, que l'onde eust des poissons,
Des cornes le Croissant, la Terre des moissons,
Dieu, le Dieu souverain n'estoit sans exercice :
Sa Gloire il admiroit : sa Puissance, Justice,
Providence et Bonté estoyent à tous momens
Le sacré-sainct object de ses hauts pensemens.
Et si tu veux encor, de ceste grande Boule
Peut estre, il contemploit l'archetype et le moule.
Il n'estoit solitaire, avecques lui vivoyent
Son Fils et son Esprit, qui par tout le suivoient.

Car sans commencement, sans semence et sans mere,
De ce grand univers il engendra le pere :
Je di son Fils, sa Voix, son Conseil eternel,
De qui l'estre est esgal à l'estre paternel.
De ces deux proceda leur commune Puissance,
Leur esprit, leur Amour : non divers en essence,
Ains divers en personne, et dont la Deité
Subsiste heureusement de toute eternité,
Et fait des trois ensemble une essence triple-une.
Tout beau, Muse, tout beau, d'un si profond Neptune
Ne sonde point le fond : garde toy d'approcher
Ce Charybde glouton, ce Capharé rocher :
Où mainte nef, suivant la raison pour son Ourse,
A fait triste naufrage au milieu de sa course.
Qui voudra seurement par ce gouffre ramer,
Sage, n'aille jamais cingler en haute mer :
Ains costoye la rive ayant la Foy pour voile,
L'Esprit saint pour nocher, la Bible pour estoile.
Combien d'esprits subtils ont le monde abusé,
Pour avoir cest Esprit pour patron refusé :
Et quittance le saint fil d'une vierge loyale,
Se sont, perdans autrui, perdus dans de daedale ?
Dans les sacrez caiers du double Testament
A peine l'homme peut eslire un argument,
Dont le sens soit plus haut, l'enquete plus penible,
Le sçavoir plus utile, et l'erreur plus nuisible.

Aux rais de ce soleil ma veue s'esblouit,
En si profond discours mon sens s'evanouit :
De mon entendement tout le fil se rebouche,
Et les mots à tous coups tarissent dans ma bouche.
Or ceste Trinité (que, pour ne m'empescher,
J'aime plus mille fois adorer qu'esplucher)
Dans l'infini d'un rien bastit un edifice,
Qui beau, qui grand, qui riche, et qui plein d'artifice
Porte de son ouvrier empreinte en chasque part
La beauté, la grandeur, et la richesse et l'art :
Beauté, grandeur, richesse, artifice, qui boûche
Des hommes-chiens sans Dieu la blasphemante bouche.
Eschelle qui voudra les estages des cieux,
Franchisse qui voudra d'un saut ambitieux
Les murs de l'univers : et bouffi d'arrogance,
Contemple du grand Dieu face à face l'essence :
Face encore, qui voudra, ses plus beaux pensemens
Ramper par le limon des plus bas elemens,
Et contemple, attentif, tellement cest ouvrage,
Que l'honneur de l'ouvrier s'estouffe en son courage.
Piqué d'un beau souci je veux qu'ore mon vers
Divinement humain se guinde entre deux airs :
De peur qu'allant trop haut, la cire de ses ailes
Ne se fonde aux rayons des celestes chandelles :
Et que trainant à terre, ou que razant les eaux,
Il ne charge les bouts de ses craitifs cerceaux.

Il me plait bien de voir ceste ronde machine,
Comme estant un miroir de la face divine.
Il me plait de voir Dieu : mais comme revestu
Du manteau de ce Tout tesmoin de sa vertu.
Car si les raiz aigus, que le clair soleil darde,
Esblouissent celui qui, constant, les regarde,
Qui pourra soustenir sur les cieux les plus clers
Du visage de Dieu les foudroyants esclers ?
Qui le pourra trouver separé de l'ouvrage,
Qui porte sur le front peinte au vif son image ?
Dieu qui ne peut tomber és lourds sens des humains,
Se rend comme invisible és œuvres de ses mains :
Fait toucher à nos doigts, flairer à nos narines,
Gouster à nos palais ses vertus plus divines :
Parle à nous à toute heure, ayant pour truchemens
Des pavillons astrez les reglez mouvemens.
Vraiment cest univers est une docte eschole
Où Dieu son propre honneur enseigne sans parole.
Une vis à repos, qui par certains degrez
Fait monter nos esprits sur les planchers sacrez
Du ciel porte-brandons : une superbe sale
Où Dieu publiquement ses richesses estale :
Un point, sur qui lon peut, sans crainte d'abysmer,
Des mysteres divins passer la large mer.
Le monde est un nuage à travers qui rayonne
Non le fils tire-traits de la belle Latone :

Ains ce divin Phœbus, dont le visage luit
A travers l'espaisseur de la plus noire nuit.
Le monde est un theatre, où de Dieu la puissance,
La Justice, l'Amour, le Sçavoir, la Prudence,
Jouent leur personnage, et comme à qui mieux mieux,
Les esprits plus pesans ravissent sur les cieux.
Le monde est un grand livre, où du souverain maistre
L'admirable artifice on lit en grosse lettre.
Chasque œuvre est une page, et chaque sien effect
Est un beau caractere en tous ses traits parfaict.
Mais, tous tels que l'enfant, qui se paist dans l'eschole,
Pour l'estude des arts, d'un estude frivole,
Nostre œil admire tant ses marges peinturez
Son cuir fleurdelizé, et ses bords sur-dorez :
Que rien il ne nous chaud d'apprendre la lecture
De ce texte disert, où la docte Nature
Enseigne aux plus grossiers, qu'une Divinité
Police de ses loix ceste ronde Cité.
Pour lire là dedans il ne nous faut entendre
Cent sortes de jargons, il ne nous faut apprendre
Les caractere Turcs, de Memphe les pourtreys,
Ni les poincts des Hebrieux, ni les notes des Grecs.
L'Antarctique brutal, le vagabond Tartare,
L'Alarbe plus cruel, le Scythe plus barbare,
L'enfant qui n'a sept ans, le chassieux veillard,
Y lit passablement, bien que despourveu d'art.

Mais celui qui la Foy reçoit pour ses lunettes,
Passe de part en part les cercles des Planettes :
Comprend le grand Moteur de tous ces mouvements,
Et lit bien plus courant dans ces vieux documens.
Ainsi donc, éclairé par la Foy, je desire
Les textes plus sacrez de ces Pancartes lire :
Et depuis son enfance, en ses aages divers,
Pour mieux contempler Dieu, contempler l'univers.
Cest admirable ouvrier n'attacha sa pensee
Au fantasque dessein d'une œuvre pourpensee
Avec un grand travail : et, qui plus est, n'eslût
Quelque monde plus vieil, sur lequel il voulût
Modeler cestui-ci, ainsi que fait le maistre
D'un bastiment royal, qui, plus tost que de mettre
La main à la besogne, eslit un bastiment,
Où la richesse et l'art luisent esgalemment :
Et ne pouvant trouver en une seule edifice
Toutes les beautez en bloc, il prend le frontispice
De ce palais ici, d'un autre les piliers,
D'un autre la façon des riches escaliers :
Et choississant par tout les choses les plus belles,
Fait un seul bestiment dessus trente modelles :
Ains n'ayant rien qu'un Rien pour dessus lui mouler
Un chef d'œuvre si beau, l'Eternel, sans aller
Ravasser longuement, sans tressuer de peine,
Fit l'air, le ciel, la terre, et l'ondoiante plaine :

Ainsi que le soleil, qui, sans bouger des cieux,
Couronne de bouquets le Printemps gracieux :
Engrosse sans travail nostre mere feconde,
Et, lointain, rajeunit le visage du monde.
La force et le vouloir, le desir et l'effect,
L'ouvrage et le dessein d'un ouvrier se parfaict,
Marchent d'un mesme pas : sous sa loy tout se rengenç,
Et, ferme en ses projets, d'avis onc il ne change.
Et toutefois ce Rien ne vid ensemblement
Paroistre sa matiere, et son riche ornement.
Car comme cil qui veut equipper des gallees,
Pour se faire seigneur des provinces salees,
A son œuvre songeant, fait grand amas de bois,
De cordage, de fer, de toiles, et de poix :
Puis quand tout est ensemble, à l'arbre un arbre voue,
Ce bout d'ais à la pouppe, et cest autre à la proue,
Et cest autre au tillac : comme l'art et le soing
Lui guident l'œil, l'esprit, et le fer, et le poing.
Ainsi le Tout-puissant, avant que, sage, il touche
A l'ornement du monde, il jette de sa bouche
Je ne sçay quel beau mot, qui rassemble en un tas
Tout ce qu'ores le Ciel clost de ses larges bras.
Mais l'avare nocher trouve ja toute faite
La matiere navale : et Dieu la fait, l'apreste,
L'agence, l'embellit : pour un si haut dessein
Ne mendiant sujet, industrie ni main.

Ce premier monde estoit une forme sans forme,
Une pile confuse, un meslange difforme,
D'abismes un abisme, un corps mal compassé,
Un Chaos de Chaos, un tas mal entassé :
Où tous les elemens se logeoyent pesle-mesle :
Où le liquide avoit avec le sec querelle,
Le rond avec l'aigu, le froid avec le chaud,
Le dur avec le mol, le bas avec le haut,
L'amer avec le doux : bref durant ceste guerre
La terre estoit au ciel et le ciel en la terre.
La terre, l'air, le feu se tenoyent dans la mer :
La mer, le feu, la terre estoyent logez dans l'air,
L'air, la mer, et le feu dans la terre : et la terre
Chez l'air, le feu, la mer. Car l'Archer du tonnerre
Grand Mareschal de camp, n'avoit encor donné
Quartier à chacun d'eux. Le ciel n'estoit orné
De grands touffes de feu : les plaines esmaillees
N'espandoyent leurs odeurs : les bandes escaillees
N'entrefendoyent les flots : des oiseaux les souspirs
N'estoient encore portez sur l'aille des Zephirs.
Tout estoit sans beauté, sans reglement, sans flamme.
Tout estoit sans façon, sans mouvement, sans ame :
Le feu n'estoit point feu, la mer n'estoit point mer,
La terre n'estoit terre, et l'air n'estoit point air :
Ou si ja se pouvait trouver en un tel monde,
Le corps de l'air, du feu, de la terre, de l'onde :

L'air estoit sans clarté, la flamme sans ardeur,
Sans fermeté la terre, et l'onde sans froideur.
Bref, forge en ton esprit une terre, qui, vaine,
Soit sans herbe, sans bois, sans mont, sans val, sans plaine
Un Ciel non azuré, non clair, non transparent,
Non marqueté du feu, non vousté, non errant :
Et lors tu concevras quelle estoit ceste terre,
Et quel ce ciel encor où regnoit tant de guerre,
Terre, et ciel, que je puis chanter d'un stile bas,
Non point tels qu'ils estoient, mais tels qu'ils n'estoient pas
Ce n'estoit donc le monde, ains l'unique matiere
Dont il devoit sortir, la riche pepiniere
Des beautez de ce Tout : l'embryon qui devoit
Se former en six jours en l'estat qu'on le void.
Et de vray ce monceau confusement enorme
Estoit tel que la chair, qui s'engendre, difforme,
Au ventre maternel, et par temps toutesfois,
Se change en front, en yeux, en nez, en bouche, en doigts :
Prend ici forme longue, ici large, ici ronde,
Et de soy peu à peu fait naistre un petit monde.
Mais cestui par le cours de nature se fait
De laid, beau : de mort, de vif : et parfait, d'imparfait :
Et le monde jamais n'eust changé de visage,
Si du grand Dieu sans-pair le tout-puissant langage
N'eust comme siringué dedans ces membres morts
Je ne sai quel esprit qui meut tout ce grand corps.

La palpable noirceur des ombres Memphitiques,
 L'air tristement espais des brouillars Cimmeriques,
 La grossiere vapeur de l'inferral manoir,
 Et si rien s' imagine au monde de plus noir,
 De ce profond abisme emmanteloit la face.
 Le desordre regnoit haut et bas dans la masse,
 Tout estoit en brouillis, et ce Tas mutiné
 Se fust, seditieux, soy-mesme ruiné
 Tout soudain qu'il nasquit, si la vertu divine
 Esparse dans le corps de toute la machine,
 N'eust servi de mastic, pour ensemble coller
 Le vageux Ocean, le ciel, la terre, et l'air :
 Qui çà et là choquant l'un l'autre à l'aventure,
 Taschoient faire mourir la naissante nature
 Ainsi qu'un bon esprit, qui grave sur l'autel
 De la docte memoire un ouvrage immortel,
 En troupe, en table, au lict, tout jour, pour tout-jour vivre,
 Discourt sur son discour, et nage sur son livre
 Ainsi l'Esprit de Dieu sembloit, en s'esbatant,
 Nager par dessus de cest amas flottant.
 (Autre soing ne veilloit pour lors dans sa poitrine :
 Si le soing peut tomber en l'essemce divine)
 Ou bien comme l'oiseau qui tasche rendre vifs
 Et ses œufs naturels, et ses œufs adoptifs,
 Se tient couché sur eux, et d'une chaleur vive,
 Fait qu'un rond jaune-blanc en un poulet s'avive :

D'une mesme façon l'esprit de l'eternel
Sembloit couvrir ce gouffre, et d'un soin paternel
Verser en chasque part une vertu feconde.
Pour d'un si lourd amas extraire un si beau monde.
Car il n'est rien qu'un tout, qui clot de son clos tout :
Dont la sur-face n'a milieu, ni fin, ni bout.
Il n'est qu'un Univers, dont la voute supreme
Ne laisse rien dehors, si ce n'est le Rien mesme.
Or quand bien ce grand Duc, qui bien heureux aprit
En eschole d'Oreb les loix du saint Esprit,
Ne nous rendroit certains que Dieu par sa puissance
Fit en deux-fois trois-jours toute mortelle essence,
La raison demolit ces nouveaux firmamens,
Dont Leucippe a jetté les fresles fondemens :
Veu que si la Nature embrassoit plusieurs mondes,
Du plus haut univers les terres, et les ondes,
Vers le monde plus bas descendroyent sans repos,
Et tout re *refondroit* en l'antique Chaos.
Il faudroit d'autre-part entre ces divers mondes
Imaginer un vuide, où leurs machines rondes
Se peussent tourner, sans que l'un mouvement
Au mouvement voisin donnast empeschement
Mais tous corps sont liez d'un si ferme assemblage,
Qu'il n'est rien vuide entr'eux. C'est pourquoy le breuvage
Hors du tonneau percé ne se peut escouler
Qu'on n'ait d'un souspirail fait ouverture à l'air.

C'est pourquoy le soufflet dont la bouche est bouchée
Ne peut estre eslargi. C'est pourquoy l'eau cachée
Dans un vase bien-clos ne se glace en hyver.
La clepsydre ne peut les jardins abreuver
S'on ferme sa gargouille : et l'argentine source,
Qui dans le plomb creusé fait son esclave course,
Forçant son naturel rejaillit vers les Cieux,
Tant et tant à tous corps le vuide est odieux.
Dieu ne fit seulement unique la nature :
Ains il la fit bornée et d'âge, et de figure,
Voulant que l'estre seul de sa divinité
Se vid tousjours exempt de toute quantité.
Vraiment le Ciel ne peut se dire sans mesure,
Veu qu'en temps mesuré sa course se mesure.
Ce tout n'est immortel, puis que par maint effort,
Ses membres vont sentant la rigueur de la mort :
Que son commencement de sa fin nous assure,
Et que tout va ça bas au change d'heure en heure.
Composez hardiment, ô sage Grecs, les cieux
D'un cinquieme element : disputez, curieux,
Qu'en leurs corps par tout rond l'œil humain ne remarque
Commencement, ni fin : debatez que la Parque
Asservit seulement sous ses cruelle loix
Ce que l'Astre argenté revoid de mois en mois.
Le foible estayement de se vaine doctrine
Pourtant ne sauvera ce grand Tout de ruine.

Un jour de comble-en-fond les rochers crousleront :
Les monts plus sourcilleux de peur se dissoudront :
Le Ciel se crevera : les plus basses campagnes
Boursoufflees croistront en superbes montagnes :
Les fleuves tariront, et si dans quelques estang
Reste encor quelque flot, ce ne sera que sang :
La mer deviendra flamme : et les seches balenes,
Horribles, mugleront sur les cuites arenes :
Et son midi plus clair le jour s'espaissira,
Le ciel d'un fer rouillé sa face voilera :
Sur les astres plus clairs courra le bleu Neptune :
Phœbus s'emparera du noir char de la Lune :
Les estoiles cherront. Le desordre, la nuict,
La frayeur, le trepas, la tempeste, le bruit,
Entreront en quartier : et l'ire vengeresse
Du juge criminel, qui ja desja nous presse,
Ne fera de ce Tout qu'un bucher flamboyant,
Comme il n'en fit jadis qu'un marez ondoyant.
Que vous estes, hélas! de honte et de foy vuides,
Escrivains, qui couchez dans vos Ephemerides
L'an, le mois, et le jour qui clorront pour tousjours
La porte de Saturne aux ans, aux mois, aux jours ?
Et dont le souvenir faict qu'ore je me pasme,
Privant mon corps de force, et de discours mon ame.
Vostre menteuse main pose mal ses jettons,
Ne mesconte en sa chiffre, et recherche à tastons

Parmi les sombres nuicts les plus secretes choses
Que dans son cabinet l'Eternel tient encloses.
C'est luy qui tient en main de l'horloge le poids,
Qui tient le Calendrier, où ce jour, et ce mois
Sont peints en lettre rouge : et qui courans grand-erre
Se feront plutost voir, que prévoir à la terre.
C'est alors, c'est alors, ô Dieu : que ton fils cher,
Qui semble estre affublé d'une fragile chair,
Descendra glorieux des voutes estoilees.
A ses flancs voleront mille bandes ailees :
Et son char triomphal, d'esclairs environné,
Par Amour et Justice en bas sera trainé.
Ceux qu'un marbre orgueilleux presse dessous sa lame
Ceux que l'onde engloutit, ceux que la rouge flamme
Esparpille par l'air : ceux qui n'ont pour tombeaux
Que les ventres gloutons des loups ou des corbeaux :
Esveillez, reprendront, comme par inventaire,
Et leur chairs et leurs os, orront devant la chaire
Du Dieu qui, souverain, juge en dernier ressort,
L'arrest diffinitif de salut, ou de mort.
L'un t'esprouvera doux, l'aure armé de justice,
L'un vivra bien-heureux, l'autre en cruel supplice,
L'un bas et l'autre haut. O toy, qui d'autre fois
D'un juge Italien as redouté la voix,
Fay, las! que quand le son du cornet de ton Ange,
Huchant de Thule au Nil, et d'Atlas jusqu'au Gange,

Citera l'univers prochain de son deces,
Le Juge et l'Avocat tu sois de mon proces.
De sagesse et pouvoir l'inepuisable source,
En formant l'Univers, fit donq ainsi que l'ourse,
Qui dans l'obscur grotte au bout de trente jours
Une masse difforme enfante au lieu d'un ours :
Et puis en la lechant, ores elle façonne
Ses deschirantes mains, or' sa teste felonne,
Or' ses pieds, or' son col: et d'un monceau si laid
Son industrie anime un animal parfait.
Car du vent de sa bouche ayant fait dans le Vuide
Un Tas confusement froid, ardent, sec, humide :
Par temps du monde bas Dieu separe le haut :
Met à part peu à peu le chaud avec le chaud :
Renvoye le solide aveques le solide,
Le froid avec le froid, l'humide avec l'humide,
Autant qu'il est besoin : et forme ingenieux,
En six jours tous les corps de la terre et des cieux.
Non qu'ensemble il ne peust des humains la demeure
Parfaire et commencer : qu'il ne peust en mesme heure
Cindrer les cieux flambans, peupler nostre air d'oiseaux,
De bestes les forests, et de poissons les eaux :
Mais employant tant d'art, tant de jours, tant de peine,
A bastir un palais pour la semence humaine
Qui ne vivoit encore, il nous monstre combien
Il doit estre soigneux et de l'heur, et du bien

De ceux qu'il a ja faits, et vers qui par promesses
Il a cent mille fois obligé ses richesses.
Nous monstre que l'ouvrier, pour le bien imiter,
D'un bouillonnant desir ne doit precipiter
La besongne entreprise, ains d'une longue attente
Repasser mille fois la lime patiente
Sur l'ouvrage cheri, sa hastant lentement :
Car ce qui se fait bien, se fait prou vistement.
O pere de sagesse, ô Pere de lumiere,
Et qui peut, et qui doit sortir mieux la premiere
De ce monde confus, que la vive Clarté,
Sans qui mesme le beau semble estre sans beauté!
En vain Timanthe eust peint son horrible Cyclope,
Parrhase son rideau, Zeuxe sa Penelope,
Apelle sa Venus, si jamais le Soleil
N'eust pour les faire voir, sur eux jetté son œil.
En vain, certes, en vain d'artifice si rare,
Le temple Ephesien, le Mausole, le Phare,
Eussent esté bastis par les excellents doigts
De Ctisiphon, de Scope, et du maistre Cnidois,
Si l'oublieux mantaux des nuicts plus eternelles
Eust aux yeux des humains emblé choses si belles.
Hé! quel plus vif souci tombe en l'entendement,
De celui qui projette un royal bastiment,
Que de le bien percer ? afin que l'œil du Monde,
Faisant au tour de nous chasque jour une ronde

Y darde ses rayons : et qu'encore chasque part
Face ouverte parade et de depece et d'art.
Soit que l'esprit de Dieu, agitant la sur-face
Du bouillant Ocean, qui couvroit ceste Masse,
En fist sortir du feu (comme quand dans les Cieux
L'austre moite et le Nord font choquer, furieux,
Sous le Cancre brulant deux nues opposites,
L'air s'allume à mi-nuict d'esclairs ardamment vistes)
Soit que Dieu desbrouillant le Cahos peu à peu,
Prist ceste grand clarté de l'element du feu :
Soit que Dieu tout autour de la Masse flottante
Pour douze heures tendist une nue luisante,
Qu'apres il brunissoit, afin qu'en sa saison
La nuict envelopast l'un et l'autre horizon :
Soit que Dieu fist desja ce clair brandon, qui dore
L'univers de ses rais, mais non tel qu'il est ore :
Ou soit qu'il allumast un autre clair flambeau
Sur le front de l'Amas encor tout voilé d'eau :
Qui, volant à l'entour, donnoit le jour par ordre
Aux embrouillez climats de ce gouffreux desordre,
Comme ores faict Titan, qui par le ciel porté
Est le char flamboyant de la mesme clarté :
Il n'eust pas si tost dit, LA LUMIERE SOIT FAITE,
Que ce Tas s'achemine à sa forme parfaite :
Et laisse, illuminé des rais d'un grand flambeau,
Son vestement de deuil, pour en prendre en plus beau.

Clair brandon, Dieu te gard, Dieu te gard, torche sainte,
Chasse-ennuy, chasse-dueil, chasse-nuit, chasse-crainte,
Lampe de l'Univers, mere de verité,
Juste effroy des brigans, seul miroir de beauté,
Fille aisnee de Dieu : que tu es bonne et belle,
Puis que l'œil clair-voyant de Dieu te juge telle!
Puis que ton propre ouvrier, en ses divins propos,
Ne peut, bien que modeste, assez chanter ton los!
Mais dautant qu'on ne sent plaisir qui ne desplaise,
Si sans nul intervalle on s'y plonge à son aise :
Que celui seulement prise la sainte paix,
Qui long temps a porté de la guerre le fait :
Et que des noirs corbeaux l'opposé voisinage
Des cignes Caystrins rend plus blanc le plumage :
L'Architecte du Monde ordonna qu'à leur tour
Le jour suivist la nuict, la nuict suivist le jour.
La nuict, pour temperer du jour la secheresse,
Humecte nostre ciel, et nos guerets engresse.
La nuict est celle-là qui charme nos travaux,
Ensevelit nos soins, donne trefve à nos maux.
La nuict est celle-là qui de ses ailes sombres
Sur le monde muet faict avecques les ombres
Degouter le silence, et couler dans les os
Des recreus animaux un sommeilleux repos.
O douce Nuict, sans toy, sans toy l'humaine vie
Ne seroit qu'un enfer, où le chagrin, l'envie,

La peine, l'avarice, et cent façons de morts
Sans fin bourelleroient et nos cœurs et nos corps.
O Nuict, tu vas ostant le masque et la feintise,
Dont sur l'humain theatre en vain on se desguise
Tandis que le jour luit : ô Nuict alme par toy
Sont faits du tout esgaux le bouvier et le Roy,
Le pauvre et l'opulent, le Grec, et le Barbare,
Le Juge et l'accusé, le sçavant et l'ignare
Le maistre et le valet, le difforme et le beau,
Car, Nuict, tu couvres tout de ton obscur manteau.
Celui qui condamné pour quelque enorme vice
Recherche sous les monts l'amorce d'avarice,

Et qui dans les fourneaux, noirci, cuit et recuit

Le soufre de nos cœurs, se reposer la nuict.
Celui qui tout courbé le long des rives, tire
Contre le fil du fleuve un trafiqueur navire,
Et, fondant tout en eau, remplit les bords de bruit,
Sur la paille estendu, se repose la nuict.
Celui qui d'une faux maintefois esmoulue
Tond l'honneur bigarré de la plaine velue,
Se repose la nuict : et dans les bras laissez
De sa compagne perd tous les travaux passez.
Seuls, seuls les nourrissons des neuf doctes pucelles,
Cependant que la nuict de ses humides ailes
Embrasse l'Univers, d'un travail gracieux,

Se tracent un chemin pour s'envoler aux cieux.
Et plus haut que le Ciel d'un vol docte conduisent
Sur l'aile de leurs vers les humains qui les lisent.
Ja desja j'attendoy que l'horloge sonnast
Du jour la derniere heure, et que le soir donnast
Relasche à mes travaux : mais à peine ai-je encore
Dessus mon horizon veu paroistre l'Aurore.
Mon labeur croist tousjours : voici devant mes yeux
Passer par escadrons l'exercite des cieux.
Anges, soit donq que Dieu vous fit ceste journee
Sous le nom, ou du ciel, ou de la flamme aisnee :
Soit que vous printes estre avec cest ornement,
Qui de medailles d'or pare le firmament :
Soit que de plusieurs jours vostre heureuse naissance
De tout cest univers ait devancé l'essence,
(Car aussi je ne veux combattre obstinement
Pour une opinion, es choses mesmement
Où le subtil discours d'une vaine science
Ne me seroit si seur, que mon humble ignorance)
Je tiens pour tout certain que les doigts tout-puissants
Vous creerent jadis immortels, innocents,
Beaux, bon, libres, subtils, bref d'une essence telle
Que presque elle esgaloit l'essence paternelle.
Mais tout ainsi que ceux que la faveur des Rois
Pousse en plus-haut degré, ce sont ceux maintefois
Qui brassent la revolte, et sans juste querelle

Sement par leur patrie une guerre immortelle :
Si qu'en fin justement d'un effroyable saut
Ils tombent aussi haut qu'ils taschoient voler haut :
Ainsi maints bataillons d'esprits portans envie
A l'eternel surjon d'où ruisseloit leur vie,
Se bandent contre Dieu, pour priver (bien qu'en vain)
De couronne sa teste, et de sceptre sa main.
Mais luy, qui n'est jamais desarmé de tonnerres,
Contre les boute-feux des sacrileges guerres,
Les precipite en l'air, où bien es lieux plus bas :
Car l'enfer est par tout où l'Eternel n'est pas.
Ce peuple ensorcelé de superbe et de rage,
A gagné pour le moins sur nous cest avantage,
Qu'il sçait combien l'enfer est esloigné des cieux,
Car il l'a mesuré d'un saut ambitieux.
Tant s'en faut que Satan et son escadre face
Profit de ce dur fleau, qu'il croist tousjours d'audace,
Tant plus croist son supplice : imitant les lezards,
Qui bien qu'ils soyent coupez en trois ou quatre parts,
Menacent le bleçeur, s'aigrissent davantage :
Voire mesme en mourant monstrent vive leur rage.
Depuis, ce revolté, Roy des airs plus espais,
Avec le Tout-puissant n'a ni treve ni paix,
Desireux d'enterrer de ses fait la memoire,
De miner son Eglise, et de saper sa gloire :
Desireux de priver tout ce grand corps de chef,

De Roy ceste cité, de patron ceste nef.
Mais s'estant de tout temps la majesté divine
Logee en lieu si seur, que la sape, la mine,
L'eschelle, le canon et tous tels autres arts
Sont foibles pour forcer ses invaincus rampars,
Ne pouvant nuire au chef, les membres il oppresse :
Et pardonnant au tronc, les branches il despece.
L'oiseleur, le pescheur, le veneur ne tend pas
Tant et tant de gluaux, d'hameçons et de laqs
Aux oiseaux, aux poissons, aux animaux sauvages,
Qui n'ont autre logis que les deserts bocages :
Que ce malin Esprit tend d'engins pour tromper
Ceux-mesmes qui ne font mestier que de piper.
Avec le traict mignard d'un bel œil il atrape
Le bouillant jouvenceau : l'argent lui sert de trape
Pour prendre l'usurier : par l'acueil gracieux
D'un Prince il va trompant l'esprit ambitieux.
Il gaigne avec l'apast de cent doctrines vaines
Ceux qui foulent aux pieds les richesses humaines.
Et la foy, la foy mesme est le piege où sont pris
Par l'art de ce pipeur les plus devots esprits :
Pipeur vrayment semblable à la verte chenille,
Qui le flairant honneur des plus gais mois nous pille,
Et qui nos doux fruitiers despouille de toison,
Pour puis la convertir en amere poison.
Qui ne seroit trompé par l'accorte malice

Du prince de la nuit, qui maintefois se glisse
Dans les membres gelez des dieux d'or ou de bois,
Et leur fait prononcer des veritables vois ?
Qui taille du Prophete, et d'un feu saint allume
Or, la vierge de Delphe, or, la vierge de Cume ?
Or, tire du tombeau le dernier juge Hebrieu,
Pour predire à son roy les jugemens de Dieu ?
Ore d'une fureur profanement divine
Du pontife d'Amon eschaufe la poitrine :
Si bien que quelque fois d'un gosier non menteur
Aux peuples aveuglez il chante le futur ?
Qui ne seroit trompé par cil qui transfigure
En couleuvre un rameau ? qui du Nil l'onde pure
Convertit en pur sang ? qui sur les lits royaux
Fait pleuvoir par milliers grenouilles et crapauds ?
Car comme il est esprit, il void, bien qu'invisible,
Les menees des grands : il sent, bien qu'insensible,
Leurs plus ardans desirs : et comme en pareil faits,
Exercé de tout temps, il juge des effects.
Joint que pour hebeter les ames plus gentiles,
Pocher l'un et l'autre œil aux esprits plus habiles ;
Et dans ses laqs subtils les plus fins enretter,
Il predict ce qu'il veut lui-mesme executer.
Que si l'homme prudent (bien que presque en mesme heure,
Suivant l'ordre commun, tout homme naisse et meure :
Que le corps soit encor un trop lourd instrument

Pour suivre de l'esprit le viste mouvement)
Par la seule vertu des metaux et des plantes,
Produits dix mille effects, dignes des mains puissantes
Du pere de ce Tout : qui doute que leur main
N'enfante quelque fois maint acte plus qu'humain ?
Veu qu'estans immortels, la longue experience
Des simples plus secrets leur donne conoissance :
Et qu'un corps importun n'empesche leurs esprits
De faire en un moment ce qu'ils ont entrepris.
Non qu'ils n'ayent tousjours dessus le col la bride,
Pour vaguer çà et là où l'appetit les guide.
Pour aveugler la terre, et, du monde vaincueurs,
Exercer tyrannie en nos corps et nos cœurs.
Dieu les tient enchainez és fers de sa puissance,
Sans que mesme un moment ils puissent sans licence
Avoir la clef des champs : c'est par son sauf-conduit
Que l'esprit mensonger le fol Achab seduit,
Luy faisant batre aux champs, pour obstiné, combattre
L'ost qui doit de son corps chasser l'ame idolatre.
Armé de la vertu de son saint passe-port
Il tente l'humble Job, met ses valets à mort :
Joint aux pertes du bien les pertes du lignage,
Et verse sur son chef dommage sur dommage.
Pource que l'Eternel, ores pour esprouver
La foy des plus constans, ores pour abreuver
D'erreur ceux qui d'errer gloutement se repaissent,

Emancipe souvent ces brouillons, qui ne cessent
De battre mesme enclume, et poursuivre, insensez
Les damnables efforts en Adam commencez.
Mais comme à contre-cœur ceste apostate bande
S'attaque aux fiers tyrans : et pour les bons se bande,
L'escadron innocent qui ne desire pas
Ni s'eslever trop haut, ni descendre trop bas,
De gayeté de cœur à tous momens chemine
Où le pousse le vent de la bonté Divine :
Et son sacré dessein n'eut jamais autre but,
Que la gloire de Dieu, et des Saints le salut.
Un desreglé desir n'entre en sa fantasie :
L'aspect du Tout-puissant est sa douce Ambrosie :
Et les pleurs repentans d'un agneau retrouvé
Est le plus doux Nectar dont il soit abreuvé.
L'esprit ambitieux de l'homme ne desire
Qu'avoir sceptre sur sceptre, empire sur empire :
Il n'aspire au contraire à plus grande grandeur :
Son repos gist en peine, en service son heur.
Car Dieu n'a pas si tost la parole avancée,
Branlé si tost le chef, si tost presque pensée
Une haute entreprise, où par moyen exquis
Le ministere saint des Anges soit requis,
Que ses vistes couriers ne prennent la volee
Pour mettre en effect. L'un d'une course ailee
Suit la fuite d'Agar, son chemin acourcit,

Et par discours suerez son exil adoucit.
L'autre conduit d'Isaac les puissantes armées,
L'autre guide Jacob es terres Idumees :
L'autre, expert medecin, redonne aux foibles yeux
Du fidele Tobit l'usufruit cler des cieux :
L'autre, d'aise ravi, dans Nazareth assure
Qu'une dame sera Mere et vierge, en mesme heure :
Et qu'elle enfantera pour le salut humain
Son pere, son epoux, son fils, son germain.
Voire que sa matrice heureusement feconde
Comprehendra celui-là qui comprend tout le monde.
L'autre d'un zele ardent à pieds et mains le sert
Par le sable infertile du montaigneux desert.
L'un l'exhorte au jardin de vuider le calice
Par le pere broyé, pour laver nostre vice.
L'autre annonce sa vie aux dames qui cuidoyent
Que ses membres gelez sous la tombe attendoyent
De l'Archange le cri : l'autre contre esperance
Predit du premier Jean l'incroyable naissance.
L'un, du decret divin fidele executeur,
Des brebis d'Israel eslargit le Pasteur.
L'autre fait en peu d'heures un horrible carnage,
De tous les fils ainez du Memphien rivage :
Exemptant les maisons dont le sacré posteau
A pour sa sauvegarde un peu de sang d'agneau.
L'autre devant Solime en moins d'un rien moissonne

L'ost de Senacherib, de qui l'ire felonne
N'espargnoit le ciel mesme, esgalant à ses dieux
L'inimitable ouvrier de la terre et des cieux.
Ses soldats ja vainqueurs des forces de l'Aurore
Assiegoyent la cité, qui seule seule adore
Le Dieu sans compagnon, si qu'à peine un moineau
Pouvait sans leur congé franchir le saint creneau.
Adonc Ezechias, qui comme sage Prince
Represente à ses yeux de toute sa province
L'entier ravagement, les ceps de ses vassaux,
Le trespas de ses fils, les lubriques assauts
Livrez aux chastetez des royales pucelles,
Son propre corps haché de dix mil allumelles,
Le temple sans paroi, l'encensoir sans odeurs,
L'autel sans holocauste, et Dieu sans serviteurs,
Couvrant son chef de cendre, et d'un sac sa poitrine,
Appelle à son secours la puissance Divine,
Qui sa requeste appointe, et foudroye ses dards
Sur ses fiers escadrons des ethniques soudards.
Car tandis qu'à l'entour du feu des corps de garde
Ils ronflent seurement, l'Eternel qui regarde
De mauvais œil l'armée, et de bon la cité,
Envoye un escrimeur contre Assur irrité.
Dont l'espée à deux mains d'un seul revers ne coupe
Le corps d'un seul soldat, ains de toute une troupe :
Et foudroyant, sanglante, or derriere, or devant,

Passe par les armets comme à travers le vent.
Ja chacun gagne au pié, mais sa course est trop lente
Pour eviter les coups d'une espee volante,
Qu'on void parmi les airs sans qu'on voye le bras,
Qui pousse en une nuict tant d'hommes au trespas :
Ainsi que des moulins on void rouer les voiles
Sans voir l'esprit venteux qui souffle dans leur toiles.
L'Aube au registre bisarre à peine encor chassoit
L'ombre qui les sommets du Liban brunissoit
Que le veillant Hebrieu du creneau de sa ville,
Descouvrant tout d'un coup cent quatre vints cinq mille
Idolatres tuez, fremit d'aise en son cœur,
Pour voir tant de vaincus sans sçavoir le vainqueur.
Sacrez tuteurs des saints, Archers de nostre garde,
Assesseurs, Postillons, Heraux de cil qui darde
L'orage sur le dos des rocs audaciaux :
O communs truchemens de la terre et des cieux,
Je suyvroys plus long temps vostre viste plumage :
Mais ayant entrepris un si lointain voyage,
Je crains de perdre cœur, si au commencement
Je fay trop de chemin, et vay trop vistement :
Veu que le pelerin qui genereux desire
Voir les murs et les mœurs de maint estrange empire
Sage, se diligente assez le premier jour,
S'il passe seulement le sueil de son sejour.

FIN DU I. JOUR

Middle Norwegian Translation

Text extracted from Anders (Christensen) Arrebo (1965) *Hexaëmeron* [1630].
Copenhagen: Munksgaards Forlag (pp. 53-76).

Anders Christensen Aarebo (1587-1637) was the first of the Norwegian writers to return to vernacular poetry and prose. A Dane by birth, he had come to Norway as bishop of the diocese of Trondheim. With him he brought a marked interest in the intellectual activity on the Continent, not only the evolution in Germany, where most Norwegian humanists had sought their inspiration.

The *Hexaemëron* starts with a dedication to king Frederik III (1609-1670) by the author's son, Christen Andersen Arrebo,⁴⁵⁸ who also wrote the introduction to the posthumous 1661 edition, in which he deplores the fact that the use of the vernacular had all but been abandoned by the intellectuals of the 16th century. Indeed, after the first vernacular efforts of Absalon Beyer and Mattis Størssøn, the emphasis of the Norwegian humanists had been mainly on Latin composition. This was also the case in Denmark, where Latin remained the language of science and scholarly expression until the 19th century.⁴⁵⁹ However, in both Norway and Denmark, German persisted as the language of culture and commerce for yet some time. Says Christen Arrebo: «Thi det er os alt for vitterligt, at (... det) Danske Spraag efter Reformationen oc hen imodt halfandet Hundre Aars Tiid, er meget blefvet forsømt, ja af mange foract (p. 15).”⁴⁶⁰

458 Also spelled Aarebo and Arøboe

459 The philosopher Søren Kierkegaard had to seek a royal dispense from the university regulations when he presented his master dissertation at the beginning of the 19th century

460 “For it has become evident (to us) that (...) the Danish language after the Reformation and for now almost a century and a half, has been greatly neglected, and even despised.”

Master Anders obviously saw the need for literature in the vernacular and also appreciated the possibility of strengthening the Lutheran doctrine through poetic composition at a time when other, and maybe less desirable, Protestant movements came into being around Europe. He especially held the Zwingli brothers in contempt, and probably found the religious standpoints of the French Protestant movement, supported by Du Bartas, more palatable. The *Hexamëron* includes—as an epitaph—a short hexamëral poem in the vernacular by Peder Palladius (1503-1560), Denmark's first Lutheran superintendent—indicating this reforming theologian's continual influential position more than a century after his death.

In its Danish-Norwegian version, Du Bartas' material has undergone considerable modifications. The leading themes to a large extent were rearranged by Aarebo; the main elements are nevertheless all present, and there are less divagations in the translated version. Indeed, Arrebo's *Hexaemërton* can be seen as a poetic *recreation* more than a loose translation of Du Bartas' poem on the Genesis—and represents, not only the first example of hexameral literature in Norway, but also the first attempt by a Norwegian “post-humanist” to reunite with the “modern” epic genre of contemporaneous Europe.

“Store ere dine Gierninger ô Herre,
hvo dennem acter seer sin Hiertens Lyst der paa.”

Psalm 111

Verdens første Vges første Dag.

Kand kaldis

Ætiologia & Photologia Mosaica

Første Materies oc første Liuses Skabning.

Historien *Gen. Cap. I.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,

v. 1. I Begyndelse skabte Gud Himmelen oc Jorden.

2. Oc Jorden var øde oc tom, oc der var mørke ofven ofver Afgrunden: Oc Guds Aand svefvede ofven ofver Vandene.
3. Oc Gud sagde: Vorde lius, oc der blef lius.
4. Oc Gud saa, Liuset var got: oc gjorde Skilsmis mellem Liuset oc Mørket.
5. Oc Gud kallede Liuset Dag, oc Mørket kallede hand Nat:
Oc der blef Aften oc der blef Morgen, een Dag.

Indhold.

Hvor mange Stycker ere her
Som Guds Børn skulle hafve kier’?

Puncter her otte hafve vi nu,
Hvilke som bør at kommis i Hu.
Skaberen først med heeder oc ære.
Siden hvad hans materi⁴⁶¹ mon være.
Dernest, oc hveden saadant hand hår
Tiiden den fiend’ Omstændighed var.
Endelig, for det femte Beskrifvis.
Vilkor, som dermed kunde begifvis.
Saasom: den Jord var øder oc tom
Mørket var ofver Afgrunden grum,
Der til at Guds Aand Vandene ruer,
Ligesom Fugl med Vingerne bruer.
Liuset nu for det siette saa brat,
Liuser oc demper mørkeste Nat.
Liuset oc for det siuvend’ er yndigt
Ottend’ er det, at Liuset saa fyndigt
Skilles fra Mørk, oc næfnis af Gud
Dermed gaaer første Dagen oc ud.
Merker her paa i Jesu Guds Nafn

461 Capitalization of nouns is not consistent throughout the poem. Whether this is due to the author or the printer is uncertain.

Skabren til Priis, oc eder til Gafn.

Hjælper, ô hjælper mig, Gud den Almægtig at priise,

Gud den Skabere riig, Gud Herren den viise.

Himle-førsterne stærk ô hellig Engleske Skare

Stiller priisen i værck: siung Sool; siung Maane du klare.

Blankest' himmelske Huus forziert med Stiernene mange

Planet-kryllende Blus fordeelt i højden der prange,

Op! Lof Mesteren stoor: op Elementerne mægtig',

Ild, Luft, Vandet oc Jord, Lof siger Skaberen prægtig.

Sky-høj biergenes Top; i dale nedrig' oc dybe;

Cederen rank her op; frem træ af Fedme som drybe;

Beester tamme samt vild' i jord, paa Jorden, i vande;

Hvad som findis i Ild, i Luft med lefvendes Aande;

Hver paa egentlig viis, Stemm' i, sin Skaber at priise,

Liiflig gaaer an den Priis med Sang oc deiligste Viise.

Dyreste Konge-blod; I førster mægtig i Skare;

Jordens Dommere good' i Guds sted Landet som vare;

Almues Folk hver mand, Viif, Dreng, oc hverrende Pige,

Borger- oc Bunde-stand; ô alle fattig' oc Rige,

Hiælper, hiælper en hver med Mund, med Hierte, med Tunge,

Hellige Skaberen kier, en Dict ret hellig at siunge.

Seba-Dronning⁴⁶² til Priis med Pract Kong Salomon gæsted'

Hun af Seba højviis, dog Viisdom højere frested'

462 Aarebo refers to a completely different set of biblical figures than does Du Bartas to convey some of the same ideas.

Oc der Dronningen kom, hun Kongens Klogskab anhørde,
 Grandsked' oc saa sig om hvad Pract hans Bygning medførde,
 Ja besictede grandt, hans taffel-ordning oc Sæder
 Kostelig oc befandt hans Tieners Bolig oc Klæder,
 Hafde hun nær besvimt, oc daanet falden til Jore
 Ofver slig velberjmt, oc præctig Kongelig fore.
 Salige (sagde hun) maae vist dine Tienere være,
 Hvilke beskue saa, din Pral oc Førstelig Ære.
 Kieriste Christi Ven, hvad er Kong Salomons Huuse?
 Ere de værd med Pen, mod Himlens Bygning at roose?
 Eller hans Tafel-skik mod den Huusholdning at priise
 Hvilken med Mad oc Drik, al Verden monne bespiise?
 Enge-Lilien grøn langt gaaer hans Herlighed ofuer.
 Hafve-rosen saa skøn langt større Herlighed lofver.
 Bien i Trunt oc Stok langt artiger virker sin Kage,
 End Kong Salomons Kok al sin Sku-essen kand bage.
 Ej Bie-Kongen er stoor, dog hâr hand Tienere fleere,
 Oc gaaer stærcker til Bord, oc Skaanes Kagen ej meere,
 Spiiser end ocsaa sødt, oc aldrig Dugen optager,
 Setter de Svenne blødt, dem liige Klæder opdrager.
 Derfor oc hvo som ret slig Herrens Gierning begrunder.
 Maae vel snarligen, slet til Jorden, synke med Vnder.
 Ja hand hiertelig Spør, hvo er den Mester oc Herre
 Som sligt skaber oc gjør? hvad Titel monne hand bære?
 Salomon ej; som bær dog priis, for alle de viise,
Cræsus er icke verd, i slige maader at priise.

Engelen ej var til, sig self ej kunde hand giøre,
Mindre saadant eet Spil i ringste maader udføre.
Mose Guds Mand oc Ven, en høj Scribenter for alle,
Med forgyldene Pen, mon hannem *Elohim*⁴⁶³ kalde.
Elohim er hans Nafn som har af ævighed været
Gud til ævige Gafn, oc Gud ævindeligen æred;
Hves u-endelig Mact, oc Viisdom uden al ende
Hves u-kændelig Pract sig hermed gifver tilkænde.
Som Apostelen klart de Romer' oc alle mon sige:
Hans u-siunliger art sees af hands Skabninger riige.
Ja Propheter end oc os Øjet beder opkaste,
Himmelen uden spraag kundgiør hans Krafter saa faste.
Græset er ej saa lidt, Græshoppen icke saa ringe,
Skaber pæger det friit, for Skaber denne mon springe.
Drager da Moses frem den alsommæctigste Herre,
Den vi uden al glem, Gud Fader kalde med ære,
Himmel oc Jord har skabt, den vi i Troen paakalde,
Hves Regiment oc Kraft, sig strækker ofver os alle.
Skulle vi derfor her, nu ret grandgifvelig merke,
Skaberen eenist er, som Gud er eene hin stærke;
Dog er Skaberen skøn; den Gud er Skaber hin sande,
Som er Fader oc Søn, oc begges helliger Aande.
Faderen hand har skabt alting ved Sønnen hin kiære,
Oc den hellig Aands Kraft mon Liifvet gifve ja nære.

463 Early Hebraic denomination for God, possibly a plural form.

Mose det lærer vel, i sin Ebræiske Tale,
 Hvor hand monne med Skel Tre-enigheden afmale:
 Guder (siger jo hand) hand skabte Himmel oc Jorden,
 Hvilket har slig Forstand; Een Gud er Skabere vorden,
 Dog den eeniste Gud er i Personerne Trendig,
 Al Natuuren imod, dog hand det selfver er stændig.
 Lader sig oc med Fliid Personer alle saa høre:
 Nu er Skabelsens tiid, ladr os nu Mennisken giøre.
 Ved slig Flerhed Guds Mand end da det lader ej blifve
 Men Personerne hand ret Nafnlig monne beskrifve:
 Faderen kalder hand Gud; den Søn, hans væsentlig orde,
 Næfner oc Guds Aand ud, som qvegnet Himmel oc Jorde.
 David siunger ocsaa ret, med samhældige Stemme
 Hvilket jo icke maa i Vand beskrifvis, at glemme.
 Himmelen ved Guds Ord, oc hans Munds væsentlig Aande,
 Med sin gandske hær stoor skabt see vi herlig at stande.
 Flyer ej Ørnen højt i Apostoliske Skare?
 Dog hand torde fuld nøjt en anden Lærdom medfare.
 Høj oc himmelske Ting Paradiis-Studenteren lærde,
 Dog hand saadant omkring i sin' Epistler, ej keerde.
 Det samtycker oc vi, oc tacke Skabren den kiære,
 Gaaende langt forbi den Manichæiske Lære,
 Som, med svermende Mund vil tvende Guder opdrømme,
 En ret Skamper oc ond oc en af Godhed berømme:
 Got oc lyckeligt Verk de Gud den gode tilskrifve,
 Men, den onde Gud, sterck Skyld, for det onde de gifve.

O nej! ofver al Spot, slig Spot er slagende bommer,
Ont, saa vel som alt got, af Herren alleene frem kommer.
Lius hand skaber oc mørck, hand Freden gifver oc tager,
Jød' oc grummeste Tyrk, den Ond' ej Skaber ej mager.
Ond er Diefvelen oc; hvor ond hand immer kand være,
I begyndelsce dog good, hannem skabte vor HERre.
Tyrker Jøderne med, som ville Sønnen ej kende,
Samt al Kætterske Sæd, vi Ryggen ville tilvende,

Oc paa Skaberens Trøst, den Bygnings Grundvold, betracte

Den Mosaiske Røst, for alle Svermer at acte.

Himmel oc Jorden.

Ævige Gud, hvad Verk, vil saadan Bygning udkrefve,
Som, saa præctig oc stærk mon ofvr oc under os svefve.
Salomon hand hug ned i Libanon Cederne Ranke,
Lood Skibsfloden oc med, hen til Ost-Indien vanke,
Hiram⁴⁶⁴ søgte hand oc, om Træ, Bygmester' oc trygge,
Før hand kunde faae nok til HERrens Tempel at bygge.
End vil Torfver oc Steen til Bonde-hytter oc Lude,
End vil Tømmer oc Green til Hyrde-bolig at klude.
Icke begrifveligt hvad verden skulde da fordre!
Icke beskrifveligt hvor den saa kunde bygt vorde?

464 Hiram (: Hiram) (r. 969-936 BC)—Phœnician king—maintained friendly relations with king Solomon, and supplied the material necessary to the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Dens Materie her nu kaldis Himmel oc Jorden.
 Selsomt dette jo er, at, der af, Verden er vorden;
 Er da Jorden af Jord, af Himmel Himmelen blefven?
 Hveden kom første Jord? hvoraf er Himmelen drefven?
 Er ej Himmel oc Jord paa anden oc trede Dag gjorde,
 Hvor da blifver Guds Ord? til hvad vil skrifveren vorde,
 Vi her skulde forstaae hvad Mose Himmelen kalder,
 Før vi viidere gaa', at vi paa Vejen ej falder.
 Himmelen første Dag, oc Jorden Mose vil næfne,
 Thi til bunden oc tag, der strax maa være good efne,
 Al Materi paa stand den Bygning kunde behøfve,
 Reede Gud først fra haand, oc vilde siden ej tøfve.
 Mose taler om Gud, som om Huus-herren hin lærde,
 Naar hand ryster sig ud oc vil en Bygning forfærde,
 Legger hand Kalk oc Steen, samt Lecter, Sparrer tilhaabe,
 Smuct paa Hænderne reen, oc vil der efter ej snaabe:
 Om Materie slig, naar den skønt ligger paa Jorde,
 Siger mand prydelig, oc med Konst-talendes orde:
 See! der ligger hans Huus (dog er ej Huuset til rede)
 Priis ham viides oc roos, vil efter Tømmer ej lede.
 Moses gjør saadant oc, hand kalder Himmel oc Jorde,
 Paa sit hellige Spraag det der til Skulde nu vorde,
 Thi hand siger jo klart, at Jorderig icke var ferdigt,
 Men var øde ja bart, heel u-gestaltigt, u-værdigt,
 Icke var Vandet Vand oc Ild ej Ild hin skære,
 Icke var Landet Land, ej været vindede dære.

Himmel oc Jordens Malm var u-staffered altsammen,
 Vdi stoor Damp oc Qvalm foruden nyttige gammen:
 Thi Viismanden ocsaa om den Materie første
 Siger, at den var raa, full af V-siunlighed største.
 Viidere spørgis kand, hvor Verdens Skabere værdig
 Slig materie fand til sit Konstykke saa ferdig?
 Var *Democritus*⁴⁶⁵ her, hand skuld' os gæckelig lære,
 Sigende, der, see der! de grand i Soolen mon være
 Viiselig, udaf dem er Verden loddet tilhaabe,
 Jeg siger det nu frem paa *Democritiske* Lofve;
 Lofve du maat saa hen at phantasere til fulde
 Dîg troer ingen min Ven: slig Daarskab fatte jeg skulde?
 Kieriste sig mig dog, af hvad de Soole-grand flyde,
 Komme de self af sig, oc, førend Soolen, sig yde?
 Est du icke self til, fast mindre findes din Skugge,
 Gæcken giør gæcke-spil, du ager i Børnenis Vugge.
 Moses siger, hvorfra forvist det Forraad maae være,
 Hannem høre vi maae, hand vil det kortelig lære.

Skabte

Den Almægtige Gud, som Verden til intet vil giøre,

465 Democritus (c. 455 - 370 BC): Greek philosopher born in Thrace. He was widely traveled, who had learned from his teacher, Leucippus, that everything is made of tiny particles. Refining and elaborating Leucippus' ideas, Democritus developed an atomic theory, proposing that the universe is composed of two indivisible elements—matter and non-matter, or more precisely the atom and the void. An infinite number of eternal and uncaused atoms differing from each other only in shape, arrangement, and magnitude, move through infinite space (Britannica 2000). Du Bartas refers to this philosopher as the «resveur,» i.e. a dreamer. Arrebo also seems to share Du Bartas's opinion, and has little esteem for a theory which he describes as «Daarskab,» i.e. folly.

Med sit kraftige Bud, mon den af intet opføre.
 Naar der skabes en ting, er sligt af intet at tage
 Hastelig, som i spring af intet noget at mage.
Æolus ej var til, som Vinden drifver oc styrer,
Mulciber tabte Spil, som Ilden gifver oc fyrer.
 Ja *Neptunus* var vek, som Vandet Strømmende drifver,
 Samt *Summanus* saa kæk, som Skalden Jorden tilskrifver.
 Ikke da hardt ej blødt, ej smuct ej slemmeste Stycke,
 Ikke da suurt ej sødt, ej tyndt, oc icke det tycke,
 Ikke da varm' ej kuld, var der for haanden at finde,
 Ikke da Vand oc Muld, men intet ude samt inde.
 Der udofver vi her vor Skabere gifver den ære,
 For Bygmestere hver, maae hand Lof-palmen vel bære.
 Thi naar Konstener vil en Bygning rede fra haande,
 Seer hand flittelig til, at Forraad rede mon stande,
 Der maae Væcten i høj, af Bierget Steenen' at tage,
 Hand sit Tømmer oc Tøj af Skofven lader hiem-age,
 Hand maae Kalken saa blød fra ofnen lade hiem-kiøre,
 Hand maa Teglen saa rød, fra Tegl-gaard lade fremføre.
 Ellers det vist tilgaar, som lærde *Physici* skrifve:
 Intet af intet mand faaer af intet intet kand blifve.
 Men den Mestere stoor af Verdens Skaber oc Mager,
 Ickun et eenist' Ord for al Materi fremdrager.
 Finder saa Kalk oc Steen, hvor der var aldrig at finde,
 Hitter saa Træ oc Green oc andet Forraad ej mindre,
 Finder saa Land oc Vand, op under sin Tunge saa mæctig,

Hitter saa Qvind' oc Mand, i mindste Finger saa præctig;
 Her frem Himmelen hool, Jeg vil der efter ej lede,
 Ved op Maanen oc Sool; strax staae de Herren til rede,
 Jorderigs Creatur, oc Himlens gandske Hærskare,
 Koster ickun et Ord, flux staaer den uden al Fare,
 Som den Kongelig Pen med ære monne berømme,
 Oc den Tharser igien sig icke monne forsømme.
 Ligesom ocsaa hand af intet Grunden opretter,
 Ligesaa hand for sand paa intet bunden nedsetter,
 Jorderig icke staaer paa Steen, paa Piller oc Bielker,
 Ej paa ringeste Haar paa rør oc svageste Stilker,
 Men i Luften saa blød som Klodden uden al lænke
 Henger den uden Nød! Hvo kand det under betænke?
 Luften ej bære kand det Løf, som falder af Qviste,
 Vnder al Verdens sand, kand dog ej samme Luft briste!
Sisyphus Æoli Søn en Steen kand icke fremføre,
 Blødeste luft ej støn, naar den al Verden maae bære.
 O Almægtige Gud, hvad er din' idretter stoore!
 Vinkend' er hvert dit Bud der ofven oc nedre paa Jøre.
 Saa Huusfaderen vel oc hver som bygger paa Lande,
 Maa jo sige med Skel: Guds Gierninger underlig stande,
 De vist underlig er' oc Herren mæctig med ære,

Den sligt Skaber oc gjør hand maae en Konstener være

Trôde vi det forvist oc Hiertet vilde samtycke,
 Aldrig os leddig Kiist' oc Køcken kunde da trycke;

Kunde ret ingen Nød os da i Verden angribe;
Kunde da os ej død forsagd' af Landene drifve;
Men vi Søgte vor Brød i hans u-tømmelig Kammer,
Sagde til Herren sød i al vor Nød-stand oc Jammer.
Din aldmægtige Haand, af intet, Himmelen skabte,
Du høj-prægtige Mand, af Klippen, Vandet udklapte,
Olien striid udflød hvor Olien icke var inde,
Skulde vi da om Brød vel led' oc icke det finde?
Skulde vel nogen Mand i Grafven blifve med alle!
Thi Gud Herren hand kand med et Ord snarligen kalde:
Viidere gaae vi fort, oc maae vel spørge med rette,
Naar alt saadant er giort, vi vill' ej tiden opsette.

v. 1. I Begyndelse.

Moses her træder frem os i Sandheden at leede,
Siger foruden glem; hves i Begyndelsen skeede.
Ved Begyndelsen her, den tiid kand icke betydis,
Som af Ævighed er, oc skal i Ævighed ydis,
Tiden oc ej ret kand med varrig Ævighed, næfnis,
Den gaaer ofver Forstand oc med Fornuften ej Jæfnis,
Af den ævige tiid hâr Gud den ævige været,
Fader oc Sønnen bliid, tillige med hellig Aand æred,
Blifver oc æviglig, foruden ophør oc Ende,
Boendis self i sig, det ingen alder kand vende.
Men Begyndelsen er altings begyndelse første,
Der vor Skabere kier, ved Guddoms Macten den største,

Himmel oc Jordens Grund, af intet skabte med ære,
Mennisken mangelund, saa, sine Krafter at lære.
For Begyndelse slig, ej tiid, Folk hafver ej været,
Gud var eene for sig dog liige priised oc æred
Thi den Engelske Skar' oc alle Helgenes Skare
Førendis de skabtis, var', oc for ham stooede saa klare;
Tiden for os er tiid, for Gud er Ævighed ævig,
Ævigehe er saa viid, oc æder tiiden saa svevig.
Aldrig os skuffe maa' *Aristoteliske* Skole,
Lader os ofvergaae Fornuftens stinkende Huule,
Ingen at troe det sandt, som *Aristoteles* drifver,⁴⁶⁶
Naar hand farer med tant, oc Verden ævig beskriver,
Sigende: det ej var mueligt, Gud lefde saa eentlig,
Intet at hafve for, men leddig, ingen oc tienlig;
Sige hand derfor vil, for Gud var intet at giøre,
Der ej Verden var til, der i sig kraftig at røre,
Sluttet hand derfor saa: vist Verden ævig mon være,
Skal ej heller forgaa, sligt vil den Hedning vel lære.
Hedning hedenske Tal, men vi som Christne maae svare
Tænke hand maa' oc skal ja sige Meening den bare,
Om ej Skifherren kand foruden Skibene, lefve,
Eller een Tømmermand oc dog i Ladhed ej svefve?
Hafver en Smid ej Mact at hand kand arbeid forhåle,

466 Aarebo clearly rejects the Scholastics classification of knowledge and wisdom according to *Categoriae decem* by Aristotle, explained in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which had been translated from Greek into Latin in the 4th century. See Section on Scholasticism, footnote 43.

Hannem dog u-tillagt hand skuld' i Ledighed dvale?
 Kunde da Gud, en Gud foruden Verden ej blifve,
 Packe dig ok gak ud slig tant vi macten ej gifve.
 Kund' oc *Scipio* klar om sig saa skrifve med ære,
 Hand mindst eene var da naar hand maat' eene mest være,
 Skulde Gud icke da nok eenlig meget bestille,
 Som kand alting formaa, gjør alting efter sin ville?
*Bias*⁴⁶⁷ af Færne Stad fra Guld fra Sølfvet forjagen
 Sagde da end vel glad, sig intet at være fratagen
 Sin Formue hand bar, sin Skat hand gandske medførde,
 Skatten hans Viisdom var oc Konst som hannem tilhørde.
 Gud self alting formaaer, self hâr hvad hannem kand lyste,
 Intet mangler derfor, om Verdens Skatter ham bryste.
 Om du gæckelig Nar forvitziger viidre vil spørre:
 Hvad Gud hafde dog for, hvad hafde hand ævig at gjøre?
 Svarer dig *Augustin* hand til dem Helfvede skabte,
 Som mod Villien sin paa slig Forborgenhed gabte.
 Seer du Luft-springer arm den uden Rigdom oc Ære,
 I hves ævige Barm al Skat mon liggende være?
 Viisdom qvellet er hand oc ærens springende Kilde,
 Mactens dybeste Strand hvo vilde tænke saa ilde?
 Hand jo syssler nok med Gudoms Krafter at hafve
 Kand oc holde vel Spraag, om Verden siden at skabe,

467 A rather obscure Greek philosopher (d.c. 570 BC). In Greek mythology, Bias was the son of Amythaon, and the grandson of Creteus. His brother Melampus had the gift of divination and assisted Bias, who, wanting to marry Pero, first had to pass a test: He was to steal Phylacus' herd, guarded by a ferocious dog who never slept (Cerberus).

Med sin kjeriste Søn oc beggis væsentlig Aande,
I forborgene Løn oc i sin' ævige Lande.
Vden Moder oc tiid, foruden anfang tillige
Hafver Faderen bliid født den som alle gjør riige,
Meenis her Sønnen kier sin Faders klareste Billed,
Sligt af Ævighed er, som Guds Aand lærer, bestilled.
Siger skriften saa der hand blef ævig tilsinde,
Vd i Verden at gaa af sin forborgene thinde,
Oc med mægtige Haand nest Verdens Skabning hin bolde
Skabte den første Mand oc gaf hãm Verden i Volde;
Som Viisdommen oc saa' ej Adam at holde ret farfve,
Tænkte hand ævig paa hvor hand skuld' Himmerig arfve,
Oc i Christo sin Søn før Verdens grundvoller lagdis,
Valde hand Adams Køn, det saa hans Naade behagdis.
Siger du da med Skel Gud hafd' ej noget at skaffe?
Før al Verden blef til? du det ô Dicter mon klaffe.
Vilde du ocsaa grandt din Skaber bedre betracte,
Skulle du uden Tant det om hans Ævighed acte,
At den ævige Gud er alting ævigt for Øje,
Skuer mand ind oc ud det lange, dybe, det høje.
Hves for Mennisken er u-skabt oc intet med alle,
For hans Ævighed det dog skabt mand maatte vel kalde,
Icke før være kand Adam, for Ævigheds HERre,
Førend den sidste Mand, som u-skabt endnu mon være.
Slutte vi derfor saa; hvad os i tiden er blefvet,
Mon af Ævighed staa for Gud, som ævig hâr lefvet,

Er nu nogen saa fix hand ydermere vil spørre,
 Hvi Gud Dagene sex sig tiltog Verden at giørre,
 Kunde hand icke foort tillig' altingest vel mage,
 Være sig lidt oc stoort, ej lang betænkende tage.
 Guds u-endelig Mact, tør ingen Christen paatviile,
 Hafde hand ickun sagt; frem alting uden hviile,
 Vare det oc vel skeed saa snart hand vilde det tale,
 Hindret skulde hvo det, som Gud ej vilde forhale?
 Meent du spør-siug Mand, Gud, slig Bygmester at være,
 Af Arbeidet, som kand, vel arme trætte hiembære?
 Legende gaaer det af, sig self den Gierning maae giøre
 Falder oc vel i Lafv' om Gud vil Fingrene røre.
 Soolen i Hafven skin staferer Jorden med Grøde,
 Locker ud Rosen fin, foruden Arbeid oc Møde
 Skulde da ærens Sool, af Trældom mattig opgifvis
 Skulde vel kraftens Stool, saa kraftløs gandske beskrifvis,
 Eller oc meent du saa, hand Skabelonen maae hafve
 Trine den til oc fra, saa snart hand noget vil skabe?
 Nej, det kommer ham let foruden Trældom oc Møde,
 Konsten for ham er slet der paa sig ingen tør støde.
 Men den viiseste Gud vil dermed gifve til kænde,
 Hand ej fusend' hen ud men med betænkelig' Hænder,
 Viiselig alting giør os at erindre ja lære,
 At vi flittelig bør hans Skabning acte samt ære,
 Naar vi stykeviis see en Konst alt efter den anden,
 Oc saa frydelig lee at ræcke Konsteren Handen.

Vilde hand oc dermed vor sex Dags Gierning vel ære
 Os at føre til Sed ej Lediggænger at være.
 Hand end vilde forsand os til Hukommelse føre,
 Alle Ting med forstand, oc med Betænkning, at giøre.
 Spørgis oc ej med Skel, hvor læng' en Gierning bestillis,
 Men hvor loflig oc vel, derfra en Mestere skillis.
 Om *Neptunus* med hast det haf-svelg dybeste søger,
 Bliif paa Landene fast see til du maadelig brøjer
 Ingen endnu slog bund i Hofved-Viisdommens kilde;
 Mangen gick dog til grund, som der i sticke Bund vilde,
 Kom ej svelget for nær, den blinde Klippe dig møder,
 Mod det farlige Skær dit Skib i Stycker du støder.
 Segle for Guds Ords Segl Guds Aand tag stedse til Skifherr
 Du saa løber ej fejl, dig hafnen aldrig glipper.
 Viidere ville vi nu slig første Skabning beskrifve,
 Med eenfoldigste Hu bedst fatte Mosen oc grifve.
 v. 2. Oc Jorden var øde oc tom.
 Jorden talis her om, oc den afskildris ret troolig,
 Øde den var oc tom, foruden Skickels' oc boolig
 Vden prydels' oc art, materi' icke polered,
 Vden Liuset saa klart, grof, mørk oc icke stafered,
 Borte var Bøg oc Eeg, oc alle Trærnes Skare,
 Borte var Folk oc Qveg, oc alle Krogene bare,
 V-klarered oc var al Skabning ofven oc neden,
 Dog til ringeste Haar henlagt paa Platsen oc Steden,
 Som hand siger nu fort, at der var mørket det grumme

Ofver Vandene stort, oc ofver Afgrunden den romme,
Intil Liuset af Gud, paa samme Dagen, funderis
Som dref Mørkheden ud at Verden noget poleris.
Ej (som Kætter omgaais) en grum Sataniske Skare,
Ved den Afgrund mand kand oc Helfved' icke forstande,
Men det dybeste Vand oc de Vand flydende Lande:
Hves arbeidet oc var der som Afgrunden laa øde,
Borte var Dagen klar, oc borte var Soolen hin røde.
Oc Guds Aand svefvede ofver Vandene.

Moses skriider nu frem oc vil os viidere lære

Guds Aands Virkning beqvem, den raa Materi til ære,
Slig Materi oc Malm, oc Verdens første Figure,
Liggend i Mørk oc Qvalm oc i U-fructbarhed stoore,
Med sin qvegende Kraft Guds Aand forvarmed' oc qvegde,
Gaf den Styrke med Saft, oc til al Grøde bevegde.
Ja som Hønnen ret varm sin' eg udligger oc bruer,
Vnder sit Bryst oc Barm, dem siden qvegner oc ruer;
Eller som Jorden rum udaf Soel-varmen undfanger,
Saa blef Verden, før tom, af Guds Aands qvegelse, svanger,
At den riigelig gaf fra sig baad' Vrter oc Grøde,
Oc Metallerne braf, med Sølf oc Guld det røde,⁴⁶⁸
Adamanten saa skær, oc skønnest' ædele Steene,
Samt oc Kaaber der er, med Tin oc Messing det reene.

468 The early 17th century saw the beginning of the mining industry in Norway.

Samme Guds mæctig' Aand med slig stor-virkende haande,
Aldrig udleggis kand, om vær oc anden slags Aande,
End om hellig Aand good, Guddommens trede Persone,
Som saa bredde sig ud, Liif gaf den raa Skabelone.
Fader oc Sønnen dog saadan Naturens Vndsetning
Her tilleggis end oc, som en udvortis forretning
Icke da, anden Aand var skabt, oc kunde til være,
Ingen oc Konsten kand foruden den ævige Herre.
Vi da lade det staa', oc for det siette forfare,
Hveden Liuset kom fra, oc deilig *Phæbus* hin klare.

v. 3 Oc Gud sagde: Blifve Lius, oc der blef Lius.

Skabningen ej staaer maal, naar Øjet mangler oc breckis,
Var end billedet Staal, det ingen Mestere teckis;
Jammerligt er oc vist i Huuset i Mørket at sidde,
Vden skinnende gniist oc uden Dagen hin hviide.
Passelig Lyst var det i Mørket at sidde det Dybe,
Oc, paa Madikers Sed, hver andr' om Halsen krybe,
Derfor oc efter at den ny Materi Gud skabte,
Vdi mørke slet sad oc efter Liuset friit gabte,
Vdbrød morgenen fro *Apollo* Klarhedens Herre,
Os til Glæde til Roo med Lius oc Dagning den skære,
Ret til Aftenen ud, sin Klarhed Jorderig sendte,
Indtil Herren vor Gud self første Dagen vel endte.
Spørge mand maae sig for: Hvo er den biudende Herre,
Som saa myndig fremgaaer, oc biuder mørket med ære,

At det rømmer af Land, oc Liuset skinner saa fage
 Ofver dybeste Vand, langt bort alt mørket at jage,
Titan icke det er med sin' opvartere Liuse:
 Natten ej fanen bær, sig *Ades*⁴⁶⁹ lader ej kiuse.
 Mose fremdrager her den førrige Mestere giefve,
 Som Materien der hâr skabt i Luften at svefve,
 Den Treenige Gud, som hand før *Elohim* kalder
 Raaber hand endnu ud, at ham den ære tilfalder,
 Liuset at hand hâr giord, som selfver Liuset mon være,
 Ved sit væsentlig Ord, sin Søn vor Frelsere kiære.
 Gud da sagde: bliif Lius, sig packe Natten hin sorte,
 Dag begynder at gryes, saa brydis Mørckhedens Porte.
 Strax brød Klarheden ud, gaf Lius i Vinkeler alle.
 Al Naturen imod, for Liuset Mørket maae falde:
 Thi Guds kraftiger Ord er jdel Væsen oc Gierning,
 Aldrig paa Tafel-bord saa svindig rinder den Terning,
 Guds Ord ere jo før til Verck oc Gierninger giorde
 Læben hand icke rør, før jo fuldbiurdis hans Orde.
 Tænke her alle paa Fornuftens Sclaver oc Trælle,
 Lade sig Guds Ord staa, det ej naturlig udtrælle.
 Gud hand blifver vel Gud, hans Ord de blifve vel sande
 Naar Fornuften gaaer ud, oc Liif ej hafver, ej Aande.
 Billigen mand nu spør, hvad Liuset skulde vel være,

469 Hades, the Greek god of death.

Som Gud skaber oc gjør, ved Sønnen Klarhedens Herre?

Moses setter da her, det Lius i Dagene trende,
Førend Soolen saa skær blev skabt, ret Liuset at tænde,
Førend Soolen saa klar, som Verdens Øje mon være,
Med Planeternes Skar' oc Maan' oc Stierne Skære,
Nogen Tiid blev udkast, oc virkt paa Himmlen den reene,
Verden at liuse fast, som blankest' ædele Steene.
Er da Datteren før, end Moderen monne fremskriide,
Sligt mand neppelig hør, det Naturkyndig' ej viide.
Vi her skulle forstaa', om Liuset dømme, som førre
Om Materien raa, Gud vilde Verden af gjøre.
Ligesom Moses der det monne Jorderig næfne,
Som ej Jorderig er, men Sæd oc Jorderigs efne;
Vi oc skulle forstaa, ved Lius, Guds første Dag gjorde,
Den Materi raa, hvoraf der skulde Lius vorde,
Hvilken Skaberen god der efter Dagen den fiende
Kostelig mestred' ud, oc ret fuld Klarhed forærde,
Ja uddelede der slig Sæd stafered til alle
Skinnende Legemer, som ham bedst kunde befalde.
Soolen gaaer for i Dants, bær Lycte for Stierne end alle,
Gifver oc Maanen glants, de hende frue maae kalde.
Liunild oc anden Ild, oc ædle skinnende Steene,
Stierne hver blank oc mild, Planeter Liuse samt reene,
Som vi viidere faaer paa fiende Dagen at høre,
Hvor den Herre formaaer sit Lius ofver Verden at føre.
Skulle vi midler tiid os det om Liuset indbilde,

Som Lius-Mesteren bliid den første Morgen bestilte,
Søndag oc Mandag tiids oc Tiisdag siden til qvelde,
Liuste Materien hviid før Dagen vilde sig helde.
Vi her lade det staae vill' ej paa svellende Dybe
Men slaa Seglene fra, oc inden Skærene krybe.
U-ransagelig Ting os icke gafner at forske,
Job gaaer saadant omkring, men sligt randsage de dorske.
Vi behøfver ej meer, end at vi skue med Ære
Ja med Under vi seer, Gud ypperste Mester at være.
Efter Liuset oc Ild tør hand i Flinten ej leede,
Liuset er vel bestild, foruden Lampen hin feede.
Soolen maa' undergaa', oc Maanen qvelder oc falder,
Liuset maae for ham staae, naar hand ret vinker oc kalder,
Slig en ærefuld Gud vi maae bekiende med Ære,
Ind vi kommer oc ud, vi fryct for hannem maae bære.
Kryber du skønt i vraa, du stiel, du booler oc røfver,
Du for hannem maa staae, du ej hans Øjen undløber.

v. 4. Oc Gud saa, at Liuset var godt.

Kostelig Roos oc Lof fick Kronen i Salomons Tiide,
Som til zierlig behof, i Templen liuste saa viide:
Skickelsen deilig var, men længer Liuset ej vared,
Præsternis Oliekar der til blef aldrig u-spared.
Evige Gud, hvad Roos, vil Dagens Klarhed fortiene,
Baade som fra oc hoos skin ofver guld det reene,
Hører oc aldrig op, men Liuset dejlig oc klare,

Ofverskin Dal oc Top, saa længe Verden skal vare.
 Skulde det vær' ej got, som Godhed selfver mon giøre,
 Være foruden Spot, hves Viisdommen self mon udføre;
 Got var Liuset dernest, for egen Skickels' hin klare,
 Klarhed er altid bæst, oc liigest Englenis Skare.
 Liuset end siges got, for sin udretninger goode,
 Verdens deilige Slot, for dig u-siunlig her stooede:
 Verdens underlig Ting, af hvilke Skaberen kændis,
 Ginge du vel omkring, om Liuset aldrig optændis.
 Liuset er allerbæst, for det af Skaberen priisis,
 Som veed oc allermest, hvad meest skal ære beviisis;
 Hvad nu Skønhed self, saa højt mon rose med Ære,
 Acter mand saare vel, det kand ei skønnere være.
 Lifliger Øjentrøst, ô Sandheds skønneste Moder,
*Phosphori*⁴⁷⁰ søøde Røst, oc nærmest' Englenis Broder,
 Præctig *Darii*⁴⁷¹ Sool, oc du *Sysigambis*⁴⁷² saa herlig,
 Træder du nu af Stooel, du Qvinde tuctig oc ærlig:
 Deilige Gudernis Brud, oc Herrens Daatter den første?
 Hvo kand rose dig ud, ô Lius, ô Klarheden største?
 Lære vi derfor her Guds stoore Godhed at kænde,
 Hvor høj-naadig hand er, oc hielperig uden al ende.
 Thi at liuset er got, den Seendis aldrig kand necte,

470 Phosphorus – literally “the portal of light.”

471 King of Persia (522-486 BC).

472 ?

Vilde skønt Zebaoth, for Liuset aldrig end fecte.
 Salomon gjør det sødt, oc priis det lifligt at være,
 Oc udi Øjet blødt som Siunets synderligst' Ære.
 Lycten i Mørken vraa med Oli aldrig anstucken
 Dig kand stødendis slaa, om du skønt ick' end er drucken:
 Ligesaa Øjet dit, foruden Liuset det klare
 Er for Veggen U-friit, oc heele Kroppen i Fare.
 Øjet Legemet tien, for Lyct' oc ledsagere bæste:
 Liuset Øjet igien, den samme Tieneste maa læste.
 Liuset vor Fører' er, os ofver Stocken at bringe,
 Fødderne Liuset lær ofver Becken farlig at springe,
 Vild' os ellers ret vist, vor Vandring meget fortryde,
 Kund' oc foruden fris, baad' Hals oc Beenene bryde.
 Det ret lærde med Suk, de Sodomitiske Fegge,
 Løbende blinde-buk til Lothis Stolper oc Vegge.
 Blindmanden det kundgiør, som steds' i mørket maae trefve,
 Fanger dig det udfør, som uden Soolen maae lefve,
 Spør Ægyptier til, de skulle saadant berette,
 Som det jammerlig spil ret aldrig skulle forgiette:
 Liige den samme Nød vild' os oc kommet i Haande,
 Om Gud aldrig udbrød med lius oc Dagen i Lande.
 Skulle vi derfor nu vor Morgenstjerne strax priise,
 Oc af inderste Hu vor Liubmester Ære beviise,
 Naar vi Morgenens froo, see Dag paa Vinduer bryde,
 Skulle vi uden roo, de vacte-Lerke adlyde,
 Oc med Hiertenes Bøn højt ofver Himlene svinge,

Siungende Lofsang skøn, som vel for Herren kand klinge,
 Som dref Mørkheden bort, med dends Gespenster oc Drømme,
 Oc lod dag skæret kort os Soolens Ansict indrømme:
 Bedende, vi den Dag maae vel fordrifv' oc fortære,
 Efter vor Guds Behag, oc til hans Herligheds ære.
 Drifve vi dette Verk, som Liusene vel monne egne
 Skal vor Dag-Herre stærck vor Hænders Gierning velsigne;
 Naar vi skulle nu kort tilluck' her Øjet med alle,
 Os hand hente vil bort til Liusens Riige henkalde.
 Giøre vi her imod oc ilde Liuset andvende,
 Mod vor Skabere good, med kort oc dobbel i Hænde,
 Eller med suus oc duus, svig, Vold, lætferdige Sæder,
 Oc med Kande, med Kruus, med sværen Banden oc Æder.
 Ere vi redlig værd' at Gud skal Øjet udsticke,
 Oc all ynkelig færd' i Mørket ævig tildricke.
 Ligesom oc vor Gud ref os af Mørkhedens Snare,
 Os hand frelste saa ud af Syndsens Grumhed oc Fare.
 Vi som vare før mørk, oc Satans fattige fanger,
 Træfvet i Dødsens Drek, oc leed stoor Marter oc Anger,
 Vi nu kaldis et Lius, i Christo, Jesu vor Herre,
 Frii fra Satans u-tys oc Mørkheds onde besvære.
 Thi vi skulle med Fliid, betænk at Natten er gangen,
 Vandr' i Dagen saa bliid som er saa herlig oplangen,
 Icke den Vgle graa samt Flagermuusen paa slecte,
 Som i dystere vraa, Ja, heldst i Mørket vil fecte.
 Haf Soolsicken i act, som efter Soolen sig skicker

Aabner sit Blad, med Pract, naar den saa varmelig sticker
 Christus være vor Sool, vort Lius, Geleitsmand oc Fører
 Til sin Herligheds Stool, saa os ej Mørket berører.
 Oc Gud gjorde Skilsmis imellem Mørket oc Liuset.
 Den alvidende Gud oc Ordens præctige HERre,
 Al U-orden imod, hand saa' at være paa ferre
 En u-endelig Striid, imellem Mørkhedens Skare,
 Oc (u-hændelig Spliid) imellem Liuset det klare
 Disse Fiender stærck' ah! hafde været til møde
 Drefvet et selsomt Verk, oc heele Verden lagt øde;
 Deres Orden blef splidt oc Krigsfolk menget tilhaabe
 Ingen blef anden qvit, før de laa falden i Grobe.
 Liuset blef Mørkheds Mand oc mørket Liuset udslucte,
 Ingen da saae sin Haand, naar hver sit Herreverk brugte,
 Blefve paa ny igien et *Chaos*, mangel at kiuse,
 Aldrig fik Verden Skin, oc skint' ej Dagen hin liuse,
 Mod slig underlig Chor, mon Ordens Herren fremriide,
 Setter en Pind derfor, kan slig u-orden ej liide,
 Skicker oc hvert sit Maal, hvor viidt hver skulle sig strecke,
 Ved den ringeste naal kand der ofver ej trecke.
 Gandske Jorderig viid hand dem til Grentser mon sette,
 Forekommer saa Striid oc dermed demper al trette.
 Lius Dag- Herren saa skær hand ofver Jorden regierer,
 Mørk Nat- Herren oc er, hand under ej mindre hofverer.
 Skifte saa gaard paa ny, naar Dag sig packer af Lande,
 Rider strax Nat i ny, med sorten Fanen i Haande.

Ved slig Orden oc Skik, skal det til Dommedag vare,
 Lige til Punct oc Prik med Sommer oc Vinter hin svare.
 Vi saa kunde forstaa' hvad Skilsmis Mose her meener,
 Gud fandt mesterlig paa, oc Nat med Dagen foreener.
 Allerviiseste Gud, du est i Gierninger præctig,
 Victigt er hvert dit Bud, oc al din Idret er mæctig.
 Kunde din Hierte-mand, af Nat oc Dagenes skifter,
 Kænde din Ære-stand, at du sligt drabelig stifter,
 Ville vi oc med ham, for samme Gierning dig ære,
 Os see viidere frem, hvad Titel de monne her bære.

v.3. Oc Gud kallede Liuset Dag, oc Mørket kallede hand Nat

Adam den første Mand, af Jorden røder oc ringe
 Kaldte den Skaber sand, lood ham slig Naade gelinge,
 At hand kændte sin Bruud, gaf hende Nafnet med Ære,
Hevah den Jomfru pruud det Nafn Lif-lille mon være,
 Gaf oc Diurene Nafn, som dem best kunde beqvemme
 Fugl oc Krage med Rafn: de ocsaa lyde hans Stemme.
 Men før Adam blef Tolk, self Kongen Nafnen' udbytte,
 Til stor Ære sit Folk oc Vndersaatternes nytte,
 Liuset kalder hand her, den Dag hin blanke, den skære,
 Af undretning det skeer, thi Dagen skulde Lius være.
 Mørket nefner hand Nat, thi naar som Natten mon komme
 Hafver hand Mørket sat, som David siunger den Fromme,
 Om oc Guds Creatuur, de skulde Nafnløse forblifve,
 Tungen ej kunde vor sit Embed nogenlunde drifve;

Næfn Land eller næfn Vand, om du det ickc før vidste
Qvinde næfn eller Mand, oc næfn skriin eller næfn kiiste,
Peder ej Peder er, oc Hans ej kunde Hans være,
Var Nafn icke for hver, hvoraf vi kunde det lære:
Natten ej Natten var, om Nafnet icke var gifvet,
Dagen ej Dagen klar, oc Lifvet icke var Lifvet.
Heraf kunde vi see, hvad nytte Nafnet medfører,
Oc ej ellers kand skee, at Tungen gafnlig sig rører.
At slig Vexel oc Skift, med Lius oc Mørket at drivve.
Siger den hellig Skrift, nu, første dagen at blifve.

Oc der blef Aften, oc der blef Morgen een (eller første) Dag

Aftenen næfnis først, som gik for Liuset det klare,
Oc med Mørkheden størst al Natten maatte først vare.
Dagen her talis om, den skal natuurligen actis,
For en Døgen saa rom, hvormed oc Natten betractis.
Meningen er da saa; der første Natten forfaret,
Da kom Dagen oppaa, oc indtil Aftenen vared:
Tiden oc samme Stund, fra Aften til Aften at falde,
Træder frem Sandheds Mund, det første Dagen at kalde.
O du Skabere viis, du Nat oc Dagenes Herre,
Mørk samt Liuset dig priis, for dig sig bøje med ære,
Natten ej træder fra, før den dig fødder maa kysse,
Dagen gaaer icke paa, den maae jo Skaberen grysse.
Hesperus med sin Hær sig først begifver ud viide.
Der hand siden paa qver maae klaren *Lucifer* biide,

Jagten hand der beseer, som en stormægtige Herre,
 Tiden dermed fortær, som den ej kunde til være.
 Løfven af Kulden gaaer, den stærke Diurenis Herre,
 Biørnen af Hul udfar, hand bruger Labben end verre,
 Ulfven af Skou oc Klyft, saa fyrig kommer at springe,
 Ræfven af Krat oc Gryft, hand priiser Fooden ej ringe.
 Saadane, her oc der, for Jægere noksom passere,
 Svermende strengt en hver ofvr Bjerg oc Dale grassere.
 Hver sit bedste da gjør men Natten rinder oc vinder,
 Hver sit bytte hiemfør, oc hver sin Spiise da finder:
 Saa faar Skaberen Lof, som skabte Natten hin mørke,
 Diurene til behof, de Lemmer hungrig' at styrcke.
 Uglen, om Dagen bliid, for Kragen icke kand blifve,
 Mørket oc Nattetiid, da hende Føden maae gifve.
 Soolen i Middags Stund, kand Aftenbacken ej liide,
 Strax Dag ganger paa Grund, om Næring vanker hun viide.
 Er dog Natten alleen, ej Diur saa blefven til gode,
 Men, som huldeste Ven, end oc gaaer Folket til Foode,
 Dagen os matter ud, veed os med Trældom at spæge,
 Natten er Dokter good, de trette Lemmer at læge.
 Natten vor Omhu stoor, (naar Hofved stickis i Pudon)
 Sticker i Graf oc Jord, vi Sorgen sofve foruden:
 Mangen gaar krank i Seng, ham Natten siden *curerer*,
 Mangen i hø oc eng, sin Kraft om Natten formeerer.
 Dug oc leddige Disk, som Dagen dekker oc breder,
 Natten med Sild oc Fisk, saa herlig pryder oc Klæder.

Kortvil oc tiids fordriif, hvorpaa mand meget spenderer,
 Dig til Natten begiif, med Søfn hun Tiiden fortærer.
 Duggen om Natte Tiid, bedst Luft oc Marken forlesker,
 Dagen saa heed oc bliid, tilforne krenker oc qvetsker.
 O du ædele Nat (ô Nattens Skabere kiere)
 Nyttelig est du sat, skøn mon din Virkelse være.
 Vare du icke til, ret Usle skulde vi skriide,
 Dagen, med eget Spil, gaf ej at brænde, samt biide.
 Men som Vinteren tær, hves Somren alleene beskærer;
 Natten saa gifver hver, hves siden Dagen fortærer,
 Være sig Græs oc eng, Korn oc Fruct, oc være sig kjerne
 Være sig Roo i Seng, oc være sig Hviilen i hierne,
 Natten det bytter ud sin viise Skaber til Ære,
 Natten er derfor good, som Dagen sagdis at være.
 Begge bør liige Priis, de begg' oc ære fortiene,
 Dog mest Skaberen viis, Gud, Sønnen oc hellig Aand reene.
 Vocte sig derfor hver, hand ej Guds Orden forskeerer,
 Oc med Svermen oc blær, den nattelig Hvjle, fortærer,
 Ja med dobbel oc Drik, den søde Natte-Søfn bryder,
 Samt med Balgen oc Stick, som Løfven, Skraaler oc Skryder:
 Oc saa Dagen imod, som Sviin, til Middag, hensofver,
 Intet nyttig oc good, til det, mand priiser oc lofver.
 Slig *Cyclopiske* Viis, oc *Epicuriske* Lefnet,
 Gifver en skiden Priis, oc Lønnis med idel U-trefned.
 Derfor hver, Dagen bliid, med Arbeid oc Møde, fortære,
 Oc af yderste Fliid, med Gud oc Æren, sig nære.

Natten sof sødelig, gif Herren alting at raade,
Hannem befal du dig, saa lefver du Christelig Maade.
Hermed hafve vi da, bract første Dagen til ende,
Gud regiere os saa, vi ret hans Godhed maae kende.

English Translation

The first day of the first week

May be called

Ætiologia & Photologia Mosaica

or

The creation of the first substance and light.

History of the Genesis, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth

And the Earth was barren and empty, and there was darkness over the abyss; and God's

Spirit oscillated over the waters.

And God said: let there be light, and there was light.

And God saw that the light was good, and separated light from darkness.

And God called the light day and the darkness night. The night fell and dawn broke, and

the first day arrived.

Contents

How many articles (of the faith) should children learn and cherish?

We will now present eight articles

That we should all remember.

First the Creator with glory and honor.

Then what his substance may contain.

Next, how he thoughtfully

Created time.

Finally, we will describe

The elements as they were given.

It happened like this:

The earth was barren and empty,

Darkness reigned over the abyss,

And God's Spirit floated over the waters

Like a bird on its wings.

Light came suddenly,

Light extenuated the darkest night.

The light was lovely,

The light was concise,

Separated from darkness, and named by God,

Then the first day came to an end.

A token of the name of God, Jesus

In Praise of the Creator,

As it was accomplished for your welfare.

Helper, oh! Help me praise God, the almighty,
God, the munificent Creator and wise Lord.
Celestial Prince, the powerful and holy multitude of Angels
Begins to praise your creation; Sing, bright Moon!
Radiant celestial dwelling adorned with many bright stars,
The planet's crescent light placed upon high.
Rise up! Praise the great Master: Rise up, tremendous elements!
Fire, air, water and earth, praise the glorious Creator!
Majestic mountain tops and abysmal valleys below,
Upright cedars; trees of dripping abundance: Rise up!
Tame animals and wild beasts on the earth and in the waters,
What exists in fire, in air with a living spirit;
Everyone in its own voice, sing out, praise the Creator,
Happily praise in song and verse
Men of royal blood; multitude of potent princes,
Earthly judges, God's representatives,
Every common man, woman, youngster and maiden,
Every townsman and farmer, every poor man and rich,
Oh Savior, help every mouth, heart and tongue,
Dear Creator, to sing your holy verse!
The praised Queen of Sheeba visited Solomon with pomp and grandeur,
She, the highest of Sheeba, sought a higher wisdom,
And when the Queen came, she listened to the King's sound judgment,
Enquired and perused the magnificence of his abode,
Examined his rich table and customs.
When she had seen his servants' quarters and clothing

She almost fainted, and almost fell to the ground,
Overcome by such opulence and royal supplies.
Blessed, she said, are your servants
Who in such manner display your royal wealth and glory.
Dearest friend in Christ, what is the value of King Solomon's house?
Is it worthy of written praise, when compared with the construction of heaven?
Or can his table compare with the (divine) Household
Which provide food and drink to the entire world?
The green lily of the valley is more magnificent,
The beautiful garden rose deserves far greater praise,
The bee in trunk and tree more artfully shapes his cake,
Than King Solomon's cook (bakes) in his oven.
The bee-king is not great; however, he has many servants,
Who wait at his table, but do not forsake the cake,
He eats many sweets, but never depletes the dew.
He treats the swains mildly, and gives them similar clothes.
Therefore, what explains this lord's actions
Must however soon fall to the ground, weak,
And sincerely ask where is the Master and Lord
Who created all these things? What is his title?
Not Solomon, who indeed deserves praise among all wise men,
And Cræsus is not worthy of such praise.
(When) the Angel did not exist, (he) could not create himself,
And much less give birth to such a play.
God's man and friend, Moses, esteemed scribe,
With a golden (slate) pen, may have called him *Elohim*

Elohim was the name of the One who existed from time immemorial,
God, the eternal benefactor, God, the eternally venerable,
Whose immeasurable might and endless wisdom,
Whose unfathomable magnificence manifest themselves,
As the Apostle explained to the Romans and everyone:
His invisible presence can be seen in the kingdom of living things.
Yes, the prophets ask us to look upwards,
The silent heavens announce his unwavering force.
The grass is not insignificant, the grasshopper is not of lesser value,
The Creator points to it: it springs from the Creator.
Moses introduced us to the almighty Lord
Whom we respectfully call God our Father,
Who created earth and heaven, and upon whom we call in trust.
Whose regiment and power encompass us all.
Therefore we ought to recognize
That the Creator is one, like God is one and omnipotent.
The Creator is graceful; and God is true Creator,
He is Father and Son, and both are Holy Spirit.
The Father created all things by his beloved Son,
And the power of the Holy Spirit gives life and nurtures it.
Moses teaches it well, in his Hebrew speech,
In which he rightly describes the Trinity.
Divinities, he says, created heaven and earth.
This must be understood thus: One God became Creator,
However, God is a threesome person,
Against nature, albeit it is his own creation.

Let all people listen to what he says:
 Now is the time of creation, now let us make Man.
 However, (God of) Multiplicity does not create Man instantly,
 But he justly gives a name to the (Divine) Persons:
 The Father he names God; the Son is called his significant Word.
 He also names God's Spirit, who animates heaven and earth.
 David, too, righteously glorifies—with a harmonious voice
 That one should not hold in contempt or forget—
 Heaven with God's word, and (glorifies) the material Spirit with his mouth.
 Along with His great multitude of created beings we stand in awe.
 Does not the eagle fly high in the Apostolical flock?
 Nevertheless, he dares not belong to another wisdom.
 The student of Paradis will discover high and celestial things,
 But he will not always see it in the Epistles.
 We agree and thank our dear Creator:
 He went far beyond the teaching of the Manicheans,
 Who, with a seductive voice, wanted to split in two God's existence:
 One shameful and evil, the other good.
 Beautiful and blissful was the work of the Benign God,
 Whereas the Wicked God, they believed, was the creator of all evil.
 But No! such contempt is inconceivable arrogance;
 The Wicked as well as the Good has been issued by One Lord alone:
 He created light and darkness: He gives peace and takes it away.
 The Wicked cannot create neither Jews nor fierce Turks,
 The Devil is evil—be that as it may—
 In the beginning he, too, was created good by our Lord.

We shall turn from Turks and Jews, from those who did not recognize the Son,
And from all heretics,
And solicit the consolation of the Creator, the foundation of our house.
Beware of the Moisaic voice.

Heaven and earth

Eternal God, what does it take to make such a construction,
A construction, strong and beautiful, floating beneath and above us.
Solomon cut down the cedars of Lebanon,
Let the flood come, and sailed on it to the East Indies,
Where Hiram consulted him about wood and a master builder,
So that he could construct a temple for the Lord.⁴⁷³
If we need turf and stone to build farmsteads and barns,
If we need timber and branches to make a herdsman's cottage,
How then can we imagine what it takes to create a whole world?
Or determine where it should be created?
Its substance is called heaven and earth.
However, the material from which the world has been created remains a mystery:
Is the earth made of earth, and heaven of heaven?
From what was the first earth made? From where did the heavens appear?
Were not the heavens and the earth created on the second and third day?
Where, then, was God's word? And what became of the writer?

473 Hiram (: Hiram) (r. 969-936 BC)—Phœnician king—maintained friendly relations with king Solomon, and supplied the material necessary to the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Solomon and Hiram had joint trade missions in both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

We now should try to understand what Moses called "heaven"
Before we procede, so that we do not stumble on our way.
Moses wanted to name (the) heaven(s) and earth the first day,
Because, from the lowest part to the hemispherical roof there should be a good distance.
All the substance may have been needed in the construction.
God prepared it first with his hand, and did not want to linger.
Moses speaks about God as Master of the House, as the Omniscient,
Who reaches out his hand whenever He creates.
He poses chalk and stone, cross-beams and props,
With clean hands, and will not show conceit afterwards.
Such substance, when it is beautifully arranged on earth,
Man finds attractive, and describes it in articulate words:
Look! Here lies His house (yet the house is not ready)!
Praise him widely and glorify him, and look not for building material!
Moses did the same, he named heaven and earth,
In his Holy Tongue that was yet to be,
Because he said clearly, that the earth was not yet complete,
But barren and empty, in fact unshapely and unworthy:
There was no water, no fire, no Purgatory;
There was no land, and no winds:
The substance of heaven and earth had not yet been organized!
Immense vapors, turmoil and useful delight,
The Magus says about the first substance
That it was raw, brimming with invisible greatness.
Further we ask, how did the world's Creator
Find material worthy for his creation?

Was Democritus⁴⁷⁴ here, he would surely teach us why.
While we speak, take a look! The particles of the sun,
Certainly, they weld the creation together
According to Democrite's law.
You praise them, but have you tried to imagine them fully?
Nobody will believe your theory: how can I understand such folly?
I query from whence these sun particles flow,
Do they arrive on their own account and contribute to the sun?
If you do not exist, you cannot cast a shadow.
The cuckoo bird enjoys his game, but you are taught restraint from the cradle.
Moses for certain tells us from where the supplies come,
Listen to him, and he will teach us.

The creation

God almighty, whom the world (in its folly) wants to vanquish,
With invincible command has the power to create from nothing.
When a thing has been created, it has been formed by nothingness,
Quickly, as if sprung from nothing similar.
Æolus,⁴⁷⁵ who rules and fuels the winds, did not exist;

474 Democritus (c. 455 - 370 BC): Greek philosopher born in Thrace. He was widely traveled, and had learned from his teacher, Leucippus, that everything is made of tiny particles. Refining and elaborating Leucippus' ideas, Democritus developed an atomic theory, proposing that the universe is composed of two indivisible elements—matter and non-matter, more precisely the *atom* and the *void*. An infinite number of eternal and uncaused atoms differing from each other only in shape, arrangement, and magnitude, move through infinite space (*Britannica* 2000). Du Bartas refers to this philosopher as the «resveur,» i.e. a dreamer. Arrebo seems to share Du Bartas's opinion, and has little esteem for the theory which he describes as «Daarskab,» i.e. folly.

475 The ruler of the winds in Greek mythology.

Mulciber,⁴⁷⁶ consumed by fire, lost his game,
Even Neptune, who rules streams and water, was weak.
And the bold Summanus,⁴⁷⁷ to whom the poet attributes the earth.
There was no hardness or softness, no beauty or deformity;
Nothing acid, nothing sweet, neither thin nor thick;
Neither warmth nor coldness to be found;
No water or earth, nothing without, nothing within.
We therefore attribute to our Creator the honor
Of this creation; and carry palm branches in our hands.
For when the master Builder prepares his house
He carefully assures himself that he has the material ready at hand,
That the scales are right and the stones have been cut from the mountain.
With his sleigh, he fetches his timber and tools from the woods;
And soft limestone from the kiln;
Red bricks from the brickwork.
For the rest, it is like the learned *Physici*⁴⁷⁸ claim:
When Man gets a piece of nothingness he can make nothing,
Whereas the Great Master, the Creator of the World, the Maker
Needs only a word to make the material converge,
Finds chalk and stone where they were never found before,
Discovers trees and branches and other supplies,
Discovers land and water with the power of His tongue.

476 Ancient Roman epithet of Vulcan, meaning the "Melter."

477 Archaic Roman god of thunderstorms.

478 Scientists in general.

Creates Man and Woman, perfect down to the little finger,
Between the abyss of the universe I will not try to look for the same.
The moon and the sun were instantly ready at the command of the Lord,
The created earth and the heavenly multitudes, everything,
Merely require a word to suddenly come into existence.
The things that a royal pen acclaimed;
The Tarser⁴⁷⁹ does not forget.
Just as He made the foundation from nothing,
He also deposited the foundation on unoccupied nothingness,
The earth does not repose on stone, pillars and beams,
Nor on fragile reeds or stems,
But on mild air. Without a single chain the globe
Hangs easily! Who can understand these things?
The air cannot carry the leaf as it falls from its twig,
And under the sand of this world the same air cannot dissolve!
Sisyphus, son of Æolus, could move the stone,
But the thinnest air without effort carries the entire world.
Oh almighty God how great are your achievements!
Your every command upon high beckons to us on earth,
So that every husband and every human builder
With conviction exclaim: The work of God is wonderful,
It is miraculous! Glory to God almighty
Who created such things, he is a true artist.
If only we believe firmly and in our hearts agree,

479 Saint Paul was born in Tarsus in what is today southern Turkey.

Never an empty chest of drawers or a depleted kitchen
Nor anything in the world could torment us,
And impending death could not chase us from the land,
We would seek out our Brother in his inexhaustible kitchen,
Confide in our sweet Lord, tell him of our misery and anguish.
Your powerful hand created the heavens from nothing,
You—honorable Man of the Rock—made water stream by clapping your hands,
You had oil dripping from where there was none.
Should we then ask for bread and not find it?
Can anyone remain in the grave forever?
God our Lord may with only a word call us:
We hasten on, and rightfully learn,
That when all is done, we cannot choose the moment.

In the beginning

Moses steps out before us to lead us towards truth.
He recounts without mistake what happened in the beginning.
In the beginning, time was not to be understood,
Time, born of eternity, exists eternally,
Eternal time cannot be measured accurately,
It surpasses our intelligence and cannot be fully discerned.
God, the Eternal, has existed from eternity,
Father, Son, and honorable Holy Spirit
Remain eternal, without termination or boundary,
Residing in themselves (in a place) where age cannot reach them.
The beginning is the beginning of everything,

For our dear Creator, with divine authority, the greatest,
created the noble foundation of heaven and earth from nothing,
As well as Man, whom he taught about His power.
In the beginning, before time, Man did not exist,
God was alone, however, honored and glorified
Because the multitude of angels and saints
Long before their creation, already existed, and clearly stood before him:
Time for us is continuance, because God is eternal eternity,
Eternity is span, and time volatile.
We should never let ourselves be disappointed by Aristotle's school,
Let us rather transcend the stinking hole of reason,⁴⁸⁰
Nobody believes what Aristotle taught,
When he offers his worthless merchandise, and describes the eternal world,⁴⁸¹
Saying that it could not be possible for God to exist completely alone,
To exist for no one, articulate, nothing effective,
He would surely say that for God there was nothing to do,
As the world did not exist, in which his authority could command,
Finally, he admitted: Truly, the world must be eternal
That I will not deny, that such is pagan teaching,
Christians must disapprove of the pagan discourse of the pagans,
They must contemplate and advance their opinion.
Whether a shipowner can live without his ships

480 Aarebo here clearly rejects the Scholastics classification of knowledge and wisdom according to the categories of Aristotle, the *Categoriae decem*, explained in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which had been translated from Greek into Latin in the 4th century. See footnote 43.

481 This is a reference to Aristotle's principle of the necessity of motion inherent to all the elements.

Or whether a lumberjack can idly roam,
 Does not a smith have the possibility to delay his work?
 Yet does his hand deliberately repose?
 How then could God, a God without a world, not exist?
 Get out, leave! We should not confront Divine Authority with such nonsense.
 Scipio wrote lucidly and honorably,
 He was alone when he most needed to.
 Why then shouldn't God in his solitude be able to do great things?
 God, the Omnipotent, who does everything according to his own will?
Bias,⁴⁸² chased from the gold and silver of his ancestors' city
 Said happily that he had lost nothing,
 His carried his fortune with him, he still possessed his treasure:
 Wisdom and art⁴⁹³ were his treasures.
 God can produce whatever he likes, and possess whatever he desires.
 He does not covet this world's vanity.
 If you in your folly ask:
 What was God's purpose, what eternal task lay ahead?
 Augustin argue that he created Hell
 For those who, against His will, embraced senselessness.
 Is He, then, like an acrobat without riches and honor?
 In whose eternal bosom lies hidden the true treasure?
 He is the fountain of wisdom and the running stream of honor.

482 A rather obscure Greek philosopher (d.c. 570 BC). In Greek mythology, Bias was the son of Amythaon, and the grandson of Creteus. His brother Melampus had the gift of divination and assisted Bias, who, wanting to marry Pero, first had to pass a test: He was to steal Phylacus' herd, guarded by a ferocious dog who never slept.

483 In reference to the seven liberal arts, the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*.

Who dares think lowly of the foundation of power?
He works divine forces,
He can and will use his tongue to create the world,
With his beloved Son and Holy Spirit,
As concealed remuneration in his eternal realm.
Without mother or past, without commencement,
The benevolent Father begat the One who makes every man rich,
The Son, his Father's illumination,
As we are taught by the Holy Spirit, an accomplishment *from* and *of* eternity.
The Scriptures say that he was of an eternal mind,
He went out into the world from his hidden peaks,
And with his potent hand, after the conception of the world,
He created the first man and gave him the world to command;
And in his wisdom, too, gave Adam his hue,
And eternally pondered how he should inherit heaven,
And in Christ, long before he made the world's foundation,
He chose Adam's sex, as pleased his Excellency.
How, then, can you pretend that God had no purpose?
Before the creation of the world? You poet try to make sense of it all.
If you examine closely your Creator,
You will easily discover his never-ending task,
And acknowledge that the eternal God is endless to the eye,
Whether you look high or low into the abysmal universe.
What is un-created and empty in company with nothingness for Man,
For Him the Eternal is created,
Adam, the first man, in the mind of the Lord of Eternity,

Cannot exist before the last man, still unborn.
We therefore must conclude that everything which has been created in time
Must stand before God, who has existed from infinity.
Still, there will be people who ask:
Why did God take six days to create the world?
Why could he not conveniently have created it all at once?
Be it small or big, we need not think long.
No Christian dares doubt God's endless might,
Had he only said: Come forth without repose,
It would have happened as soon as he had spoken,
For what could have hindered the accomplishment of God's will?
Did you mean, curious Man, that God was a builder
Who exhausted from his work must be carried home at the end of the day?
The legend says that a task will be well performed
If only God touches the fingers of the builder.
When the sun shines in the garden the soil yields a good crop,
It calls the budding rose to bloom, without effort or toil.
Should the glorious sun then fade from servitude?
Should the seat of power, be described as powerless?
Or did you mean that He needs a measuring rod or a mould
(And use them) when He creates?
But no! He can create without toil and effort,
The skill, for him, is to create without disturbance.
In this way the wise God does manifest himself,
He never hurries, but with experienced hands
Performs his tasks and makes us remember and learn

That we must guard and honor his creation,
When we see it partially, one piece of art after the other,
When we laugh and reach our hand towards the Artist,
He (in turn) will recognize our six-day task
Teach us good manners and not let us be idle.
He will also lead us to remembrance,
So that we perform our tasks thoughtfully and with discernment.
Do not ask incessantly how long a good deed takes,
But rather how worthy it is, how skillfully and well done.
If Neptune in haste seeks the deepest part of the sea,
Stay on land, you can only passably break the waves.
No one has yet reached the bottom of the master-fountain of wisdom,
However, many have been shipwrecked trying.
Do not venture close to the gorge where the blind rock will greet you,
Against the treacherous reef your boat will be splintered,
Sail on God's Word, hire God's Spirit as shipmaster,
Then you cannot sail astray and you will always find harbor.
Now we will procede with the description of the first creation,
And with a humble mind interpret Moses and his slate.

2. And the earth was barren and empty

We will speak about earth, and describe it reasonably.
The earth was barren and empty, without shape and abode,
Without adornment and art, its substance yet not refined,
Without light: coarse, dark and unpretentious,
Without beech, oak and other trees,

Without people, without herds: every nook was empty.
The bottom and the top of an indeterminate creation,
Everything down to the smallest strand of hair strewn over the rocks.
He was speaking now, in the grim darkness,
Over the great waters, and over the vast abyss,
And God's light, that same day, was pondered,
Chased darkness away and let the world emerge.
Not (associated with heretics) a grim satanic multitude.
By the abyss one cannot fathom Hell,
Only deep waters and floating land,
The task resided where the abyss revealed its emptiness,
The day was covered in black, and the red sun had dissappeared.

And God's Spirit oscillated over the waters

Moses steps out and wants to teach us,
The action of the Spirit, in honor of the raw material.
The substance and the ore, and the world's first figure,
Hidden in dark suffocating vapor, in the great infecundity,
Stimulated by the power of God's Spirit, warmed and excited,
It gave strength and fluidity, and encouraged growth.
Like a warm hen who lays her eggs
And cares for them under her breast and broods over them;
The earth, too, warmed by the sun, receptive, conceives.
The earth, stimulated by the God's Spirit, was impregnated
And abundantly provided both herbs and crops;
And solid metals, (both) shining silver and red gold:

The gleaming diamond, the most precious stones,
Copper, pewter, and spotless brass.
The same powerful Spirit of God, His effective hand,
Can not be explained using the elements and climatic emanations.
Neither can (we explain) the compassionate Holy Spirit, the third person of the Divinity,
Who spread out and animated the dormant mould.
Father and Son in this way lent assistance
To nature from the exterior.
No other spirit had until then existed or been created.
No one but the eternal Lord mastered the art (of creation).
Let this now be considered done with, and let us move on to explain
How light came to be, the wonderous Phœbus.

3. And God said: let there be light, and there was light.

The creation does not measure up when the eye is deficient.
If the image was forged in steel, it could please no one.
Miserable whoever sits in a dark house,
Without a shimmer of light, without the brightness of day.
Miserable whoever sits in the darkness of the abyss,
Who, like worms, crawl around one another's neck.
Therefore, after the creation of the new substance,
In the darkness, and in the free light,
As the morning broke, Apollo, Lord of brightness,
Sat peacefully, distributing light and day for our delight
Upon earth until evening.
Until God our Lord himself ended the first day.

One may ask who is this commanding God
Who proceeds so purposefully and bids darkness
To leave the land and lets the sun shine so instantly,
Who chases darkness over the deep waters, far away?
It is certainly not Titan and his servants:
The night has no banner and Hades will not be enticed,
Moses points to the first great master
Who created the floating substance,
God of Trinity, whom he earlier had called Elohim,
All glory he gives to Him
For having made light, He who is himself light.
With His significant word, his Son, our dear Savior.
God said: Let there be light, let the black night recede.
Then dawn broke and the gateway of darkness was shattered.
Immediately, every nook and cranny was illuminated.
Against (its inherent) nature, darkness ceded for light,
Because God's powerful word is sheer substance and achievement.
Before the die is cast on the table,
God's word was already at work and created action.
His lips haven't moved; yet his word has already been fulfilled.
Think about the thralls of reason,
Let the word of God stand, it is not naturally confining.
God remains God, and his word remains truth.
When reason expires, when it has no more vitality or spirit,
Justifiably Man asks what light really is,
Created by God with his Son, the Lord of Luminosity?

Moses places the (creation of) light to the third day.
Before creating the bright sun, He made light,
Before the sun, which was to be the eye of the world,
The multitude of planets, the moon and the stars,
For some time were excluded and alone in the skies
And the earth shone as the brightest stone.
Did, then, the daughter step forth before the mother?
This is highly improbable, and against the knowledge of scientists.
We should understand and perceive light
As we understand the raw substance from which God wanted to mould the world.
Like Moses, who named the earth
When it did not yet exist, only its seed and substance,
We, too, should comprehend that God made the first day from light.
The raw substance from which light was created
And from which the good Creator, on the fourth day,
Wondrously moulded and perfected;
The seed was given
To many shining bodies, as He deemed best and according to His command.
The sun danced at the head of the procession, giving light to all the stars,
Giving life to the moon, whom they all call mistress of the house.
Lightening and other conflagrations, and resplendent precious stones,
The stars, bright and mild, and the planets all shine together,
This we hear about on the fourth day.
How the Lord places a light above the world.
Shouldn't we then believe that the light
Which the first Illuminator ordered

Sunday and Monday and Tuesday until night,
Was shining white substance before that day came to an end.
We must let it stand, not venture into deep waters,
But lower our sails and go within the reefs.
It is not useful to enquire into the impenetrable,
Job tried, but it is an employment for the indolent.
All we need is to acknowledge with praise
And wonderment that God is the supreme Master.
After creating light, He lead fire through the flint,
Light is good, as is the lamp.
The sun may set and the moon smother and fall,
He still commands light with a gesture of his hand.
Such a God we must glorify and praise,
We enter and exit, but we always fear Him.
If, depraved, you crawl and hide, steal, and rob,
When you stand before Him, you cannot escape His eye.

And God saw that the light was good

In the time of Solomon, the crown received much acclaim and worship,
Appropriately, the temple shone far and wide,
The appearance was wonderful, but light was insufficient,
So the priests' lamps were constantly refilled.
Eternal God, what praise does the light of day deserve
Which shines on pure gold and yet
Never dies? Beautiful and immaculate light
Shall shine upon valleys and peaks as long as the world exists.

Wasn't it good, of goodness borne,
Without a blemish, achieved by the Wisdom itself?
The light was good because of its sheer appearance,
Sheerness is always best, in appearance the likeness of angels.
Light is good because of its admirable radiation,
If the marvelous castles of this world stood invisible before you,
Mysterious things indicating the Creator,
Could you wander about if light did not exist?
The creation is good because it has been praised by the Lord himself.
What part of creation deserves a greater compliment (than light);
More than beauty—which we justly praise.
However, beauty cannot be more glorious than light.
A consolation for the eyes, the lovely mother of truth,
The sweet voice of Phosphory,⁴⁸⁴ the angels' brother,
Beautiful sun of Darius,⁴⁸⁵ and you, glorious Sysigambi,⁴⁸⁶
Step down from your throne, virtuous and honorable lady,
You, lovely bride of the gods, and first daughter of our Lord:
How can we justly glorify you, O light, the greatest brightness?
We now learn about God's great benevolence,
The Eternal Helper is high and mighty.
That light is good, no seeing man can deny,

484 Phosphorus – literally “the portal of light.”

485 King of Persia (522-486 BC).

486 ?

Although Zebaoth⁴⁸⁷ would never fight over it;
Solomon gives it sweet praise,
The darling of the eye, the privilege of sight.
The lamp in the nooks of darkness will never pierce the eye,
But it can strike you as if you were drunk;
Your eye is, without light,
Confined, and the body in danger.
The eye should serve the body, that is best for the lamp and its holders,
And light will repay the service,
Light is our guide, leading us past the threshold,
Light leads our feet when we cross the river,
Guides us wherever we roam.
It can, without woven fabric, adorn our feet and neck.
The learned man with a sigh, the Sodomite with pleasure,
Ran blind into Lot's pilars and walls.
The blind man affirms, he always strays in darkness.
You become crippled if you must live without the sun,
Ask the Egyptians, they know how it is,
They could never decode and understand the game.
Likewise, we will experience the same misery
If God never lets light and day shine over the land.
We therefore at once should praise the morning star,
And of our innermost soul show our gratitude to the Master of Light,
When early in the morning we see dawn brake upon our panes.

487 Hebrew for "the multitudes", used when designating God, i.e. the God of the multitudes.

We should, without delay, obey the guardian larks,
And with the heart's prayer fly on the wings of heaven,
Sing a hymn, a lovely chant in the ears of the Lord,
Who chased darkness, with its specters and dreams,
And let day reveal to us the face of the sun.
We should pray that we must use the day well,
According to God's desire and to his magnificent glory.
If we achieve this, and use light well,
Then our Lord of daylight will bless the accomplishments of our hands.
And when finally we shall close our eyes,
He will call us to his bright kingdom.
If we resist and use light badly,
Use it against our good Creator, with deceitful hands,
Or with intemperance, dishonesty, violence, and debauchery,
And with mug, and jar, cursing and swearing,
Then we truly deserve that God should pierce our eyes
So that we miserably must wander in eternal darkness.
Like God saved us from the snare of darkness,
He also saved us from the pitfalls and dangers of sin.
We were dismal prisoners of Satan,
Caught in the web of death, suffering great pain and anguish.
We now are called by the light, by Jesus Christ, our Lord,
Free of Satan's darkness and evil oppression.
We should carefully ponder the passing of night,
And wander blissfully in the day that broke,
And not imitate the owl or bat

Who would rather hide in somber and dismal crevasses.
Do like the sunflower which turns to the sun,
Which magnificently opens its leaves when it feels warmth.
Christ is our sun; our light; our guide and helmsman;
Leading us to his throne where darkness cannot reach us.

And God separated light from darkness.

The omniscient God, Lord of the Word,
Was alerted against disorganization,
The interminate battle between the extensiveness of darkness
And the brightness of light (a dreadful discord),
These enemies were strong, Oh! And if they were hurled together,
Driven by a terrible machinery, they risked the devastation of the whole world;
The order would be splintered and a mighty army would gather,
And one could not vanquish the other: they would both end in the chasm.
Light would become a servant of darkness, and darkness would extinguished light,
No one would see a thing, when each relied on the work of their separate Lords,
A new Chaos would emerge, seducing many,
And the world would never again bathe in light, day would not brake:
Against such a sinister chorus the Lord of the Word would step out,
To put a stop to the turmoil, he would not tolerate such unorderedly behavior,
He would measure out how far each party should reach,
And they might not trespass his limit by the length of a needle.
The whole earth must respect his command,
Appease strife and settle disputes.
The Lord rules by the light of day;

He no less commands by the dark of night,
He changes residence at the end of the day,
And rides on with the black standard in his hand.
And the order will remain like this until Judgment Day.
As surely as summer will alternate with winter.
We understand what separation Moses talked about,
God ordered separation when he connected night and day.
Omniscient and wise God, you are glorious in your performance,
Weighty are every one of your commandments and your enterprise great.
If a warm-hearted man⁴⁸⁸ could, from your bold project of alternating day and night,
Learn about your honor and eminence,
Why shouldn't we, with him, glorify you for the same work?
Look ahead and see what name they have been given.

And God called the light day and the darkness night.

Adam, the first man, made of earth, frail and insignificant,
Called upon the true Creator, who let him taste his mercy,
Let him know his bride, and honorably named her
Hevah,⁴⁸⁹ noble virgin whose name means "life-giving,"
He also named the animals, as was appropriate, and
The birds: crow and raven, they all obeyed his voice.
But before Adam became interpreter, even the King changed name,
In honor of his people and for the benefit of his subjects,

488 Moses.

489 Eve.

He named light *day*, bright and clear,
Of purpose it happens, because day shall be light,
He named darkness *night*, and when night fell,
He enveloped, according to David,
God's creatures, who were to remain unnamed.
Without names the tongue cannot go about its business;
Try to name a land or water that you do not know,
A woman or a man, name a box or a chest,
Peter could not be Peter, Hans could not be Hans,
Had not their names already existed for us to learn:
Night could not be night if the name had not been given,
Day could not be day, and life not life.
From this we understand what use we have of names,
And that without names the tongue would be of no use.
This alternation between light and dark,
The Holy Scripture says, came about the first day.

Night fell and dawn broke, and the first day arrived

The evening came first, it existed before light,
The darkness of the first night had to endure.
The first day here mentioned,
Naturally also embraced night.⁴⁹⁰
The meaning is, therefore, that to the first bygone night
We add one day and the evening, too;

490 The Norwegian term *døgn* covers 24 hours.

From night to night the first day lasted,
It emerged from the Mouth of Truth who named it on the first day.
Oh, wise Creator, Lord of day and night!
Both light and darkness praise your name, and bow before you in awe,
Night never withdraws without kissing your feet,
Day never ends without greeting you.
Hesperus⁴⁹¹ with his army sets out into the vast space.
He must wait for and chase bright Lucifer,⁴⁹²
He supervises the hunt, like a mighty lord,
And consumes time as if it shouldn't exist.
The lion wanders through the cold, the greatest king of beasts,
The bear comes out of its den, rummaging with his paws,
The wolf emerges from woods and gullies, ready to bounce,
The fox from brushes and ditches, cunning on its feet.
The preys from every corner pass the hunters
On their way to the hills and the pastures of the valleys.
Everyone does as best he can and before morning breaks,
Each takes home a game, each finds his larder,
And praises the Creator, who created the darkness of night
For the benefit of the animals who seek to strengthen their limbs.
The owl, cheerful in the day, cannot find peace for the crow,
But when night falls, he can hunt for his food.

491 Hesperos, according to Greek mythology, son of Eos and brother of Atlas, disappeared from the world of mortals, and it was believed that he had been transformed into the star which shines the brightest at the onset of night: The evening star.

492 Lucifer, the brightest and most beautiful of all the angels, wanted to equate God and was expelled from heaven.

The afternoon pasture cannot suffer the midday sun.
When day fades into evening it gathers its strength elsewhere.
However, had the night been alone, it couldn't have benefitted the animals.
Now night is a dear friend, it serves the people,
The day wears us out with all its assignments,
Night is a good doctor for tired limbs,
Night cares for us (when we put our head on the pillow)
It cares for earth and grave: our grief is alleviated by sleep.
Many a sick man was cured during the night,
Many in barns and fields their strength have recovered.
The tablecloth and sideboard put out by the day,
Is garnished by herring and fish caught during the night.
Idleness and entertainment, for which we pay much,
Takes us away from the night and wastes our sleep.
The dew of night refreshes field and air,
And the heat of day spoils them.
Oh, noble night (Oh beloved Creator of the night)!
Your worth is proven, your action benign.
Without you we would be miserable,
The day, in its own playhouse, gave nothing to burn or to hunt,
But like winter depletes that which summer alone has brought forth;
Night gives each and everyone what they consume during day,
Either grass or pasture, corn or fruit, or kernels,
Either rest in bed or repose of mind.
Night alternates with day in honor of its Creator:
Both should be praised, both deserve esteem,

But most of all, the wise Creator, God, Son and pure Spirit.
Beware, therefore, do not defy God's word,
Waste not the nightly rest and sweet slumber
For reckless drinks and games,
Or with sheath and stick, brag like the roaring lion,
So that you, like a brute, dead drunk, fall into stupor at noon,
With disregard for that which man holds in praise and esteem.
Cyclopic and Epicurian debauchery
Has a steep price, and is rewarded with utter embarrassment.
Therefore, pass your day in honest work and toil
Of the best quality, encouraged by God and his glory.
Sleep well at night, and let the Lord rule everything,
Take his orders, live like a worthy Christian.

Now we have explained the first day,
Let God rule our lives so that we may learn to know his generosity.

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